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INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Devanāgarī	Roman	Devanāgarī	Roman
अं	a	ड	ḍ
आ	ā	ढ	ḍh
इ	i	ण	ṇ
ई	ī	त	t
उ	u	थ	th
ऊ	ū	द	d
ऋ	ṛ	ध	dh
ए	e	न	n
ऐ	ai	प	p
ओ	o	फ	ph
औ	au	ब	b
क	k	भ	bh
ख	kh	म	m
ग	g	य	y
घ	gh	र	r
ङ	ṅ	ल	l
च	c	व	v
छ	ch	श	ś
ज	j	ष	ṣ
झ	jh	स	s
ञ	ñ	ह	h
ट	ṭ	ं (anusvāra)	ṃ
ठ	ṭh	: (visarga)	ḥ

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It is proposed to publish the December issue of the **Indian Historical Quarterly** as a Commemoration Number dedicated to the memory of the late Mm. Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri, C.I.E. It is intended that it should comprise articles contributed by Indologists, who were colleagues, friends, pupils, and admirers of Prof. Sastri. As we are expecting a large number of contributions, it has been deemed necessary to restrict the size of each contribution to the Commemoration Number to about 8 pages of the **Quarterly**.

We are inserting this notice with the ardent hope that scholars will kindly oblige us by sending papers or notes, however short they may be, before the 31st October, 1932.

Editor

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THE

Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. VIII MARCH, 1932 No. 1

Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal†

Sources of Śaśāṅka's History

The sources utilised for gathering the history of Śaśāṅka consist chiefly of:

(1) the accounts of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) as we find in his Records and Life,

(2) the historical romance, the *Harṣacarita* of king Harṣavardhana's court-poet Bāṇa,

(3) some of the epigraphic and numismatic records of the times, and

(4) the *Bodhisattva-Piṭakāvataṃsaka* or *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*. The 53rd chapter (Paṭalavisara) of this treatise contains interesting and important materials for the ancient history of the various parts of India. The accounts of the kings and people given in this unique treatise of Mantric texts are found recorded, just as we find in the Brahmanic Purāṇas, in a prophetic manner, as if the events described will be happening in future. The names of kings are often mentioned in a very abbreviated form (e.g. Rakārādya and Hakārākhya kings standing for Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana respectively) and sometimes

† A Dacca University Public Lecture delivered on February 27, 1931.

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given in synonyms instead of in their originals (e.g., Somākhya for Śaśāṅka).

After the gradual decadence of the glory of the Imperial Gupta dynasty on account of the incessant inroads of the White Hūṇas upon the empire and its complete overthrow by the boastful chief, Yaśodharman of Mālava, towards the middle of the sixth century A.D., the imperial title of a universal sovereign (samrāṭ) was assumed by that aspirant after he had successfully usurped all the Gupta provinces and Hūṇa territories and declared himself as an independent emperor of Northern India. This fact may better be described in the exalting words of his own court-poet (Vāsula), who says that Yaśodharman "enjoyed those countries which were not in the possession of the all-powerful Gupta sovereigns and which the power of the Hūṇa kings who kept many a tributary ruler under subjection could not penetrate" and that "the *sāmantas* (vassals) of the different parts of the land, from the Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra) in the east to the western ocean in the west, and from the Himālayas in the north to the Mahendra mountain in the south did him honour". After the unknown end of this monarch, the empire of Northern India, which he tried to consolidate, again broke up into several parts, each becoming independent with their respective rulers. So the Vardhana family of Sthāṇīśvara (Thaneswar), the Maukharis of Ayodhyā and Kanauj, the Later Guptas of Magadha and the people of Gauḍa gradually increased their power and prepared themselves for entering into a contest for paramount supremacy in Northern India. The kings of Mālava in the south-west and Kāmarūpa (Assam) in the extreme east were not also sitting idle at the time as mere on-lookers.

Probable time of the rise of Śaśāṅka

All rulers of the Vardhana and Maukhari dynasties before Prabhākaravardhana and Īśānavarman respectively used the title of *mahārāja* implying that they were simply local chiefs (it may or may not be that they owed any allegiance to any liege-lord) and it is these two kings who first used the paramount title of *mahārājādhirāja*. They were making conquests of neighbouring and distant lands and by defeat-

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ing the rulers of those places were trying to bring them under their own vassalage. During the latter half of the sixth century A.D. we find the kings of these various dynasties entering into battle against each other. King Kumāragupta of the Later Gupta family fought a battle against the Maukhari king Īśānavarman whose army he completely routed. A little later his son, Dāmodaragupta, also had to fight against a Maukhari ruler, but he died in the battle-field. Still later, we find another conflict between Mahāsenagupta (son of Dāmodaragupta) of Magadha and a Kāmarūpa king named Susthitavaman (father of Bhāskaravarman) in which the latter sustained a heavy defeat. We also know from the famous Apshad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena that this Mahāsenagupta's son, Mādhavagupta, made an alliance with Harṣavardhana of Thaneswar, probably to fortify himself against his Kāmarūpa and other eastern enemies. It appears very plausible that since the time when Īśānavarman during a clash with Kumāragupta of Magadha had proceeded, as we learn from the Haraha inscription of this king dated 554 A.D., up to North Bengal (Gauḍa proper) and compelled the Gauḍa people to be driven towards the sea wiping off the future hope regarding their landed properties (*"Kṛtvā cāyatimocitāsthalabhuvo Gauḍān samudrāśṛtān"*). The Bengali people had lost their previous hold in North Bengal where the Bengal Kings reigning in the latter part of the sixth century did not wield much political influence. All kingly influence that we also find to have ever been exercised by *Mahārājādhirājas* Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva was confined mostly in East, South and Central parts of Bengal (i.e. in Samataṭa, Karṇasuvarṇa, etc.) and not so much in North Bengal (Gauḍa or Puṇḍravardhana). It was at a time when a race was thus being run amongst the chief ruling houses in Northern and Eastern Indian provinces for supremacy and aggrandizement of power for achieving paramount suzerainty that Śaśāṅka, mentioned by Yuan Chwang as the king of Karṇasuvarṇa in Eastern India, extended his political jurisdiction by occupying Gauḍa (North Bengal) and later assumed the lofty title of *Gauḍādhipa*. The *Harṣacarita* tells us that during this time (about the last quarter of the sixth century A.D.) Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar also made extensive conquests in all directions by fighting successfully against the Hūṇas

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and also the kings of Sindhu, Gurjara, Gāndhāra, Lāṭa and Mālava. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us that Prabhākara once entrusted upon his eldest son, the Crown-prince Rājyavardhana, then 18 years old, the leading of an expedition, in the company of his hereditary ministers and loyal feudatories, against the Hūṇas. In describing the setting of the sun and the rising of the moon on that terrible day on which, on arrival at the royal court, Rājya met his younger brother Harṣa, then aged only about 15 years, and learnt of the untimely death of the monarch and their mother, Bāṇa makes an allusion to the gradual rise into eminence of king Śaśāṅka's *maṇḍala* (or circle of political jurisdiction). Nowhere in the whole of this book has Bāṇa made a clear mention of the name of the Gauḍādhipa who was an inveterate enemy of his patron king's family, except in the following sentence where, like the rise of the moon, the rise into political prominence of Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, has been expressed, though in a veiled manner, by a few words involved in puns. The passage runs thus:—

प्रकटकलङ्कमुदयमानम् ... ... अकाशताकाशे शशाङ्कमण्डलम् (chap. vi).

The rising political circle or sphere of king Śaśāṅka was attaining prominence in the political horizon of India, but with its infamy manifested before the world. There is sly hint in many passages of the *Harṣacarita* that the political power of this Bengal king could not be steady as he could not attain greatness because of his mean character and cowardice. Bāṇa emphatically but in a covert way gives the cause of the unsteady nature of Śaśāṅka's royalty which, according to him, was not to last in its perfect fullness for more than two days, like the beauty of the Śaśāṅka (moon) of the sky. He says:—

"कातरस्य तु शशिन इव हरिणहृदयस्य पाण्डरपृष्ठस्य कुतो द्विरात्रमपि निश्चला लक्ष्मीः"

(chap. vi).

So Śaśāṅka is here described as possessing as timid a heart as that of a deer and in also being insincere, though outwardly honest and pure.

Family of Śaśāṅka

Who was this Gauḍādhipa Śaśāṅka is a puzzling question to historians. Yuan Chwang has named the king of Karṇasuvarṇa (described

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as "recent") as Śaśāṅka. A commentator of the *Harṣacarita* has also named the Gauḍādhipa by the same name but the late Dr. Bühler mentioned (in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 1, p. 70) that in one manuscript of the *Harṣacarita* the name of the Gauḍa king is stated as Narendragupta. Fitz-Edward Hall expressed his opinion that the king was a descendant of the Gupta family (Imperial, or of the Later Guptas of Magadha not ofcourse mentioned). One of the three gold coins (the second one, the first being undoubtedly of Śaśāṅka) discovered in 1852 along with several others belonging to some of the Imperial Gupta rulers in a village in the district of Jessore, bears the legend Narendravinata inscribed on its reverse side. According to Allan, this coin belongs to Śaśāṅka. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali reads on the obverse of this coin the name, Samācāradeva, on the strength of which as well as the bull-emblem used therein, he feels inclined to connect Śaśāṅka with the family of Samācāradeva of East Bengal. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee, however, tried to prove with somewhat greater force of argument based on numismatic evidence that Śaśāṅka's second name was Narendragupta and he thought that he was probably either a son or nephew (brother's son) of king Mahāsenagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee went a step further and accounted for Śaśāṅka's combination against Rājya with the king of Mālava by saying that he had blood-relationship with the latter, both being of the Gupta lineage. The late Mr. Banerjee also referred to the opinion of some numismatist who held that the inscription on the alleged Śaśāṅka coins reads *Narendrāditya* and he inferred, with some degree of probability, that Śaśāṅka, like the former Imperial Gupta rulers, enjoyed a second name with an *āditya* title. I have in this connection to offer a suggestion as to whether the compound word "*durṇarendrābhibhavaroṣitaḥ*" meaning "enraged by the humiliation offered by that wicked Narendra", used by Bāṇa as an adjective to Harṣavardhana, refers under the garb of a pun to Śaśāṅka. The allusion involved in the epithet had been used by the poet when he described Harṣa as having flown into terrific rage on hearing of the treacherous murder of his elder brother, Rājyavardhana, by the Gauḍ king. He compares Harṣa with a snake (*āśīviṣaḥ*) who is also "*durṇarendrābhibhavaroṣitaḥ*" i.e. whose anger has been excited

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by the repulse of a snake charmer *Narendra*. In case of Harṣa the word Narendra may mean either simply a 'king' or 'a person of that name', but it refers in either case to King Śaśāṅka. It will not be out of place here if I try to connect Śaśāṅka with another king of Karṇasuvarṇa, named Jayanāga, one of whose copper-plate inscriptions was published by Dr. Barnet in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. xxvii, p. 60 ff.). In that epigraph written in characters of the well-formed upright Gupta type prevailing in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. the king is described as possessing the epithets *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhāgavata*. The seal of this plate contains in an effaced condition the standing figure of Lakṣmī or Śrī with two elephants making *Kumbhābhiṣeka*. As Dr. Barnett remarks, we know nothing of any king of the name of Jayanāga from other sources. But in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* we find a clear mention not only of a Gauḍa king of the name of Jayanāga ruling at such a time but also the name of a city called Udumbara (*māgadhāṃ janapadāṃ prāpya pure udumbarāhvaye*) probably wrongly located here in Magadha (some portion of which might have also been included in the Gauḍa kingdom) which is mentioned in this copper-plate grant as being the name of *Viṣaya* of which the administrator was Jayanāga's Sāmanta called Nārāyaṇabhadra. A verse in this book runs thus:—

नागराजसमाह्वयो गौड़राजा भविष्यति।
अन्ते तस्य नृपे तिष्ठं जयाद्यावर्णतद्विशौ॥

The author, as it appears from the loose Sanskrit of the book, means to declare in the usual prophetic strain that there will become a Gauḍa king whose name will commence with the syllables "Jaya" and end in "Nāga". It is clear then that Jayanāga who is referred to in the above inscription as staying in Karṇasuvarṇa is described as a Gauḍa king in this Buddhist treatise, just as Śaśāṅka is mentioned by the Chinese traveller as king of Karṇasuvarṇa, but at the same time described both by Bāṇa and the author of this Buddhist work as king of Gauḍa. We may now plausibly connect the coins (as has been suggested to Dr. Barnett by Mr. Allan) which resemble to a very great extent those of Śaśāṅka but which bear the abbreviated name Jaya on the obverse and a seated Lakṣmī with an elephant sprinkling water on her on the

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reverse, as belonging to king Jayanāga of this inscription and the Buddhist work. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* makes Jayanāga almost a successor of Śaśāṅka, but in our opinion he and his son (stated to have reigned only for a few months only) *preceded* Śaśāṅka as kings of Karṇasuvarṇa at a time when Prabhākaravardhana or his father Ādityavardhana was ruling as a king of Thaneswar. The Maukhari king Īśānavarman probably drove the Gauḍa people towards the sea-side during Jayanāga's reign. It cannot be stated definitely that Śaśāṅka could not have any blood-relationship with this Jayanāga of Bengal and used only an *āditya* title, *viz.*, *Narendrāditya* in the manner of the ancient Imperial Gupta monarchs. But this can only be more positively proved to be a historical fact by further discoveries, for which we must have to wait. Śaśāṅka might have been a Gupta or a Nāga, or neither of the two.

Extent of his domain

Let us now examine as to how far Śaśāṅka succeeded in extending the sphere of his political influence. Though he had his first administrative centre established in Karṇasuvarṇa (Rāṅgāmāṭī near Berhampur) he gradually extended his power by occupation of Gauḍa (or Puṇḍravardhana) in the North, and some places in South Bihar e.g. Gaya, Rohistāśvagiri (or Rhotas hill) even up to Benares in the West, and the whole country, in the South, up to Koṅgoda province situated in the modern Ganjam district, South of Orissa. But we must remember that at first Śaśāṅka was a feudal chief or a local independent ruler, having had the use of the title *Mahāsāmanta* only (used by smaller kings in place of the title *Mahārāja*) as is evidenced by the inscription cut in reverse found at the hill-fort of Rohtasgaḍh in the Shahabad district. It is a stone-mould or matrix for casting copper-seals in relief meant to be attached to copper-plate charters. It bears the inscription *Śrī mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅkadevasya*, the letters belonging to the 6th-7th century A.D. We are also told by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* that the heroic king Soma (i.e. Śaśāṅka) will rule over the Gangetic valley up to Benares. This extension of his dominion and influence must have taken place before he came into conflict with king Harṣa. Within about a decade from this conflict, that is, in Gupta era 300, i.e., in 619

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A.D. we find Śaśāṅka a powerful monarch enjoying an imperial rank having feudal rulers acknowledging his suzerain authority. For, we learn from the Ganjam copper-plate of *Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja II of the Śīlodbhavakula granting a village to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in 619 A.D. (the charter having been issued from the seat of the provincial government in Koṅgoda on the river Sālimā) that he was the provincial ruler in that region under the suzerainty of *Mahārājādhirāja* Śaśāṅka, who was then ruling "on the earth encircled by the girdle of waves of the four oceans and containing islands, towns and ports".[1]

So we see that Śaśāṅka was wielding great power as Gauḍādhipa with the epithet Mahārājādhirāja, at least, up to the year 619 A.D.

Whether and how was Rājyavardhana murdered?

In his glorious days Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar was able to keep the king of Mālava (probably Devagupta and not Śīlāditya of West Mālava as suggested by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee) in check, and on one occassion compelled him to give his two sons, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta as companions of Rājya and Harṣa, their other intimate companion being their maternal uncle's son, Bhaṇḍi. Owing to Prabhākara's great political power, the Maukharis remained somewhat in submission to him for, we find him giving his daughter Rājyaśrī, in marriage with Avantivarman's son, king Grahavarman, then ruling in Kuśasthala or Kānyakubja (Kanauj). But it appears that the Mālava king was not very obliging to Prabhākara and that he always harboured a spirit of rebellion. When Prabhākara died of fever and the news reached the ears of Śaśāṅka, he became anxious to enter into an alliance with the king of Mālava for overthrowing the kingdom of Thanesvar and become, if possible, the emperor of Uttarāpatha (Northern India). As soon as the news[2] of Prabhākara's death was spread, the Mālava king

1 चतुरुदधिसलिल-वीचीमेखलानिलीनायां सद्वीप-नगर-पत्तनवत्यां वसुन्धरायां गौप्ताब्दे वर्षशतत्रये वर्त्तमाने महाराजाधिराज-श्रीशशाङ्कराजे शासति—*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vi.

2 यस्मिन्नहनि अवनिपतिरुपरत इत्यभूद्वार्त्ता तस्मिन्नेव देवो ग्रहवर्म्मा दुरात्मना मालवराजेन जीवलोकमात्मनः सुकृतेन सह त्याजितः। भर्त्तृदारिकाऽपि राज्यश्रीः कालायसनिगड़-चुम्बित-चरणा चौराङ्गनाइव संयता कान्यकुब्जे कारायां निक्षिप्ता—हर्षचरित, chap. vi.

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proceeded towards Kanauj and killed its king Grahavarman and threw his wife, Rājyaśrī into dungeon, with iron fetters on her feet like a brigand's wife? Bāṇa further states that it is said that the Mālava king was planning an attack on Thanesvar also, for he thought that Prabhākara's demise had left the army of Thanesvar without a leader. On hearing of the disaster befalling his sister Rājyavardhana placed Harṣa in charge of the administration of the kingdom and himself started, taking only Bhaṇḍi with him and a troop of ten thousand cavalry to give battle to the Mālava king. Long after, a cavalry officer delivered to Harṣa the message of the murder of his brother by the king of Gauḍa, who was no other than our Śaśāṅka.[3]

Murder of Rājyavardhana

This messenger told Harṣa that his brother (Rājyavardhana) subdued easily the army of the Mālava king and that his trust was increased by a show of false civilities. Then unarmed he approached his enemy, alone, but was slain by the king of Gauḍa in his own residence (camp). We shall now examine whether Śaśāṅka did really assassinate Rājyavardhana 'treacherously'. Bāṇa has very cleverly evaded giving a clear account of the reason for Rājya's acceptance of an invitation for going to the camp of such a powerful adversary as Śaśāṅka. It has been stated before that the Bengal king combined with the Mālava king after Prabhākara's death, and the first fruit of this political alliance was the death of Grahavarman caused by the Mālava king. It is more likely that the alliance of these two kings (of Gauḍa and Mālava) took place after the death of Grahavarman. After this, Rājya and Bhaṇḍi marched against the Mālava king, defeating and capturing the latter. It is not clear from Bāṇa's description whether the Mālava king was killed by them in action. On the presumption that the Mālava king's alliance with Śaśāṅka took place after the death of Grahavarman, it may be suggested that the Bengal king, after such an alliance, left Bengal and laid a seize upon the Maukhari capital, Kanauj, and in that

3 तस्माच्च हेलानिर्जितमालवानीकमपि गौडाधिपेन मिथ्योपचारोपचितविश्वासं मुक्तशस्त्रमेकाकिनं विश्रब्धं स्वभवन एव भ्रातरं व्यापादितमश्रौषीत्—हर्षचरित, chap. vi.

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connection committed the most foul murder of Grahavarman's brother-in-law, king Rājyavardhana, who had only recently succeeded to the throne of Thanesvar and was thinking of the prospects of annexing more dominions to his already extensive hereditary kingdom. It seems that this murder of Rājya took place in or near Kanauj. Bāṇa says that a raid was made by the Gauḍa king and his followers on Kuśasthala or Kanauj. At this time Rājyaśrī, who had been kept enchained in the jail of her own capital by the Mālava king, was rescued by a Gupta nobleman who seems to have been a kind-hearted person although a partisan of the Mālava or the Gauḍa king. It may be that this Gupta *kulaputra* was a friend of the Maukhari family. After her release Rājyaśrī heard of her brother's murder and then fled away towards the Vindhya forests. The Mālava king occupied the town of Kanauj after killing Grahavarman and kept close vigilance on the ex-queen, but he was made to leave the city by the arms of Rājya and Bhaṇḍi. In the meantime, Śaśāṅka proceeded towards Kanauj either to join the Mālava king on the way, or to wrest the kingdom from the hands of Rājya who was now in charge of his sister's kingdom. We have remarked before that Bāṇabhaṭṭa did not clearly state as to how Rājya accepted the invitation of Śaśāṅka for coming over to his camp. It is quite clear from Bāṇa's record that Bhaṇḍi was not with Rājya when the latter was invited by Śaśāṅka. At that time Bhaṇḍi was sent back by Rājya[4] to Thanesvar with all the booty including the whole force and royal equipage of the Mālava king. Bhaṇḍi on being asked by Harṣa[5] related later on that he had only heard from the people that Rājyaśrī being res-

4 पश्यतु देवः श्रीराज्यवर्द्धनभुजवलार्जितं साधनं सपरिवर्हं मालवराजस्य—हर्षचरित, chap. vii.

5 समतिक्रान्ते च कियत्यपि काले भ्रातृमरणवृत्तान्तमप्राक्षीत्। अथाकथयच्च यथावृत्तं भण्डिः। अथ नरपतिः तमुवाच—"राज्यश्रीव्यतिकरः कः।" स पुनरवादीत् "देवभूयं गते देवे राज्यवर्द्धने गुप्तनाम्ना च गृहीते कुशस्थले देवी राज्यश्रीः परिभ्रश्य बन्धनात् विन्ध्याटवीं समरिवारा प्रविष्टा इति लोकतो वार्त्तामश्रुणवम्। अन्वेष्टारस्तु तां प्रति प्रभूताः प्रहिता जना नाद्यापि निवर्त्तन्ते" इति। तच्चाकर्ण्य भूपतिरब्रवीत्—"किमन्यैः अनुपदिभिः, यत्र सा तत्र परित्यक्तान्यकृत्यः स्वयमहं यास्यामि। भवानपि कटकमादाय प्रवर्त्तां गौडाभिमुखं" इत्युक्त्वा च उत्थाय स्नानभुवमगात्।"—हर्षचरित, chap. vii.

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cued fled towards the Vindhya forest. Elsewhere also[6] it is narrated that during the raid by the Gauḍa king either on Kanauj or on a kingdom near about it, she was rescued by a nobleman named Gupta. We agree with Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda in the view that Rājya at first defeated the Mālava king and then sent back his cousin Bhaṇḍi to Thanesvar, and then marched towards Kanauj to effect release of his sister. But we cannot accept the Rai Bahadur's views, which have been supported by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, that Rājyavardhana was possibly "defeated in a fair fight" and subseqently killed by Śaśāṅka while in a captive state. Had it been a case of death in fair fight, Harṣa probably would not have at this tender age started on an expensive and elaborate expedition against Śaśāṅka. He undoubtedly obtained ready help from his vassals and other independent rulers because of his appeal to them in the name of the treachery committed by the Bengal king. There was no record of any fight fought between Rājya and Śaśāṅka and it may be presumed that after Mālava king's defeat by the enormous army of Rājya, Śaśāṅka did not consider it expedient even to enter into an open fight. Both these writers are reluctant to hold the view that there was at all any treachery played by Śaśāṅka in killing Rājyavardhana, inspite of the clear accounts of both Bāṇa and Yuan Chwang. Dr. Majumdar remarks that we should "revise the opinion about Śaśāṅka as handed down by the historians". The spirit of Bāṇa's work is to give vent to his patron king Harṣa's as well as his own wrath against Śaśāṅka for his foul action. It is only on account of his treachery that Bāṇa gives him the contemptuous epithets like *Gauḍādhama* and *Gauḍabhujaṅga*. Mr. Chanda and Dr. Majumdar think that it was not possible for Rājya to have entered his enemy's camp with his weapons laid aside (*muktaśastra*). Let us in this connection refer to a very significant passage in the *Harṣacarita* in which Harṣa declares that none but that Gauḍa king, who was a designer of black courses (*kṛṣṇavartma-*

6 भुक्तवांश्च बन्धनात् प्रभृति विस्तरतः स्वसुः कान्यकुब्जात् गौड़संभ्रमे गुप्तितो गुप्तनाम्ना कुलपुत्रेण निष्कासनं, निर्गतायाश्च राज्यवर्द्धनमरणश्रवणं, श्रुत्वा च आहारनिराकरणं, अनाहारपरिहितायाश्च विन्ध्याटवीपर्य्यटनखेदं, जातनिर्व्वेदायाः पावकप्रवेशोपक्रमणं यावत् सर्व्वमश्रणोत् व्यतिकरं परिजनतः—हर्षचरित, chap. vii.

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prasūtiḥ) could lay low such a king with past records of undissembling heroism to his credit, when he was unarmed. The passage runs thus:—

गौडाधिपमपहाय कः तादृशं महापुरुषं ततूक्षणेष्व निर्व्याजभुजनिर्जितसमस्तराजकं मुक्तशस्त्रं कलसयोनिरिव कृष्णवर्त्मप्रसूतिः ईदृशेन सर्व्वलोकविगर्हितेन मृत्युना शमयेदार्य्यम्—हर्षचरित, chap. vi.

Was it a treacherous murder by Śaśāṅka?

From the statements of Bāṇa we find that neither Harṣa nor Bhaṇḍi knew clearly about the allurement offered by Śaśāṅka to Rājya. Bāṇa in his book collects a series of historical and other traditional instances of political murders brought about by enemies by taking advantage of the foolishness or inadvertence on the part of murdered kings. These illustrations were placed before king Harṣa through one of his trusted and able officers named Skandagupta, for his careful consideration on the eve of his preparation for an expedition against Śaśāṅka. He was specially requested "to dismiss universal confidingness", so agreeable to the habits of the people of Thanesvar and springing from their innate frankness of spirit.

तदियं आत्मदेशाचारोचिता स्वभावसरलहृदयजा त्यज्यतां सर्व्वविश्वासिता—हर्षचरित, ch. vi

He cites these cases as "disasters due to carelessness" and lays special stress upon "the blunders of heedless men on account of women". He would not have invited the pointed attention of Harṣa to them unless it was a fact that Bāṇa was conscious of the affair that Rājya's own death must have been due to a cause which involved his heedless action concerning some woman? An old commentator of the *Harṣacarita* (Śaṅkara by name) while explaining the two introductory verses of the sixth chapter names the murderer of Rājya as Śaśāṅka who, he says, enticed the Vardhana king through a spy by the offer of his daughter's hand. He adds that while the unlucky king with his retinue was participating in a dinner[7] in his enemy's camp, he was liked by the Gauḍa

7 The commentator says—"**अनेनोच्छ्वासार्थः संगृहीतः। तथाहि कृतोऽन्तो विनाशो येन स शशाङ्कनामा गौडाधिपतिः। शूराणां राज्यवर्द्धनानुचराणां ततूसहितानां संग्रहमकरोत्। .....तथाहि तेन शशाङ्केन विश्वासार्थं दूतमुखेन कन्याप्रदानमुक्त्वा प्रलोभितो राज्यवर्द्धनः स्वगेहे सानुचरो भुञ्जमान एव छद्मना व्यापादितः।**"

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king in disguise. The famous verse in Harṣa's own royal grants (the Banskhera and Madhuvana copper-plates issued in the 20th regnal year i.e. in 626 A.D.) states that Rājyavardhana after having defeated his enemies and made Devagupta and others captive gave up his own life in his enemy's camp where he went to keep his word of honour. It is quite plausible that during a period of truce the offer of the hand of his daughter to Rājyavardhana was made by Śaśāṅka and lest Rājyavardhana's heedless compliance with such an invitation sent through a messenger should be considered as a reflection on the reputation of the king, Bāṇa refrained from giving full details of this incident in his book. But the poet did not fail to remind Harṣa that his elder brother acted foolishly in placing confidence on the false courtesies of Śaśāṅka. The Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang, has also narrated that Rājyavardhana "soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka, the wicked king of Karṇasuvarṇa in East India, a persecutor of Buddhism". So there ought not to remain any doubt about Bāṇa's statement that Śaśāṅka, inspite of his greatness as a conqueror, adopted a very vile and treacherous method of killing Rājyavardhana We do not also feel inclined to support the view of Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda that the Gupta nobleman's rescue of Rājyaśrī from the prison was made at the instance of Śaśāṅka who, in his opinion, thereby showed a noble instinct of heart, so hard to expect during war time. We rather think that the Gupta nobleman belonged to a family which was friendly to the house of the Maukharis or the Vardhanas or to both. Even supposing he was a partisan of Śaśāṅka, he did this noble deed at his own instance and not at his king's bidding.

Harṣa's expedition against Śaśāṅka

Śaśāṅka could not succeed to the throne of Thanesvar and established his universal suzerainty in Kanauj. He had to remain very much afraid of an attack of his eastern kingdom by Harṣa, who on pressing requests from the state-ministers accepted the kingship after Rājya's death. Bent on avenging his brother's murder he started with a vast army against Śaśāṅka. He issued a proclamation through his Minister of Peace and War (*mahāsandhivigrahādhikṛta*) to all known kings that

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they should either surrender or give him battle. When the first day's march was over, Harṣa received an emissary from the court of Bhāskaravarman, king of Prāgjyotiṣa (or Kāmarūpa=Assam) who wanted to enter into an alliance with him, and sent him innumerable presents. Harṣa accepted this offer of friendship, and sent back the messenger with many presents in return. It was an alliance for their mutual good as they were neighbouring adversaries of their common enemy Śaśāṅka of Bengal. After Harṣa had marched for a few days, he met Bhaṇḍi who was returning with the booty obtained in his war against the Mālava king, and heard from him every thing about his brother's murder and Rājyaśrī's escape. The king requested Bhaṇḍi to proceed against the king of Bengal and himself entered into the Vindhya forests in search of his lost sister, whom he at last succeeded in discovering there. Harṣa rejoined his camp on the banks of the Ganges. Bāṇa abruptly closes his narrative here. From his account it is clear that Śaśāṅka withdrew towards his kingdom without any success at Kanauj, which Harṣa occupied and from where he administered the empire in company of his sister. Very probably, Harṣa removed his own capital from Thanesvar to Kanauj after his return from the first expedition against Śaśāṅka.

Results of the campaign

Now let us see what were the results of the elaborate military expedition of Harṣa against Gauḍa. Mr. R. D. Banerjee was of opinion that Bhāskaravarman joined Harṣa during the latter's march, because he was himself hostile to the king of Bengal, Śaśāṅka. From the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, we find that in this great campaign against king Śaśāṅka, Harṣa proceeded towards East India and reached the town of Puṇḍra and caused a great havoc amongst the Bengali people. Then this Buddhist treatise sums up the results of this war in the following lines:—

पराजयामास सोमाख्यं दुष्टकर्म्मानुचारिणम् ।
ततो निषिद्धः सोमाख्यो स्वदेशेनावतिष्ठतः ॥
निवर्त्तयामास हकाराख्यः म्लेच्छराज्येमपूजितः ।
तुष्टकर्म्मा हकाराख्यो नृपः श्रेयसा चार्थधर्म्मिणः ॥
स्वदेशेनैव प्रयातः यथेष्टगतिनापि वा ।

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The author here means to say that Harṣa defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka), the follower of wicked deeds who was forced to remain confined within his own kingdom and prevented him from moving further towards the west; and Harṣa himself, not being honoured with welcome in these eastern frontier countries returned leisurely to his own kingdom with the satisfaction that he had achieved victory. Dr. V. Smith's inference that Śaśāṅka "escaped with little loss" and that "his kingdom became subject to Harṣa at a later date" appears to be correct. Hence, there is no doubt that as the result of the first campaign Harṣa could not establish political supremacy over Gauḍa and Karṇasuvarṇa. It was, probably, after Śaśāṅka's death (which must have taken place sometime between 619 A.D. and 637 A.D.) Yuan Chwang travelled over Magadha and Karṇasuvarṇa. Hence, he referred to Śaśāṅka as a 'recent' king. Śaśāṅka enjoyed overlordship in eastern provinces up to the Ganjam district in the south-east, because in Kongoḍa the Mahāsāmanta Mādhavavarman was only a feudatory of his in 619 A.D.

Karṇasuvarṇa occupied by Bhāskaravarman of Assam

That Karṇasuvarṇa was occupied by King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, can be explained from the fact that the Assam king issued his royal charter (copper-plate grants discovered in Nidhanpur, Sylhet) from his victorious camp in Karṇasuvarṇa. We have shown elsewhere (*Dacca Review*, 1913) that "Harṣa, after taking possession of the kingdom of his brother's murderer from his own hands at some later date (during Śaśāṅka's life-time) or (after Śaśāṅka's death) from those of his unknown successor, might have made it over to Bhāskaravarman". If Harṣa had taken possession of Karṅasuvarṇa during Śaśāṅka's life-time, he must have done so by his second campaign with his ally Bhāskaravarman. Later on Śaśāṅka lost his overlordship in Kongoda, for the Chinese pilgrim says that Harṣa led an expedition in 643 A.D. against this country and succeeded in extending his own dominion up to that limit. Śaśāṅka's defeat is also indicated by the gold coins which were debased by a large mixture of silver. So with his lofty aspirations Śaśāṅka, achieved, in the beginning of his career, some success in establishing an extensive Gauḍa dominion, which lasted

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only for 17 years and a few months and days (according to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*). He passed away leaving probably no successor, his own kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa slipping into the hands of the neighbouring king of Assam. The latter's family could not retain it long, for we know how Bengal and Magadha gradually grew into a great empire under the Pāla kings about a century later. From Yuan Chwang's accounts we find that our modern Bengal Presidency was divided into a number of smaller states, *viz.*, Kājaṅgala, Puṇḍravardhan, Samataṭa, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa. The pilgrim does not mention the name of any king of these states, probably because all of them, except Karṇasuvarṇa, which was subject to the king of Assam, formed parts of the empire of Harṣavardhana.

Śaśāṅka, a persecutor of Buddhism

Let us now proceed to examine another allegation against the character of Śaśāṅka, *viz.*, that he was a persecutor of Buddhism. From the bull-emblem on his coins and Yuan Chwang's statements, it is clear that this Bengal king was a devotee of Śiva, as also was his Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* calls him *dvijāhvayaḥ*, i.e. Brāhmaṇic, meaning thereby that he was a follower of the Brāhmaṇic faith. Śaśāṅka had the ill repute of being a hater of Buddhism, almost bent on a total destruction of that faith in the places, where he went for victory. The Chinese traveller has said in one place of his accounts that king Harṣa got an oracle, as it were, from the image of a Bodhisattva to the effect that he should accept the sovereignty and "then raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karṇasuvarṇa". In another place he says that "at Kuśinagara he felt distressed because by Śaśāṅka's extermination of Buddhism, the groups of brethren were all broken up." It is also narrated by the pilgrim that "in *recent* times king Śaśāṅka having tried in vain to efface the foot-prints caused the stone to be thrown into the Ganges". This refers to the stone with Buddha's foot-prints at Pāṭaliputra.

The pilgrim further relates that at Bodh-Gayā "in *recent* times

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Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burnt what remained", and that the king had "the image (of Buddha) removed and replaced by one of Śiva". Because the pilgrim was himself a Buddhist, Messrs. Chanda and Banerjee could not fully rely on his statements. Mr. Chanda has also suggested that at the root of Śaśāṅka's ill-feeling towards the Buddhists was probably the fact that the Buddhists of these places in Magadha and elsewhere entered into some conspiracy with Harṣavardhana against him and he, therefore, wanted to punish them by such oppressive persecution. Otherwise, it is not quite possible to explain such persecution in the seventh century when followers of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism lived side by side in perfect peace and amity almost in all places in eastern India. The Chinese traveller refers to the existence of Buddhist monasteries side by side with Deva temples not only in Magadha and other parts of Bengal but also in Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of Śaśāṅka. The *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*[8] also states in a prophetic style: "The wicked person, who will be a heroic king in countries on the banks of the Ganges excepting Benares, will destroy beautiful images of the great teacher (Buddha). Relying on the heretics he will also cause to be burnt many a holy trace (or relic). Then this irascible, greedy, self- sufficient and ill-esteemed man will break down all monasteries, gardens and shrines and also the dwellings of the Nirgranthas on earth, and thus put an obstacle to their religious profession". We think that the author of this

8 "सोमाख्योपि ततो राजा एकवीरो भविष्यति।
गङ्गातीरपर्य्यन्तं वाराणस्यामतः परम्॥
नाशयिष्यति दुर्मेधः शास्तुर्बिम्बां मनोरमाम्।
जिनैस्तु कथितं पूर्व्वं धर्म्मसेतुमनल्पकम्॥
दाहापयति दुर्मेधः तीर्थिकस्य वचे रतः।
ततोऽसौ क्रुद्धलुब्धस्तु मिथ्यामानी ह्यसंमतः॥
विहारारामचैत्यांश्च निर्ग्रन्थां वसथां भुवि।
भेत्स्यते च तदा सर्व्वां वृत्तिरोधमकारक॥"

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, p. 634.

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Buddhist treatise, written approximately in the 12th century A.D.; could not have cherished any special ill-feeling against Śaśāṅka as has been ascribed by some scholars to Yuan Chwang and Bāṇabhaṭṭa. In our opinion, it will not be justifiable to exculpate Śaśāṅka from his cruel actions, although we may admire his great heroism, but his impolitic and impious actions, no persons much less the historians should support.

The social and economic condition

We shall now examine briefly the general social and economic condition of the Bengal people at the time of Śaśāṅka. The people of Bengal and other parts of eastern India lived both in villages and large towns. There were in the towns, large structures made of stone and brick with artistic ornamentations, rendered more beautiful by the images of gods, both Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇic, carved on them. In Bengal, there were both Buddhist monasteries and Brāhmaṇic Deva temples. The Buddhists in Bengal belonged to both the Hīnayāna (Sāmmitīya) and the Mahāyāna schools.

The north-western portion of Bengal, then known as Kajaṅgala (Rajmahal side) was low and moist, yielding good crops. The climate was warm. The people were straightforward and esteemed learning.

North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) had a flourishing population with "tanks, hospices and flowery groves". Jack-fruits were available in plenty. Besides the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas there lived in north Bengal many Digambara Nirgranthas (Jainas).[2] Belief in oracles was current.

Further east in Assam (Kāmarūpa) the same climatic condition prevailed and the people were honest, small in stature and black-looking. Their speech differed a little from that of Mid-India. Their disposition was violent, but they were persevering students and were believers only in Devas and not in Buddhism. There was not one Buddhist monastery in Assam; and those who were devoted to Buddhism had to perform their acts of devotion in secret. Even the

9 This is testified by some Jain relics discovered in North Bengal and deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

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reigning king Bhāskaravarman is described by the Chinese traveller as "a Brahmin by caste", hinting thereby that he was also a believer in Brāhmaṇism. Elephants of war were available in the south-west of Assam. On the western side of Karṇasuvarṇa also, i.e., in the woods of Campā (modern Bhagalpur) large wild elephants were found. Kongoḍa in south Orissa, "produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys".

East Bengal then called Samataṭa situated on the sea-side contained adherents of the Sthavira school of Buddhist monks and Digambara Nirgranthas and also followers of Devas. A place of trading and commercial importance of those days was the port-town of Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk) which stood on a bay. "Rare valuables" were collected here and as it was a trade-centre people of this place were generally prosperous. Farming in this part of Bengal was quite good, and fruits and flowers abounded; the climate was hot and the people were rude but courageous. As regards Śaśāṅka's own centre of administration in central Bengal, viz., the country of Karṇasuvarṇa, it is described as being "well-inhabited", full of rich people and having a temperate climate. The people were men "of good character" and "patrons of learning." The adherents of Buddhism belonged to the Sāmmitīya school; there were followers of various other religions with Deva temples in large number.

In three of the Buddhist monasteries of this part of Bengal, milk-products were not taken as food in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta. By the side of the capital city was the Lo-to-mo-ti (Raktamṛttikā-Rāṅgāmāṭī) monastery which was "a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious brethren".

The hilly country of Kongoḍa is described by the Chinese traveller as "bordering on a bay of the sea, with regular harvests and having a hot climate". The people here, are described as "tall and valorous and of a black complexion, having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful". There were in this country many towns, in which "there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy". "As the country was on the sea-side

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it contained many rare precious commodities" and the currency was "*cowries* and pearls". From this general survey we can say that the Bengali people and the neighbouring inhabitants of Assam and Orissa had a high standard of culture and civilisation in the seventh century A.D.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that when the Kāmarūpa rulers in the east, the Magadha kings in the middle and the Maukhari chiefs in the near west were measuring one another's military strength, there arose in the political firmament of Bengal a moon-like king (named Śaśāṅka) with some spot in his character, who aspired to outshine all of them, but who was ultimately forced to fade away in the glittering light of the sun-like Harṣavardhana who alone succeeded in establishing a very extensive North Indian empire, which unfortunately could not last longer than his own life, just as it was the case with Yaśodharman of Mālava a century before him.

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The Eastern Cālukyas

I

It is now generally admitted that the names Cālukya and Caulukya are synonymous and that the Cālukyas are a branch of the Gurjaras. Mr. J. Campbell[1] quotes a number of evidence from the traditions preserved by the Rajput bards in order to support the Gurjara origin of the Caulukyas. Dr. Bhandarkar, also a supporter of this theory, makes the following observations:[2] "It was evidently in the time of the Caulukya sovereigns that Gujarat came to be called after Gurjaras. The Dohad inscription[3] of the Caulukya Jayasiṃha, dated A.D. 1140, narrates that the king was a ruler of Gurjaramaṇḍala. It is therefore quite intelligible, that a portion of Lāṭa, when occupied by the Gurjaras, should be called Gurjaratrā after them. I say a portion of Lāṭa, because from the above it will be easily perceived that as the province held by the Gurjaras included Dholka, Kapaḍvang, Ahmedabad, Patan and Cambay. It did not extend to the south-west of Mahi. And quite in consonance with this view, we find Lāṭa mentioned in inscription during the Caulukya period side by side with such expressions Gurjaradeśa and so forth. It is thus clear that a portion of Lāṭa first came to be called after Gurjara when it came under the sway of the Caulukyas, conclusion is therefore irresistible that the Caulukyas were Gurjaras."

As a matter of fact there is no direct or indirect evidence to prove the Gurjara origin of the Caulukyas. The nature of the evidence, from which Mr. Campbell has drawn his conclusions, does not merit any serious consideration. Dr. Bhandarkar's observations, if examined with other evidences, which he had evidently missed to take into consideration, do not stand criticism. It is true that the territory known as Sārasvatamaṇḍala had assumed the name Gurjara since

1 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. IX, p. 485.

2 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXI, pp. 425 ff.

3 *IA.*, vol. XII, p. 59.

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century A.D.[4] Jinadattasuri's *Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka* mentions Anahillavāḍa (modern Patan in Gujarat) as the capital of Gurjaratrā when Durlabha was ruling there.[5] It is significant that as soon as Sārasvatamaṇḍala assumed the name Gurjara, the ancient Gurjaratrā in Eastern Rajputana gradually became less known as such, and was divided into small territories under various names as Medāpaṭa, Sapādalakṣa, etc. This suggests that a large number of Gurjara population migrated from the Eastern Rajputana in the 10th and 11th century A.D. to Sārasvatamaṇḍala, to which they gave a name after their own.

Quite contemporaneously with the Caulukya rule in Gujarat, another Caulukya family to which Bārapa and his successors belonged, governed the country of Lāṭa, independent of foreign control. Lāṭa retained its name as such till the 13th century A.D. If the Sārasvatamaṇḍala changed its name as Gurjara due to the establishment of the Caulukyas there, it is inexplicable why Lāṭa failed to follow the same course. Similarly the Deccan, Andhra and Kaliṅga where the Cālukyas had numerous settlements are not known to have ever borne a name having any reference to Gurjara.

While there is no evidence to prove the Gurjara origin of the Cālukyas on the one hand, we have on the other a record which negatives it. The Aihole inscription[6] of Pulikeśin of Badami, dated 634 A.D., narrates that the king belonged to the Cālukya family and glorifies him for defeating the Gurjaras. This carefully distinguishes Pulikeśin and his family from the Gurjaras. Under this circumstance, the Cālukyas cannot be regarded as to have belonged to the Gurjara tribe.

The Cālukyas established numerous settlements in different parts of India.

The Eastern Cālukyas were a collateral branch of the Western Cālukyas of Badami. They also, like the other mediæval dynasties of

4 *IA.*, vol. VI, p. 191; cf. *IA.*, vol. XII, p. 59.

5 *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXI, p. 426. 6 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 11.

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India, traced their descent from a mythical ruling family. The Cellur plates[7] of Vīracoḍa, dated about 1100 A.D., give the following information about their origin. The earliest personage of the family was Buddha. He was followed in succession by Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Puru, Janamejaya, Prācīśa, Sainyayāti, Hayapati, Sārvabhauma, Jayasena, Mahābhauma, Aiśānaka, Krodhānana, Devaki, Ṛbhuka, Ṛkṣaka, Mativara, Kātyāyana, Nīla, Duṣyanta, Bharata, Bhūmanyu, Hastin, Virocana, Ajamīḷha, Saṃvaraṇa, Sudhanvan, Parīkṣit, Bhīmasena, Pradipana, Saṃtanu, Vicitravīrya, Pāṇḍurāja, Pāṇḍavas, Abhimanyu, Parikṣit, Jnamejaya, Kṣemuka, Naravāhana, Satānika, Udayana. Udayana was followed by fifty-nine emperors on the throne of Ayodhyā. After their reign had elapsed, Vijayāditya, a king of this race, migrated to Dakṣiṇāpatha and invaded the kingdom of Trilocana-Pallava. But unfortunately, he fell fighting in the battle-field when his queen, who was then with child, accompanied by her family priest and the old ministers, fled to an Agrahāra called Muḍivemu. An ascetic named Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Somayājin gave the party adequate shelter where the queen gave birth to a son known as Viṣṇuvardhana. In that boy was infused the ambition of a great king who when grew up a man, established a sovereignty over the Deccan having defeated the Kaḍamba, Gaṅga and other princes. Son of this king was Vijayāditya. His son was Pulikeśivallabha whose son was Kīrtivarman. From Kīrtivarman was born, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty.

The first part of the above report can be dismissed as manifestly fabulous. The real history which deserves consideration begins from Viṣṇuvardhana. Pulikeśi, referred to above, was evidently the first great king of the Cālukya dynasty of Vātāpipura, the modern Badami, in the Bijapur District.[8] He was succeeded by his son Kīrtivarman in 562 A.D. Kīrtivarman fought with the Nalas, i.e., the people of the Nalavāḍi country in the direction of Bellary and Karnul, the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ, the Kāḍambas of Vanavāsī in North Kānārā, Kaliṅga,

7 Cellur plates of Vīra-Coḍa in *SII.*, vol. 1, pp. 49 ff.

8 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 8, V. 7.

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Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Dramila etc.[9] He married the sister of the Rājā Śrīvallabha Senānanda of the Sendraka family, who gave birth to three sons Pulikeśin II, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana and Jayasiṃhavarman.[10]

Kīrtivarman was succeeded by his younger brother Maṅgaleśa in 597-98 A.D. Maṅgaleśa was also a powerful king. He tried to secure the succession to the throne for his own son by superseding the claim of his nephew Pulikeśin II.[11] This led to the out-break of the civil war between him and the sons of Kīrtivarman, in which Maṅgaleśa lost his life (608 A.D.). No sooner Pulikeśi ascended the throne than he had to encounter another trouble. Taking advantage of the civil war Appāyika and Govinda invaded his kingdom to the north of the Bhaimarathi (Bhīmarathi). The Cālukya army, however, succeeded in repulsing that invading force.[12] Pulikeśi besieged Vanavāsī and Purī. and to his arms submitted the Gaṅgas, Alupas, Koṅkaṇas, Mauryas, Lāṭas, Mālavas, Gurjaras, and the king Harṣa.[13] All these successful enterprises made the Cālukya prince the master of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas with nine and ninety thousand villages,[14] attached to them. He then installed his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana as 'Yuvarāja', and made him the governor of a province in the neighbourhood of the modern Bhor State, in the Bombay presidency, probably to keep in check Appāyika and Govinda. The head-quarter of that province seems to have been at Kurumarathi which cannot be identified now.[15] An inscription[16] of the Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana was found at Satara, the chief town of the District of that name in the Bombay Presidency. It states that Viṣṇuvardhana-Viṣamasiddhi, while residing at Kurumarathi, on the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, granted the village Alandatīrtha, in the Śrīnilayabhoga, on the north of the agrahāra of Aṇopalli, and on the south bank of the Bhīmarathi, to the sons of Lakṣmaṇa-Svāmin. The record was written in the eighth

9 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, part II, p. 345.

10 *IA.*, vol XVII, p. 265.

11 *EI.*, vol. VI, pp. 8-9.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *EI.*, vol. VI, pp. 8-9.

14 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 10.

15 *IA.*, vol XIX, p. 310.

16 *Ibid.*

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year of the glorious Mahārāja who is to be identified with Pulikeśin II.[17] Mr. Fleet identifies Alandatīrtha with the modern Ālundah, five miles north-east of Bhor, the chief town of the Bhor State, and about thirty-five miles north of Satara.[18] Bhīmarathi is the modern river Bhīma on the north bank of which the battle between Pulikeśin and Appāyika and Govinda took place.[19] The date of the record corresponds to 616-17 A.D.

Pulikeśin, having settled his affairs in the north, turned his arms against the countries in the east. He marched into Kośala, the modern Raypur District, in the Central Provinces, and conquered it. His younger brother Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana was despatched eastward for further conquest.[20] Viṣṇuvardhana invaded Kaliṅga which fell to his arms. Kaliṅga was at that time the country bounded by Kongoḍa, the modern Ganjam District, in the Madras Presidency, on the north, and the river Godāvarī on the south.[21] Its capital was situated 1400-1500 li, that is, 233-250 miles to the south-west of Ganjam.[22] Mr. Cunningham suggests that this place might have been either Rājamahendrī on the Godāvarī or the Koriṅga on the sea-coast. Rājamahendrī was founded by the Cālukya Amma I (918-925 A.D.). Piṣṭapura, the modern Pithapur, in the Godāvarī District, was a place of great importance during that period, and had been enjoying pre-eminence since the 4th century A.D.[23] I think it was the capital of Kaliṅga during that period, and the description of the Chinese traveller in this connection does not militate against this assumption. Piṣṭapura possessed a strong fortress. Viṣṇuvardhana besieged it and easily brought it under his subjugation. He next marched southwards and ravaged the country around the Kuṇāla lake which Mr. Kielhorn rightly identifies with the modern Kolleru lake,

17 Cf. inscription of Maṅgi Yuvarāja, *IA.*, vol. XX, p. 106.

18 *Ibid*, p. 304. 19 *EI.*, vol, VI, p. 9.

20 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 258, 260.

21 Cunningham's *Geography* ed. by S. N. Mazumdar, p. 590; Watters *Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 198.

22 Cun., *Geo.*, p. 590; Julien's *Hiuen Tsang*, III, 92.

23 Cf. Ragholi Plates of Śakativarman, *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 3.

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situated between the Godāvarī and Kistnā.[24] The country between these two rivers was known as the Andhradeśa, the capital of which was Veṅgi. Veṅgi is identical with 'Viṅgila', as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.[25] It is the modern village of Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, seven miles north of Ellore, the chief town of the Ellore Taluka of the Godāvarī District, in the Madras Presidency, and about ten miles, to the north-west, from the Kolar or Kolleru lake. The Aihole inscription[26] of Pulikeśin, dated Ś. 556—634 A.D., states that "through the excellences of their householders prominent in the pursuit of three objects of life, and having broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the Kaliṅgas with the Kośalas, by His (Pulikeśī's) army were made to evince signs of fear. Hard pressed by Him, Piṣṭapura became a fortress not difficult of access; wonderful (to relate), the ways of the Kali age to Him were quite inaccessible! Ravaged by Him, the water of Kuṇāla coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen".[27] Pulikeśin's inscription, dated 629 A.D., gives us to understand that the above conquests were made by the Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana.[28] Both the countries of Andhra and Kaliṅga seem to have been under the suzerainty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, when Viṣṇuvardhana invaded them. Mādhavavarman I was the founder of this dynasty. His mother was a princess of the Vākāṭaka family.[29] Vākāṭakas were a powerful dynasty, who ruled over a territory which extended upto the

24 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 3. 25 Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 210.

26 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 11.

27 Gṛhiṇām sva—
sva-guṇais trivargga-tuṅgā vihit-ānyakṣitipālā-mānabhaṅgā(ḥ) abhavann upajāta -bhītiliṅgā yad-anīkena sa-Ko(sa) lāh Kaliṅgā(ḥ) II 23 Piṣṭaṃ Piṣṭapuraṃ yena -bhītiliṅgā yad-aṇīkena sa-Ko(sa)lāh Kaliṅgā(ḥ) II 26 Piṣṭaṃ Piṣṭapuram yena jātaṃ durggam adurggamañ citraṃ yasya kaler vṛttam jātaṃ durggama-durggamam II 27 Sannaddha-vāraṇa ghaṭāsthagit-āntarālam nān-āyudha-kṣata -nara-kṣataj-āṅgarāgam āsīj jalaṃ yad-avamardditam abhra-garbhṃ Kaunālaṃ ambaram iv o(j)ita sādhyarāgam II 28 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 3.

28 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 258, 260. 29 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 197.

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Narmadā on the north, Raypur in the Central Provinces on the east, the Bhīma on the south-west and Aparānta on the west.. Harisena, who ruled from about A.D. 475-500, is the last known Vākāṭaka king.[30] He conquered Kaliṅga and Andhra.[31] From about A.D. 300 to the middle of the 5th century the Śālaṅkāyanas held sway over the Andhra country.[32] They were overthrown by the Pallavas of Kāñci, who annexed that country into their dominion in the latter part of the 5th century A.D.[33] Harisena's adversary in the Andhra country must have been these Pallavas, who were completely ousted by him. After that glorious victory he handed over the thrones of Kaliṅga and Andhra to his relation Mādhavavarman I of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family. After all, no doubt can be entertained that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins held sway over Kaliṅga and Andhra in the 6th century A.D., i.e., in the period between the fall of the Pallavas and the rise of the Eastern Cālukyas in those countries. Mādhavavarman I was succeeded by Devavarman, Mādhavavarman II, Vikramendravarman I, and Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman. The last mentioned king issued grants of lands in the Vizagapatam District, in the Madras Presidency, which was within the ancient Kaliṅga.[34] He was succeeded by Vikramendravarman II, who issued grants from a place near Veṅgi, in the Andhradeśa.[35] Successors of Vikramendravarman II were Govindavarman, Mādhavavarman III and Mañcannabhaṭṭāraka. Mādhavavarman III granted lands in the Guddavāḍi Viṣaya to Śivaśarmā, son of Dāmaśarmā.[36] The Cālukya Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana's son Jayasiṃha (A.D. 633-663) also granted land in the Guddavāḍi Viṣaya to Rudraśarmā, son of Śivaśarmā and grandson of Dāmaśarmā.[37] There is no doubt that Śivaśarmā mentioned in Jayasiṃha's grant is identical with that in Mādhavavarman III's

30 *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 328. 31 *ASWI.*, vol. IV, pp. 53, 124, 129 (*Ajanta insc.*) *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 330.

32 *SE.*, 1925, p. 73; *Ancient History of the Deccan* by G. J. Dubreuil, translated into English by V.S.S. Diksitar.

33 *IA.*, vol. V, p. 154.

34 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 136. 35 *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 195.

36 *Jour. Andhra. Hist. R.S.*, vol. VI, p. 19.

37 *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 76.

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plate. This places Mādhavavarman III's reign in the latter part of the 6th and in the early years of the 7th century A.D. It is tolerably certain that Mañcannabhaṭṭāraka was the ruler of Andhra and Kaliṅga when Viṣṇuvardhana invaded those territories. After their defeat in the hand of the Cālukyas, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins lost their position as a ruling dynasty.

Now, Viṣṇuvardhana, who was the Governor of Mahārāṣṭra under his brother Pulikeśin, chose to establish a kingdom in those newly conquered provinces of Kaliṅga and Andhra for his own. He forthwith settled himself there, of course, with the consent of his dear elder brother Pulikeśin II, and administered the country as a subordinate of the Western Cālukyas of Badami. The Kopparam plates[38] of Pulikeśin II, dated 629-30 A.D., states that "Pṛthivīduvarāja having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked people of the Kali age, (and) which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son". It further tells us that Pulikeśin made Pṛthivīduvarāja the executor of the grant through which a village in the Karmarāṣṭra is given to a Brahmin. Karmarāṣṭra corresponds to the southern part of the Guntur District, Madras Presidency. 'Duvarāja' is a Dravidian 'tadbhava' of 'Yuvarāja'. In the Kasakudi plates 'tuvarāśān' corresponds to 'Yuvarāja' in the Sanskrit portion.[39] The Satara grant[40] of Viṣṇuvardhana I, dated 615-16 A.D., mentions him as Pṛthivīvallabha Viṣṇuvardhana Yuvarāja. It is known from other sources that Karmarāṣṭra formed a part of the kingdom of Viṣṇuvardhana about this time. Hence there cannot be any doubt that Pṛthivīduvarāja referred to above was identical as the Pṛthivīvallabha Viṣṇuvardhana Yuvarāja.

38 Vidi(taṃ astu Vallabha (bhe) Sama(kṣ)-āvasti(sthi) te vidhivi(va)t sa(ṃ)pradattā maruta (mathā) kali-kulanām aneka-saṃgrāma-sāhasa-dakṣeṇa sva-sut-ānvaye pratiṣṭā(sthā)pita-rājyasya pri(pṛ)thivīdu(yu)varājam etc. *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 259.

39 *SII.*, vol. II, No. 73, cf. lines 103 and 106; *EI.*, vol IV, p. 180, fn. 5.

40 *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 309.

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Viṣṇuvardhana obtained this new fortune in 615-16 A.D.[41]. He and his successors are known as the Eastern Cālukyas who ruled their kingdom for more than six centuries.

The territory over which the Eastern Cālukyas held sway, extended, in the flourishing period of their rule, up to Mahendragiri, in the Ganjam District on the east; the Bay of Bengal on the south; Manneru river, in the Nellore District on the west;[42] and the borders of the Nizam's State of Haiderabad, Bastar State, and the Central Provinces on the north. This comprised the southern part of the Ganjam District, the whole of Vizagapatam, Godāvarī, Kistnā, and Guntur Districts and part of the Nellore District, in the Madras Presidency. Madhyama Kaliṅga was the name of the territory which corresponds roughly to the modern Vizagapatam District.[43] The designation was probably given to this province in order to distinguish it from the south and north Kaliṅga which corresponded roughly to the modern Districts of Godāvarī and Ganjam respectively. These three divisions seem to have constituted the country known as Tri-Kaliṅga. The Kistnā District was known as Andhra. The capital of Andhra was Veṅgi which was also the name of the Maṇḍala, in which it was situated. The Eastern Cālukyas were generally designated as the rulers of Veṅgi. Sometimes the name Tri-Kaliṅga was added with the name Veṅgi.[44]

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41 *IA.*, vol. XX, p. 95.

42 Cālukya Rājarāja, the king of Veṅgi, who flourished in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. addressed his subjects who lived in the countries between the Manneru river and the Mahendra Mountain, while issuing a grant. (*EI.*, vol. VI. p. 342): Ma(nne)ti Mahendra-Madhyavarttino Rāṣṭrakūṭapramukhān Kuṭumbinas sarvāvan Samahaya mamtrīpurohita senāpati yuvarājadāuvarika pradhānasamakṣamitthamājñāpāyati) Manneti is the Telugu genitive of Manneru.

43 *EI.*, vol. VI, pp. 227, 358; *SE.*, 1918, p. 132; *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.

44 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 46.

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The Jaina School of Astronomy

Introduction

The Jaina astronomical treatises correspond in many respects to the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*, presumably the oldest specimen of Indian astronomical literature, and may, if minutely examined, yield valuable material for the general history of Indian ideas.[1] The *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*[2] is the name of certain works or classes of works. It mentions the place of the winter solstice at some ancient date, which gave rise to good deal of comment and speculation. According to its author, the cycle consisted of five years of 1830 apparent solar days. The year was tropical and began with the white half of the month of *Māgha* and terminated with the dark half of the month of *Pauṣa* (verse 5). The year which is the fifth part of the *yuga* contains three hundred and sixty-six days, six seasons, two *ayanas* (the northern and the southern progress of the sun), twelve solar months (verse 28); while the sun accomplishes five tropical revolutions, the moon does sixty-two synodical and sixty-seven periodical revolutions and the whole period comprises sixty-one *sāvana* months of 30 natural days each (verse 31); the *yuga* begins with the winter solstice and the new moon of *Māgha*, the new moon taking place in the first point of Śraviṣṭhā. This indicates that the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* was composed in the twelfth century B.C.,—a conclusion confirmed by the *Bodhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.

The object of the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, in the words of Max Müller, is not "to teach astronomy". It has a practical object which is to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the days and hours of the vedic sacrifices.[3] But the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* gave astronomy the highest place among the sciences forming the vedāṅga. In it *Jyotiṣa* has been defined as the science of calculation of time (*kāla-*

1 See Weber, *Indian Studies*, 1867, x, 254f.

2 The text is given in Thibaut's article on *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* (*JASB.*, 1877); *Yājuṣa Jyotiṣa* by Sudhākara Dvivedi and *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* by Lala Chote Lal.

3 Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*.

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vijñāna śāstra).[4] The culture of the various branches of knowledge grew up among the Hindus as a help-maid to the religion and was subsidiary to it. But later on, all the sciences outgrew their original purposes and were being cultivated for their own sake. A new orientation had indeed set in, in the later part of the vedic age. Among the various sciences and arts[5] studied by Nārada, astronomy (*nakṣatra-vidyā*) has been mentioned. Nārada is not known to have ever led a worldly life. He was from childhood an earnest seeker of the supreme knowledge, the science of all sciences. Therefore, whatever Nārada learnt, was with a view to reach his great goal. He learnt astronomy for the same. In ancient India, the culture of the science of astronomy or of any other branch of secular science, was not considered to be a hindrance to the attainment of spiritual knowledge. In the vedic literature, the astronomer is known as the *nakṣatra-darśa* (the star-gazer) or *gaṇaka*.[6] The term *nakṣatra-darśa* sometimes refers to the astrologer. In the Buddhist literature the word *nakṣatra-pāṭhaka* (reader of stars) means the astrologer.[7]

In the wake of *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* came the astronomy of the Jainas. The Jaina astronomical treatises, however, contain some strange cosmography. In them as in the Purāṇas, Mount Meru is placed at the centre of the earth, and round Meru are seven concentric annuli. Of these, the innermost, Jambūdvīpa, is divided into four quarters, of which the southernmost is Bhāratavarṣa; the heavenly bodies move parallel to the surface of the earth, with the centres of their orbits at Meru, which intercepts their light. This scheme presents certain difficulties in explaining the alternation of day and night; these difficulties the Jainas tried to overcome by the assumption of two similar but opposite suns, two moons, two sets of stars, etc. By these the system of the Jainas could easily be distinguished from similar other Indian systems. It is referred to and controverted in the *Siddhāntas*. The early Christian writers exhibit also similar absurd cosmological notions. Aetius writes: "Xenophanes says there are many suns and moons according

4 *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*, verse 3.

5 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vii, 1, 2, 3, 4.

6 *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā*, xxx, 10, 20; *Taittirīya Br.*, iv, 5.

7 *Mahāniddesa*, p. 382.

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to the regions, divisions and zones of the earth";[8] while Aristotle says "Many of the ancient meteorologists were persuaded that the sun is not carried under the earth, but round the earth, and in particular our northern portion of it, and that it disappears and produces night because the earth is lofty towards the north."[9] Lack of reasoning is met with in the infancy of every science; otherwise a man like Aristotle would not have said "the motions of the heavens is towards the right, because this is the more honourable direction."

The world, which, according to the Jainas, exists eternally is figured by them as a spindle resting on half of another; or, as they describe it, three cups, of which the lowest is inverted; and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one. They also represent the world by a woman with her arms akimbo.[10] Her waist, or according to the description first given, the meeting of the lower cups is the earth. The spindle above, corresponding to the superior portion of the woman's person, is the abode of the gods; and the inferior part of the figure comprehends the infernal regions. The earth which they suppose to be a flat surface, is bounded by a circle of which the diameter is one *raju*. The lower spindle comprises seven tiers of inferior earths or hells, at the distance of one *raju* from each other, and its base is measured by seven *rajus*. These seven hells are *Ratna-prabhā*, *Sarkara-prabhā*, *Bālukā-prabhā*, *Paṅka-prabhā*, *Dhūma-prabhā*, *Tama-prabhā*, *Tama-tama-prabhā*.[11] The upper spindle is also seven *rajus* high; and its greatest breadth is five *rajus*. Its summit, which is 4,500,000 *yojanas* wide, is the abode of the deified saints; beneath that are five *Vimānas*, or abodes of gods; of which the central one is named *Sarvārtha-siddha*, it is encompassed by the regions *Aparājita*, *Jayanta*, *Vaijayanta*, and *Vijaya*. Next at the distance of one *raju* from the summit follow nine tiers or worlds, representing a necklace (*graiveyaka*), and inhabited by gods, denominated, from their pretensions to supremacy, Ahamindra. These nine regions are *Āditya*, *Prītiṅkara*, *Somanasa*, *Sumanasa*,

8 Heath, *Greek Mathematics*, p. 56.

9 Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 41.

10 See the *Saṅgrahani-ratna* and *Lokānātha-sūtra*.

11 Some say *Tamaprabhā* and *Mahātamaprabhā*.

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Suviśāla, Sarvatobhadra, Manorama, Supravaddha and *Sudarśana*. Under these regions are twelve other regions, in eight tiers, from one to five *rajus* above the earth. They are filled up with vimānas, or abodes of various classes of gods, called by the general name of Kalpavāsis. These worlds, reckoning from that nearest the earth, are, Saudhama and Iśāna; Sanatkumāra and Mahendra; Brahmā; Lāntaka; Śukra; Sahasrāra; Ānata and Prāṇata; Āraṇa and Acyuta. Then, of the four classes of deities distinguished by the Jainas, the third, the Jyotiṣīs (or Jyotiṣkas) comprehends five orders of luminaries; suns, moons, planets, constellations, and stars.

The earth is conceived by the Jainas to consist of numerous distinct continents, in concentric circles, separated by seas forming rings between them. The first circle is called Jambūdvīpa, with the mountain Sudarśa Meru in the centre. It is encompassed by a ring containing the salt ocean, beyond which is the zone, named Dhātukī-dvīpa, similarly surrounded by a black ocean (*Kālodadhi*). This again is encircled by Puṣkara-dvīpa, of which only the first half is accessible to mankind, being separated from the remoter half by an impassable range of mountains, called Mānuṣottara-parvata. Dhātukī-dvīpa contains two mountains, similar to Sumeru, named Vijaṅga and Acala; and Puṣkara contains two others called Mandīrā and Vidyunmālī.[12]

Without any acquaintance with these notions of the Jainas, it is not possible to understand their conception of the setting and rising of stars and planets caused by the mountain Sumeru. The Jainas allot two suns, two moons, and two each of planets, stars and constellations, to Jambūdvīpa; and believe that they appear, on alternate days, south and north of Meru. They similarly allot twice that number to the salt ocean; six times to Dhātukīdvīpa; twenty-one times to the Kālodadhi and thirty-six times or seventy-two of each to Puṣkara-dvīpa.

Colebrooke collected this short account of the cosmological and astronomical system of the Jainas from various Jaina works and included it in his "Observations on the sect of the Jainas" (Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II). This account, though accurate as far as it goes, is very

12 Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. II, "Observations on the Jainas", pp. 198-200.

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insufficient for a complete knowledge of the astronomy of the Jainas, since it chiefly refers to the one doctrine of the Jainas only, which has at all times struck the readers as strange and absurd, viz., the assertion that there exists two suns, two moons and a double set of constellations.

The Jaina astronomy belongs to the 5th century B.C., an age when scientific knowledge was very rudimentary. Edward Biot, a French astronomer, drew attention to the striking resemblance which the Jaina cosmological and astronomical conceptions bear to those contained in an old Chinese work, *Tcheou-Pei*. He has published a complete translation of this work in the *Journal Asiatique* (1841, pp. 592-639). It consists of two parts, written at different periods; the second part, according to Biot cannot be later than the end of the second century of the Christian Era. It treats of a cosmological and astronomical system similar to the Jainas. According to the *Tcheou-Pei*, the sun describes during the course of the year a number of concentric circles of varying diameter round the pole of the sky. On the day of the Summer solstice the diameter of this circle is the smallest; it then increases during the following months, up to the day of the winter solstice when it reaches the maximum. Beginning from this day the diameter again decreases, until on the day of the next summer solstice it has reached the original minimum. Between the innermost and outermost circles there lie five other circles, which the sun describes in the months intervening between the two solstices, so that there are altogether seven circles; the six intervals between these are said to correspond to the months of the year ($2 \times 6 = 12$). So it appears that the *Tcheou-Pei* assumes separate solar circles for each month only, and not for each day. When the sun in his daily revolution has reached the extreme point, it is mid-day in the northern region and mid-night in the southern region; when he has reached the east point it is mid-day in the eastern, mid-night in the western region; when he has reached the south point, it is mid-day in the southern, mid-night in the northern region; when he has reached the west point, it is mid-day in the western, mid-night in the eastern region. The two systems may be compared thus: In the Jaina system the sun revolves round Meru while in the Chinese round polar circle; both the systems state the dimensions of the circle described by the sun; both hold the same opinion about the alternation of day and

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night in the different parts of the earth. But there are also important points in which the two systems differ. Therefore, the fact of the similarity of the two systems in certain points does not warrant us in drawing a historical connection between the two until and unless a solution of a number of cognate problems is made. It is sufficient to mention here that the mental tendencies of the ancient nations were almost similar in an early age, when all of them conceived plausible theories, in reality devoid of foundaton, by which they tried to account for puzzling phenomena. This accounts for the somewhat absurd notions of the Jaina system which, at an early period, made generalisations from all kinds of suppositions.

Place of Astronomy in Jainism

The religious literature of the Jainas is generally classified into four branches, one of which is *Gaṇitā-nuyoga* or the "exposition of the principles of mathematics." The knowledge of *Saṃkhyāna* (literally, "the science of numbers", meaning arithmetic) and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy) is one of the principal accomplishments of the Jaina priest.[13] It is laid down in the *Bṛhaspati smṛti*[14] that the king must show honour to astronomers before entering the court. In the Buddhist literature, aritmetic (*gaṇanā, saṃkhyāna*) is regarded as one of the noble arts[15] to be acquired by a young house-holder. But the Buddhist monks were advised to refrain from the study of astronomy.[16]

13 *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 90; *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra* xxv, 7, 8, 38. It is noteworthy that the knowledge of astronomy was considered necessary for the Jaina priest for exactly the same purpose as it was for the vedic priest, viz., to find the right time and place for the religious ceremonies. Thus it is observed by Śānticandra-gaṇa (1595 A.C.) in the preface to his commentary on the *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*: "Suddhagaṇita siddhe praśaste kāle gṛhītāni praśastaphalāni syuḥ, kālaścajyotiścārādhīnaḥ, sa ca jambūvīpādikṣetrā-dhinavyavastha stenāyaṃ kālāparaparyāyo gaṇitānuyogaḥ."

14 *Bṛhaspatismṛti*, i, 20.

15 *Vinayapiṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, vol. IV, p. 7; *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. 1, p. 85; *Cullanidāesa*, p. 109.

16 Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. II, pp. 20ff., where astronomy and astrology have been condemned as low arts (tiracchāna vijjā) so far as bhikṣus are concerned. He more specially condemned astrology (*Cullavagga*, v.

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The study of Mathematics and Astronomy was held by the Jainas in high esteem. The Jaina priest has to study astronomy for ascertaining the proper time and place for the religious ceremonies. Bhadrabāhu attributes to the founder of their religion a sound knowledge of the science of astronomy.[17] The author of the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* (i. 2) says that Mahāvīra was known to have been a great mathematician and astronomer. He was reputed to have written several works on mathematics and astronomy. All these show that the Jainas valued the culture of astronomy.

Sources

The only work on Jaina Astronomy available at present is the *Sūrya-prajñapti*. It is written in Jaina Prākṛt and divided into twenty books (prābhṛtas). Dr. Thibaut says that this book must have been written before the Greeks came to India, as there is no trace of Greek influence in this work. Its authorship is attributed to Mahāvīra. There are two other works on Jaina astronomy, viz., *Candraprajñapti* and *Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā* of Bhadrabāhu. That there were other works may be inferred from a few quotations made by Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhāskarācārya and others in course of their refutation of the Jaina theories.

In the 13th chapter of Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (sixth century A.C.) he refers to the Jaina astronomers in these words: "If according to the doctrine of the Arhats, there were two suns, and two moons rising by turn, how then is it that a mark made in the polar constellation by means of a line drawn from the sun revolves within one day?"[18] Brahmagupta (598 A.C.) refutes the theories of the Jainas once

33, 3 in the *Vinaya Texts*, Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. xx, p. 152). Later on he modified his opinion and made it a rule of conduct for the bhikṣus dwelling in the woods that they must learn elementary astronomy.

17 *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (c. 350 B.C.), English translation by Hermann Jacobi, ii, 10 (*SBE.*, vol. XXXII p. 221).

18 अर्हत्प्रोक्तेऽर्केन्दू द्वौ द्वावेकान्तरोदयौ किल तौ ।
यद्येवमर्कसूत्रात् किं ध्रुवच्छिद्रं भ्रमत्यह्ना ॥
पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका, १३ अः, ८ श्लोः ।

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in a verse in the Dūṣaṇa adhyāya of his *Sphuṭasiddhānta* thus:— 'There are fifty-four nakṣatras, two risings of the sun; this which has been taught by Jina is untrue, since the revolution of the polar fish takes place within one day.''[19] Śrīpatī (c. 1040 A.C.) speaks of the theories of the Jaina astronomers in these words:—"The Jainas assert that the earth is not fixed, but descends perpetually in space, there are two suns, two moons, two sets of stars and planets and the Meru is of pyramidial shape.''[20]

Bhāskarācārya also refuted this absurdity. His refutation was based on that of Brahmagupta. He said:—"The naked sectaries and the rest affirm that two suns, two moons and two sets of stars appear alternately; against them I allege this reasoning. How absurd is the notion which you have formed of duplicate suns, moons and stars, when you see the revolution of the polar fish. ''[21]

Bhāskara refutes also the other notion of the Jainas that the earth, being heavy and without support, must perpetually descend. In his *Siddhānta śiromaṇi*,[22] he says: "The earth stands firm by its own power without other support in space.'' (verse 2). "If there be a material support to the earth, and another upholder of that, and again another of this, and so on, there is no limit. If, finally, self-support must be assumed, why not assume it at the very beginning? Why not recognise it in this multiform earth?'' (verse 4).

"The earth possessing an attractive force (like loadstone for iron, says the commentator on Bhāskara), draws towards itself any heavy substance situated in the surrounding atmosphere and that substance appears

19 भानि चतुः पञ्चाशद् द्वौ द्वावेवोदयौ जिनोक्तं यत्।
ध्रुवमत्स्यस्यावर्त्तो भवति यतोऽह्ना ततस्तदसत्॥

20 अधः पतन्त्यः स्थितिरस्ति नोर्व्यां नभस्यनन्तेऽत्र वदन्ति जैनाः।
द्वौ द्वौ रवीन्दू द्विगुणां भसंस्थां चतुर्भुजस्तम्भनिभञ्च मेरुम्॥

21 Siddhānta śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya.

22 *Siddhānta śiromaṇi, Golādhāyāya*, Chapter III. Here we may mention that in the Purāṇas the serpent, Ananta, is supposed to be the supporter of this earth. This must be an allegory and means no doubt that the earth stands without support in space, as the meaning of 'Ananta' is also space.

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as if it fell. But where can the earth fall, in ethereal space which is the same and alike on all sides?"[23] (verse 6).

Such references from later astronomers like Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhāskara and others go to show that there were several Jaina astronomical works, which are not now available.

The *Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā* was written by Bhadrabāhu. According to the traditional calculation, the date of Bhadrabāhu's death is 170 A.V. (357 B.C.) i.e., 170 years after the death of Mahāvīra. According to Hemcandra (died 1172 A.D.), Mahāvīra died in 468 B.C., then the date of Bhadrabāhu's death falls in 298 B.C. Bhadrabāhu was a very prominent personage in the history of the Jaina religion and is reputed as the last of the Śrutakevalin, i.e., those who could produce from memory the whole of the voluminous canonical literature of the Jainas. He was the religious preceptor of Candragupta when the latter towards the close of his life became a Jaina Bhikṣu. Bhadrabāhu is known to be the author of two astronomical works: (1) a commentary on the *Sūrya-prajñapti*, and (2) an original work called the *Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā*. Neither of the work is available at present. The former has been mentioned by Malayagiri in the opening verses of his commentary on the *Sūryaprajñapti* and, in fact, he has quoted a few lines from that work.[24] Bühler is said to have found a work called

23 In chapter III of the *Golādhyāya*, reference has been made to a similar conception held by a Buddhist astronomer, who, on observation of the revolution of the stars, held that the earth had no support and that it fell in ethereal space. No work of any Buddhist astronomer is available and it is generally believed that in consequence of Buddha's forbidding the monks to use the astronomical science, as a means of livelihood or influence, possibly no Buddhist astronomical work was ever preserved. The passage runs thus: "Whence dost thou, O Bauddha, get this idle notion, that because any heavy substance thrown into the air falls to the earth, therefore, the earth itself descends?" (verse 9).

Bhāskara in his *Vāsanā Bhāṣya*, says further "For, if the earth were falling, an arrow shot into the air would not return to the earth when the projectile force was exhausted, since both would descend. Nor can it be said that it moves slower and is overtaken by the arrow, for heaviest bodies fall quickest and the earth is the heaviest."

24 Sūtra 11, commentary.

The commentary written by Bhadrabāhu on *Sūryaprajñapti* is believed to be the first commentary on the work.

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Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā,[25] but its authenticity has been doubted by modern scholars on the grounds that (1) it is of the same character as the other saṃhitās, (2) it has not been mentioned by Varāhamihira (505 A.C.) who has referred to many writers,[26] and (3) it contains the date of its last redaction, viz., 980 A.V. (=512 A.C.).[27] Certain passages from a work attributed to Bhadrabāhu have been quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.[28]

The famous Jaina saint and mathematician Bhadrabāhu first lived at Kusumapura (modern Patna) in Magadha; but about 155 A.V. (=313 B.C.), when a terrible famine lasting for twelve years devasted the realm of Magadha, Bhadrabāhu at the head of a section of the Jaina community emigrated to Southern India and settled near Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in Mysore.

Another Jaina astronomer of the name of Siddhasena has been referred to by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat saṃhitā*. Bhaṭṭotpala has quoted the corresponding passages from the work of Siddhasena. Therefore it must have been in existence at that time. It is now lost. The *Jambūdvīpa prajñapti*[29] (c. 500 B.C.) gives elaborate specifications of the dimensions of the different dvīpas or lands of the fantastic cosmography of the Jainas.

Our present knowledge of Jaina astronomy is derived chiefly from the *Sūryaprajñapti*, an important astronomical book of the Jainas. Though the treatment of the subject is not systematic and the text is full of tedious reiterations, it furnishes us with the details of the astronomical and cosmographical speculations of the Jainas.

25 *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1874-75, p. 20.

26 Vide a paper on 'The Jaina School of Mathematics,' by Dr. Bibhuti Bhushan Dutt, *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, vol. XXI, no. 2, 1929.

27 *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, edited by Jacobi, Leipzig, 1897, introduction, p. 14.

28 *Bṛhat saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala, edited by Sudhākara Dvivedi, p. 226. Jacobi in his preface to the translation of Kalpasūtra remarks that the *Bhadrabāhavī Saṃhitā* was a work on astrology.

29 *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* with the commentary of Śānticandra Gaṇi, edited by Āgamodayasamiti of Mehasana, 1918, sūtra, 10-12, 16.

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Topics discussed

The main topics discussed in the *Sūryaprajñapti* are the two suns, two moons, and two sets of constellations.

The theory of the two suns is thus explained: "There are two suns, Bhārata and Airāvata. They both move through half a diurnal circle in the course of 30 *muhūrtas;* i.e., in the course of 60 *muhūrtas* or 2 days, they complete a full diurnal circle. That sun which moves in the outermost circle in the southern hemisphere is called Bhārata, because it illumines the Bhāratakhaṇḍa. The other which moves through the same outer circle in the northern hemisphere is called Airāvata, because it illuminates the Airāvata area. The Bhārata is visible to us. The imaginary circle through which this sun moves is divided into 124 divisions. It is also divided into four parts by drawing the vertical and horizontal diameters (*davarika*). Of these four parts the southern containing 29 diurnal circles, the north-western 91, the north-eastern 92 and south-western 91. Of these circles the Bhārata in the second half of the year moves through 92 circles and the Airāvata 91 circles. Likewise in the north-western division, the Airāvata moves through 91 circles."[30] This peculiar assumption is due obviously to the Jaina notion that the sun, moon and stars revolve round the Mount Meru. The prevailing opinion, represented, for instance, by the Purāṇas, was that the whole revolution is performed in twenty-four hours, so that the sun describes during the time when it is day in Bhāratvarṣa the southern half of his circle, and during the time when it is night to the south of Mount Meru, and day in the countries north of it, the northern half.[31]

The Jainas, however, took a different view of the matter. They thought it more appropriate to hold that as there are four directions, the sun's circle should be divided into four quarters, corresponding to the four divisions, and that the sun should bring day in succession to the countries to the south, west, north and east of Meru. But on the

30 *Sūryaprajñapti* with Malayagiri's commentary, pp. 22, 23.

31 Vide G. Thibaut's paper on *Sūryaprajñapti*, *JASB.*, vol. XLIX No. 3, 1880, p. 110.

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supposition of the sun's passing through each of the four quarters at the same time, the Jainas could not realise how the sun could appear to rise again in the Bhāratavarṣa after the lapse of a period just sufficient to advance his place by one quarter of the circle and therefore they assumed that the sun appearing on a certain morning is not the same which had set on the preceding evening, but a second sun similar in every respect to the first one. The whole circle is thus described by two suns, separated from each other by half the circumference, each of which appears in the Bhāratvarṣa on alternate days. The same reasoning led to the assumption of two moons and two sets of stars.

The next topic of importance is the astronomic chronological period, viz., the well-known quinquennial *yuga* or cycle which is the same as that of the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*[32] and the difference that the Jaina Calender has in some respects from the Vedic and Paurāṇic Calender, viz., the various kinds of years, the length of day and night, the months, the seasons, both solar and lunar, and the year-beginning.

The division of the sphere into *Nakṣatras* or constellations is then discussed. The order begins with *Abhijit* in the cycle of the Jainas. A detaled explanation is then given of the hypothesis which accounts for the appearances due to the various motions of the heavenly bodies, beginning with the sun. The three diffrent kinds of motion of the sun are thus explained, (i) the daily motion from east to west; (ii) the annual motion through the circle of the *nakṣatras*, from the west towards the east; and (iii) the motion in declination according to which the sun ascends northwards during one half of the year and descends southwards during the other half. Then a statement is made regarding the velocity with which the sun moves in its different circles. In this connection the various opinions prevailing about the rising and setting of the sun are given in detail.

Then the motion of the moon is considered. Although the greater part of the *Sūryaprajñapti* treats of the moon, specially of the places she occupies at different times in the circle of the *nakṣatras*, a detailed connected account of her motions is not given anywhere. It has been

32 The same cycle is described in the *Garga Saṃhitā* and the *Paitāmaha Saṃhitā*.

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already stated that the sun's daily apparent motion is regarded to be the one and considered to take place round Mount Meru, the yearly motion is the consequence of the sun's moving more slowly than the stars, the sun's motion in declination being the result of its describing round Mount Meru circles of varying diameter. All this is applied to the moon also.

Then the solution of some problems regarding the particular *Ayana* and particular diurnal circle in which a desired *Parva* occurs is considered. The question is asked, "At what *Ayana* and particular diurnal circle at the beginning of a cycle does the first *parva* attain completion, or any particular *parva* occur?" Parva is one of the 124 divisions in which a *yuga* circle is divided.

The question is then raised regarding the relative velocity of sun, moon and stars.

The last point that is considered is the information regarding the nakṣatras, their zodiacal circle; and their conjunction with the moon and the sun. Motion of the stars and planets is also discussed; the stars are said to be quicker than the planets; among the latter the sun is slower than the moon. This is ascertained by considering their motions through the ecliptic circles. A reference is also made to eclipses of the sun and the moon, and in this connection the views of others, viz., Rāhu swallowing either of them partially or wholly, are criticised and the Jaina view of the dark *vimāna* (cart) of *Rāhu* covering the moon's or sun's disc partially or wholly is put forward.

(*To be continued*)

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

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Some Cosmological Ideas of the Jainas

Mythological ideas of the ancients have their own interest to the moderns. The ideas of the Jainas who are the oldest Indian sect outside Brahmanism of which we possess a history and literature, have their importance not only for their own sake but also for comparison with their Brahmanical and Buddhist parallels. The question is not entirely univestigated. J. Burgess, in his translation of Bühler's *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas* (London, 1903) appended an outline of Jaina mythology. Like all pioneer work, this treatment also was rudimentary. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's account in the *Heart of Jainism* (Oxford University Press, pp. 268-272) is fuller no doubt but incomplete and contains some errors. J. L. Jaini's account in *Outlines of Jainism* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 119-124) also is inadequate. An attempt is made below to present a systematic account as full as possible and necessary in conformity with canonical material for the purposes of ready reference.

References to mythological ideas are scattered all over the canonical literature of the Śvetāmbara Jainas in varying extent. There is hardly a single work in the canon which does not contain something about the question. In particular the *Samavāyāṅga* and *Bhagavatī* among the *Aṅgas* and the *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*, *Nirayāvalī*, *Jīvābhigama*, and *Aupapātika* among the *Upāṅgas*, and the *Devendrastava* among the *Prakīrṇas* contain fuller treatment of the subject. Successive lines of commentators have often added to and extended the scope of the matter contained in the canon, for nothing delighted the Jaina ascetical schoolmen more than numerical amplification and statistical wealth. I have used this latter material of the commentators with extreme abstemiousness. Names and terms in the original Prakrit have been given throughout in Sanskrit as used by Jaina commentators and standard authorities, for the purpose of standardisation.

A. *Cosmography*

The cosmos is conceived as a huge human figure the legs of which

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represent the underworlds, the central part the middle world, and the upper part the heavens.

There are seven earths, viz., ratna , śarkarā , vālukā , paṅka, dhūma , tamah , and mahātamaḥprabhā. These lie parallel to one another and each is situated one *rajju* below another. Each is enveloped by an atmosphere of three layers of air, heavy, humid, and rarified. These atmospheres give support to the earths and each of these layers is twenty thousand *yojanas* thick. We live in the first of these earths which is one hundred and eighty thousand *yojanas* thick and consists of three sections viz., khara , paṅka , and abbahulabhāga.

Hells. These are vast chasms in the earths. The total number of hells in the seven earths is eighty-four lacs. The hells of the ratnaprabhā earth are situated in its abbahulabhāga. Each hell is divided into layers. Hells in the first four earths and those in the upper layers of the fifth are hot and the rest are cold.

Heavens. There are eight pairs of heavens situated one above another.[1] These sixteen pairs of heavens are called saudharma, īśāns, sanatkumāra, mahendra, brahma, brahmottara, lāntava, kāpiṣṭha, śukra, mahāśukra, satāra, sahasrāra, ānata, prāṇata, āraṇa, and acyuta. These are called the *kalpa* heavens. Above the kalpas are situated in ascending order the nine *graiveyakas*, nine *anudiśas*, and five *anuttaras* (viz., vijaya, vaijayanta, jayanta, aparājita, and sarvārthasiddhi). Above the sarvārthasiddhi is the siddhakṣetra. In these heavens there are sixty-three layers.

B. Geography

The middle world consists of a number of concentric islands and seas. At the centre is the Jambūdvīpa whereon we live. This island is circular in shape. Around this island are successive belts of ten seas and nine lands (also called islands) one after another in the following order, lavaṇa-sea, dhātakikhaṇḍa-land, kālodadhi-sea, and after this each land and sea surrounding it are called by the same name, viz., Puṣkarávara, Vāruṇīvara, Kṣīravara, Ghṛtavara, Ikṣuvara, Nandīśvara, Aruṇavara, and Svayambhūramaṇa. Jambūdvīpa is one hundred thousand yojanas long along its diameter. Each succeeding belt of

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either sea or land measures twice as much in breadth than the one preceding it.

At the centre of Jambūdvīpa is Mount Meru. Jambūdvīpa is divided into seven kṣetras, viz., Bharata, Haimavata, Hari, Videha, Ramyaka, Hairaṇyavata, and Airāvata, each of which lies to the north of the one preceding. Dividing every two kṣetras respectively are the mountains called Himavān, Mahāhimavān, Niṣidha, Nīla, Rukmi, and Śikhariṇ. The colours of these mountains are respectively like gold, silver, red-hot gold, blue, white, and golden. The sides of these mountains are strewn with precious stones and they are of the same width at the top as at the bottom. On the top of them are these six lakes respectively, Padma, Mahāpadma, Tigiñcha, Keśari, Mahāpuṇḍarīka, and Puṇḍarīka. The first lake is one thousand yojanas long, five hundred *ys.* broad and ten *ys.* deep. At the centre of this lake is a lotus-shaped island one *y.* broad. Each lake is presided over by a goddess and each succeeding one is bigger in dimension than the one preceding.

Rising from each lake and flowing over each kṣetra are two rivers flowing into the sea, one flowing eastward and the other westward. Arising from lake Padma and flowing over Bharatakṣetra are the rivers Gaṅgā and Sindhu. The other successive rivers are Rohit and Rohitāsyā, Harit and Harikāntā, Sītā and Sitodā, Nārī and Narakāntā, Suvarṇakūlā and Rūpyakūlā, and, Raktā and Raktodā. Gaṅgā and Sindhu have each fourteen thousand tributaries and some of the other rivers have still greater number of tributaries.

Bharatakṣetra is $526\frac{6}{19}$ *Yojanas* in breadth. Each kṣetra and mountain is twice the breadth of the mountain or the kṣetra preceding it.

In Dhātakikhaṇḍa-land in the inner half of Puṣkaravara-land the number of kṣetras, mountains, lakes, and rivers is double of those in Jambūdvīpa. Along the middle of Puṣkaravara-land runs a mountain-range called *Manuṣyottara* beyond which there is no human life.

C. Devas

Existence among the devas is caused by the practice of self-control,

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austerities, and by submission to the fruition of karma. Devas have the sexes of masculine and feminine.

There are four classes of devas, viz.,

1. Bhavanavāsins—those who dwell in residences,
2. Vyantaras—those who move about,
3. Jyotiṣkas—those who inhabit the heavenly bodies, and
4. Vaimānikas—those who dwell in the heavens.

The first class is divided into ten sub-classes, the second into eight, the third into five, and the fourth into twelve.

Each sub-class of the first and fourth classes is arranged into ten grades, viz.,

Indras—who are the heads of the sub-class
Sāmānikas—who enjoy an exhalted position of privilege
Trāyastriṃśas—who are the advisors of the gods
Pāriṣads—who are the courtiers of the Indras
Ātmarakṣas—who are the bodyguards of the Indras
Lokapālas—who are the protectors of the gods
Anīkas—who are the army of the gods
Prakīrṇakas—who form the general body of the gods
Ābhiyogyas—who serve as the conveyance of the gods, such as lions, horses, bulls etc.
Kilbiṣikas—who serve other gods as menials.

The second and third classes have no trāyastriṃśa and lokapāla grades. In each sub-class of the first and second classes there are two Indras.

Gods in the lowest pair of heavens have sexual enjoyment by their bodies, those in the next above pair by touch only, those in the third and fourth pairs by sight only, those in the fifth and sixth pairs by hearing only, and those in the seventh and eighth pairs by mind only. Devas beyond the kalpa heavens have no sex. These latter devas are called the *ahamindras or "I am Indras"*.

Bhavanavāsin devas have these ten sub-classes: asura, nāga, vidyuta, suparṇa, agni, vāta, stanita, udadhi, dvīpa, and dikkumāras. They are all kumāras because of their eternal youth.

Vyantara devas have these eight sub-classes, viz., kinnaras,

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kimpuruṣas, mahoragas, gandharvas, yakṣas, rākṣasas, bhūtas, and piśācas.

Jyotiṣka devas have five sub-classes,—sūrya, candramas, graha, nakṣatra, and tārakā.

Vaimānika devas are of twelve classes according as they live under the twelve Indras in the sixteen heavens i.e., one Indra for each of the first and last four heavens and one Indra for every two of the intermediate eight heavens.

Devas living in the brahma-heaven are called Laukāntikas and are of eight classes, viz., sārasvata, āditya, vahni, aruṇa, gardatoys, tuṣita, avyābādha, and ariṣṭa.

The intermediate portion of the khara-bhāga of the ratnaprabhā earth is inhabited by Bhavanavāsin devas (except the asurakumāras) and Vyantara devas (except the rākṣasas). Asurakumāras and rākṣasas live in the paṅkabhāga of the same earth.

Devas born in anuttara and anudiśa heavens are reborn on earth as men twice at the most before attaining mokṣa. Souls that have attained mokṣa live in the siddhakṣetra heaven.

The periods of residence of the devas in the heavens are immensely long and go on increasing as do also their powers, happiness, glow, purity of *leśyas*, keenness of the senses, and *avadhi* knowledge with the rise into successively higher heavens while mobility, stature, attachment to worldly things and pride go on decreasing. The stature in the first heaven is seven cubits while that in the anuttara heavens is one cubit.

D. Nārakins

They are neuter in sex, hideous in appearance, suffer from disagreeable and painful sensations and transform themselves into malevolent animals. They suffer tortures in the hands of each other as also, in the first three earths, in the hands of the asurakumāra devas. They live in the hells for ages, the number of which goes on increasing as the hells become lower.

Both the devas and nārakins have from birth *mati, śruta,* and *avadhi* knowledge; both have the *taijasa, kārmaṇa,* and *vaikriyika*

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bodies, and birth by *upapāda*; both live the full span of their lives which cannot be cut short.

Some of the technical terms used above require a word of explanation. The Leśyas are "thought-colours" which determine the temperament of a being They are six in number, black, blue, grey, yellow, pink, and white. The first three are inferior and are possessed by the nārakins while the last three are superior and are possessed by the devas. Knowledge is of five kinds of which *mati* stands for sensuous, *śruta* for inferential, and *avadhi* for intuitive knowledge. There are five kinds of body of which *taijasa* stands for that made of a very fine stuff, kārmāṇa for that made of karma stuff, and *vaikriyika* for that made of an elastic stuff which can be changed at will. Birth is of three kinds of which *upapāda* is instantaneous birth with the help of *vaikriyika* matter.

Many arithmetical details of minor importance have been omitted from the above account.

AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

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Domicile of the Author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa

The question of the domicile of the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa,[1] a landmark in our religious history, is an important one. The evidences collected in this paper will show that he was a native of the Tamil country.

That our author was familiar with and proud of the Tamil country, the holy places and rivers thereof, and also the Tamil Āḷvārs or saints, and that he knew Tamil prosody, will appear from the evidence, set forth below, from the text of the Purāṇa itself. No other part of India, with the exception of the *līlābhūmi* of Śrīkṛṣṇa, is referred to so often, and with so much pride, while a few ancient legends are located in this part of the country.

I. In IV. 28, verses, 30-31, of the *Purāṇa*, say that Malayadhvaja, ruler of the Pāṇḍyas, begot seven sons, who became rulers of the Draviḍa land, and that each of these, in his turn, begot one *Arbuda* of sons, who dominated, and would in future dominate the world. The next verse says that Agastya, possibly the mythical sage who is said to have been the first Aryan to have migrated to the south, married the daughter of Malayadhvaja. Verses, 33 and 34, speak of the king dividing his kingdom among his sons, and retiring to the Kulācalam, to devote himself to meditations on Śrīkṛṣṇa, his wife also following him; while the next verse, 35, names three of the holy rivers of the south, the Candrarasā, the Tāmraparṇī, and the Vaṭodakā. Śrīdhara, the annotator of the *Bhāgavata*, takes the whole story to be an allegory, which it possibly is, but to refer the characters thereof to the Draviḍa country bespeaks the author's partiality for that part of India. The story of the past and future domination of the world, by the descendants of Malayadhvaja, might be a recollection of the Dravidian occupation of a good part of Asia in the past, which is believed in by some historians.

1 The references to the chapters and verses are given as in the Baṅgavāsī edition of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

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II. In Bk. VIII. 4, the legendary Gajendra, whom Viṣṇu released, is described as having been, in his former incarnation, Indradyumna, king of the Pāṇḍya country, the most holy man of his age in Draviḍa land.

III. Similarly, in VIII. 24. 10-13, we find Satyavrata of Ṛgvedic fame, described as a *Draviḍeśvara* performing *tarpaṇa* (i.e. offering water to departed ancestors) in the holy waters of the Kṛtamālā.

IV. In XI. 5, verses, 38-40, refer with pride, under the cloak of a prophecy, to the early Tamil saints, Āḷvārs as they are called, and to the holy rivers, the Tāmra-parṇī, the Kṛtamālā, the Payasvinī, the Kāverī, and the Mahānadī flowing west, on the banks of which the Āḷvārs are known to have lived.

V. In describing the hills and the rivers of India, in BK. V. 19, the author begins with an enumeration of the hills and the rivers of the south, but omits the Himalayas. The precedence given to the south in each case is significant. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, on the contrary, in enumerating the rivers of India begins with the Punjab rivers.

VI. In X. 61. 12, one of the sons of Śrīkṛṣṇa by his wife Jāmbavatī, is named Draviḍa, a name not occurring in the *Harivaṃśa* list of Kṛṣṇa's sons (BK. II, ch. 103).

VII. The story of Balarāma's pilgrimage, in BK. X, ch. 79, appears to have been introduced with the sole object of glorifying the holy places of the south. It is nothing like the pilgrimage up the course of the Sarasvatī river from its mouth, as in the *Mahābhārata* (Śalyaparva, ch. 35).

VIII. The description of the scenes of Śrīkṛṣṇa's sports in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, gives us no geographical knowledge of the land, and is as vague as could be expected of an author who knew the locality, mainly through books, or folklore.

IX. The style and language of the work are stiff and inelegant, and the verses are generally not pleasing to the ear, in spite of the fact that our author was as great a poet as a philosopher. It would seem as if he were constantly referring, even if mentally, to lexicons. The work is full of jarring words and lame metres, and it contains not a

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few errors of grammar, some of which have not escaped the notice of the commentators. The writing appears to me to be that of a man handling a foreign tongue, having no manner of kinship with the one he had learned from his mother. The stiffness of style of Yāmunācārya, Rāmānuja, and Veṅkatanātha is well-known. It might be said that Śaṅkara, too, though not a Tamilian was a man from the south, but that nobody, in the north ever wrote more graceful Sanskrit. But Śaṅkara was an intellectual prodigy, of a type almost unknown to human history, and he spent the greater part of his life in the north. Exception, as they say, proves the rule. Compare the style of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, a model of *Purāṇic* style, with that of the *Bhāgavata*, and you at once notice the difference. It is known now that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* was composed in the north under Gupta auspices. Nor can it be contended that the difficulty of the subject-matter of the Bhāgavata accounts for the stiffness of its style. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is elegant even when it deals with philosophy, while the *Bhāgavata* is harsh, even when mere events are narrated, and only less so, when the poet is in the midst of supreme lyrical rapture. We have only to think of our own difficulty in handling English in order to be convinced of the justice of the above remarks. Dr. Winternitz's praise of the language of the *Bhāgavata* also bears me out.[2]

Mr. C. V. Vaidya, in his paper on the 'Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa', contributed to the *JBBRAS.* ((1925, vol. I) attributes the stiffness of the style to the late date of the Purāṇa, saying that the author wrote at a time when Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language, even among Paṇḍits. This is hardly convincing, one might promptly point out some of the later Purāṇas, the *Gītagovinda*, and the works of a host of later writers, to upset his theory. Graceful Sanskrit is, as a matter of fact, spoken and written to this day.

X. The author uses the word '*gopura*' which means the ornamental gateway of a city, or of a temple, several times.[3] The word is less

2 *History of Indian Literature* (English Translation), vol. I, p. 556.

3 See I. 11. 14; IV. 9. 56; V. 24. 9; VII. 2. 15; VII. 15. 15; IX. 10. 17; IX. 11. 27; X. 50. 51; and X. 66. 41.

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familiar in the north than in the south, where the *gopurams* of the great temples are so well-known.

XI. The word *Śārodotphullamallikā,* in the very first line of the first verse of the celebrated *Rāsapañcādhyāya* (X. 29-33) deserves notice. It clearly shows our author's unfamiliarity with Vrajabhūmi, or for the matter of that, with Northern India, where the Mallikā never flowers in autumn. Commentators have sought to get over the difficulty by saying that, in the hallowed land of Vṛndāvana, all flowers bloom forth in all parts of the year, a phenomenon never witnessed by the ordinary mortal, not blessed with the second vision of a *bhakta*. At the same time, it would be strange if the author should make a mistake in composing the very first line of this important chapter. I am told, however, that the Mallikā does, as a matter of fact, flower in the south, during the season of the year known in Sanskrit literature as autumn (*Śaratkāla*) owing to the different climatic conditions obtaining there.

XII. The most conclusive evidence of the author's Tamil domicile is to be found, however, in the peculiar rhyming, adopted in the two well-known Gopī-songs, to be found in BK.X, chapters 31 and 35. In the first one, it will be found that, in 18 out of 19 stanzas, with a few variations, the second syllables of all the four lines of a stanza are identical, a feature universal in Tamil prosody, but unknown to earlier Sanskrit poetry. The second song also shows the same identity of the second syllables, but here the stanza is of two lines, the lines are very long and the first and the twelfth syllables of each line, with a few exceptions are also identical. Mr. T. Rajagopalachariar has noticed[4] a similar imitation of Tamil prosody in the *Yatirājaviṃśati* of Maṇavala Mahāmuni, but the Gopī-songs appear to have escaped his notice. It is well-known that Tamil poetry, unlike her Telegu sister, has hitherto refused to yield to the charms of Sanskrit prosody.

XII. I shall close the discussion on the question of our author's domicile, with a reference to a piece of external evidence, viz., the well-known story of the birth of *bhakti* and of her sons *jñāna* and *vairāgya*,

4 *The Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, p. 107.

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narrated in the *Bhāgavata-māhātmyam* of the *Padma Purāṇr.*[5] That this story refers to a tradition about the composition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the Draviḍa country, appears certain for, in verses, XII. 11. 4-5, and, again, in XII. 13. 18 of the *Bhāgavata*, we are told that the theme of the work is *bhakti* associated with *jñāna* and *vairāgya*, while the following verses actually say that *bhakti* for Vāsudeva begets both *jñāna and vairāgya*:—

वासुदेवे भगवति भक्तियोगः प्रयोजितः।
जनयत्याशु वैराग्यं ज्ञानञ्च यदहैतुकम्॥ १।२।७॥
वासुदेवे भगवति भक्तियोगः प्रयोजितः।
जनयत्याशु वैराग्यं ज्ञानं यद्ब्रह्मदर्शनम्॥ ३।३२।२३॥
वासुदेवे भगवति भक्तियोगः समाहितः।
सध्रीचीनेन वैरागयं ज्ञानञ्च जनयिष्यति॥ ४।२९।३७॥

Śrīmadbhāgavata, Vaṅgavasī ed.

Mr. Vaidya, in his paper already referred to, suggested the Dravidian domicile of the author, on the strength of the references to the holy places of the south, to the Tamil saints, and to King Malayadhvaja without, however, pressing the point.

AMAR NATH RAY

5 Dr. Grierson narrates the story briefly in *JRAS.*, 1911; vide also footnote at p. 800.

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Studies in the Kauṭilīya†

V

THE DEALINGS OF A KING WITH THE MADHYAMA, UDĀSĪNA, AND THE STATAL CIRCLE

A king's dealings with the Madhyama and Udāsīna are the subject-matter of chapter 18, Bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya*. The Madhyama is the State of medium strength and the Udāsīna the State of the greatest strength within the statal circle. The former is supposed to be situated within the first zone of the territory of the king whose dealings with him are under our consideration and the latter beyond the first zone. According to the *Kauṭilīya*, the strength of the Medium State is such that it has to help the aforesaid king and his enemy if they be allied and can help or destroy each of them when not allied, i.e., the strength of the Medium State is much greater than that of each of these two States but less than their combined resources. The Super State is the strongest power and possesses such strength that it has to take a friendly attitude when the three States mentioned above are united, and can help or destroy each of them when they are separate. In other words, its strength is less than that of the three States combined, and much greater than that of each of them singly.

With reference to the dealings of the king under our consideration (henceforth called the Central king or State) with the Madhyama (the Medium Power), the king himself, (i.e., the Madhyama), and the third and the fifth States from him are the prakṛtis, i.e., natural friends, whlie the second,

† Continued from vol. VII, p. 715.

1 See *IS.*, pt. I, pp. 9-13, and *K.*, VI, ch. 2, p. 261.

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fourth and sixth States from the same are natural enemies.[2] If the Madhyama be friendly to both the sets of kings, the Central State should be friendly to him. Should the Madhyama show no leaning to any of these two sets of kings, the Central State should take the side of his own prakṛtis (i.e., friends).

What should be done when the Madhyama attacks a real friend of the Central State.

I. (a) If, at any time, it be found that the Madhyama has come into a conflict with a really friendly king (mitrabhāvin mitra) of the sovereign of the Central State,

(i) the latter should save him

by inciting the kings who are friendly to him or are the friends of his friends, and

by causing a dissension, if possible, between the Madhyama and the kings friendly to the Madhyama.

(ii) He can also incite the other kings of the Maṇḍala (Statal circle) against the Madhyama by telling them that the latter has grown very powerful and intends to destroy all of them; and for this reason, they should combine against him and check the dangerous growth of his power. If the Central State succeeds in his endeavour to have the kings of the Maṇḍala on his side, he can bring about the ruin of the Madhyama and thus pave the way for his own progress.

(iii) If all the kings do not respond to his call, he can try to have with him only those who are inimical to the Madhyama.

(iv) There may also be some within the Mṇḍala of such a nature that if one of their group turns over to adopt a course of action, they also do so. Hence, their leader should be persuaded to join him. If one king comes over to his side, his power is doubled, and if two such do so, his power is trebled.

2 The third and fifth States are situated within the second and fourth zones from the terriotory of the king under consideration, and the second, fourth and sixth States are situated within the first, third and fifth zones from the same.

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(v) Should he fail in these attempts, he should alone help his friend attacked by the Madhyama by sending him money and army.

(vi) If there be no time left for achieving any of these purposes, and prompt action be necessary, then the sovereign of the Central State should persuade the Madhyama to enter into an alliance with him for the Madhyama's help and after obtaining this foothold, he should try to bring about a treaty between the Madhyama and the friend (i.e., of the Central State) attacked by the Madhyama, or

(vii) he can secretly win over to his side some of the dissatisfied officials of the Madhyama in order that they may cause him troubles of various kinds and thus thwart him in his hostilities against the friend of the Central State.

What should be done when a karśanīya mitra is attacked by the Madhyama.

(b) What has been said above is applicable to cases in which a mitrabhāvin mitra (real friend) of the sovereign of the Central State has been attacked by the Madhyama. If the mitra belongs to the class of karśanīya mitras, i.e., those kings who are not so staunch friends of the Central State as the mitrabhāvin mitras but who are still to be put in the category of friendly sovereigns by the nature of their attitude towards him. A reduction of the power of such friendly kings is desirable from the standpoint of the Central State and hence when a mitra of this category is attacked by the Madhyama, help will be promised to him by the vijigīṣu but it will not in fact be rendered until he has suffered losses to the desired extent.

What should be done when an ucchedanīya mitra is attacked by the Madhyama

(c) Similarly, when an ucchedanīya mitra (i.e. a king with whom a friendship in name has to be maintained on inter- statal grounds, but a serious reduction of whose power is desirable for the welfare of the vijigīṣu) is attacked by the Madhyama, then the help expected from the vijigīṣu should be extended to him at such a stage that he has already suffered losses amounting to karśana mentioned above, but not up to

3 Lit. a karśanīya mitra is a friend who should be rendered lean.

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the limit of uccheda (i.e., ruining the kingdom); because it is to the interest of the vijigīṣu not to ruin the king altogether as he is a mitra, although at present he may be so in name, and his ruin will serve to make the Madhyama more powerful, reducing by one the number of mitras of the vijigīṣu. If at the critical juncture, when the karśanīya mitra has been attacked by the Madhyama, this mitra be deserted by his mitras joining the Madhyama, then the vijigīṣu should intervene on behalf of the mitra, and enter into a treaty of peace called *puruṣāntara* with the Madhyama, stipulating that in case of need he will send him troops headed by his son and commander-in-chief for his help.

Should the hostile attitude of the vijigīṣu with a thin veneer of friendliness be detected by the ucchedanīya mitra, then he may ask other kings friendly to them to initiate active hostilities against the vijigīṣu. In such circumstances, if the kings friendly to the ucchedanīya or karśanīya mitra be powerful, then the vijigīṣu should secure his position by entering into an alliance with the Madhyama.

What may be done by the vijigīṣu when the Madhyama attacks (a) an enemy of the vijigīṣu, (b) a real friend of the Madhyama himself, (c) an enemy of the Madhyama himself, and (d) the Udāsīna.

II. (a) If the Madhyama happens to make an attack upon a śatru (enemy) of the Central State, then the sovereign of the latter State should enter into an alliance with the Madhyama against the enemy. This will conduce to his own interest and at the same time be a matter of gratification to the Madhyama.

(b) A king who is a real friend (mitrabhāvin mitra) of the Madhyama may by some chance incur the displeasure of the latter and be attacked by him. If the vijigīṣu be interested in his welfare, then he may enter into a treaty of peace with the Madhyama on behalf of the mitrabhāvin mitra stipulating that he could help the Madhyama in times of need with troops under the leadership of his son and commander-in-chief and thus bring the conflict to an end.

(c) If the Madhyama attacks an enemy of his, then with a view to curb the growth of power of the Madhyama through

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the ruin of his enemy, he may help the enemy secretly with army and money.

(d) In case the Madhyama and the Udāsīna come into a conflict, the vijigīṣu should take the side of the king who is liked by the kings of the maṇḍala generally. The foregoing remarks also hold good if in the aforesaid circumstances, the Udāsīna be substituted for the Madhyama.

Suggestion for the guidance of a king in his dealings with the other kings of the Maṇḍala: (A) Three classes of neighbouring kings:

III. (A). According to the principles pointed out in the *Kautilīya*[4] as regulating the mutual relations of kings in a maṇḍala, the immediate neighbours of the vijigīṣu are to be looked upon as his natural enemies. Of course, there are factors by which they can be turned into friends. Broadly speaking, there are three sets of factors operating in this connection viz., (a) the rivalry, jealousy and the many causes of friction that are incidental to the existence of two States as neighbours, (b) the nature of the sovereigns who happen to be neighbours, and (c) the inducements, or deterrents of any kind that serve to convert natural enemies into artificial friends i.e. sinking down the differences that may still exist under the pressure of circumstances. The interplay of the many forces produces different resultants in the different situations. It is in view of these various complexes that all the immediate neighbours of the vijigīṣu in the maṇḍala are not put down simply as enemies. They are divided into three classes:

Aribhāvin (inimical neighbours)

(i) Those neighbouring kings who continue to be enemies to the vijigīṣu, and in whom any of the forces mentioned above have not served to effect a change in the opposite direction are called aribhāvins and include:

(a) anātmavān (without self-control)
(b) nityāpakārin (ever bent on doing harm)
(c) śatru (an enemy having weaknesses that are a matter of advantage to the vijigīṣu)

4 *K.*, VI, ch. 2.

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(d) śatrusahita (an enemy assisted by another enemy of the vijigīṣu)

(e) pārṣṇīgrāha (rear-enemy)

(f) vyasanin (an enemy subject to vyasanas)

(g) yātavya, (an enemy suitable for attack)[6]

(h) vyasane abhiyoktṛ (an enemy able to attack the vijigīṣu in vyasana).

Mitrabhāvins (friendly neighbours).

(ii) The eight kinds of kings who are called mitrabhāvins, i.e., are friendly to the vijigīṣu inspite of their position as neighbours are:

(a) ekārthābhiprayāta (out on an expedition for achieving objects of the similar natures)

(b) pṛthag arthābhiprayāta (out on an expedition for achieving object of a dissimilar nature.

(c) sambhūyayāṭrika (engaged in a combined attack)

(d) saṃhitaprayāṇika (allied in regard to an attack)[7]

(e) svārthābhiprayāta (attacking in furtherance of the interest of the vijigīṣu alone)

(f) sāmutthāyika (engaged in a combined attempt to carry out purpose other than military)

(g) kośadaṇḍayor anyatarasya kretā vikretā (hiring an army from the vijigīṣu or hiring it out to him)

(h) dvaidhībhāvika (in such a position as to have recourse to dvaidhībhāva in regard to the vijigīṣu).

Bhṛtyabhāvins (subservient neighbours).

(iii) The five classes of neighbouring kings, bhṛtyabhāvins, so called on account of their subordinate position, making them liable to carry out the dictates of the vijigīṣu are:

6 The distinctions are not clear.

7 The point of difference lies in the fact that party to the alliance may not be engaged in the actual attack, or may attack an enemy different from the one attacked by the other party to the alliance. Cf. *K.*, VII, ch. 13, p. 303.

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(a) sāmanta weak neighbour (in front) [(one who can be only on the defensive (pratighāta) when attacked by a powerful king (balavaṭah)]

(c) prativeśa (situated on either side of the territory of a king)

(d) pārṣṇīgrāha (a weak king in the rear of a strong) and

(e) daṇḍopanata (self-submitter) comprising two sub-classes viz., svayamupanata (submitting of his own accord) and prātāpopanata (made to submit through exercise of power).

It must not be supposed that a statal circle must contain all the aforesaid kinds of kings with their States adjacent to that of the vijigīṣu. The classification only names the kinds of such kings, designated according to their attitude towards the vijigīṣu and according to the special circumstances in which they happen to be at a particular time. The list is meant to enable one to determine which sort of a neighbour a king is in respect of his relation to the vijigīṣu. The names of the three classes also point to the course of action to be adopted by the vijigīṣu in his relation to any of the kinds of sovereigns comprised in each class.

(B) The kings in the second zone from the dominion of the vijigīṣu.

(B). The kings whose kingdoms are separated from that of the vijigīṣu by one zone of territories are the natural mitras (friends) of the vijigīṣu.[8] But these friends may be of different descriptions ranging from those who are friendly in name but inimical at heart to those who are friends can be grouped into three classes like the immediate neighbours as pointed out above, viz., aribhāvins, mitrabhāvins, and bhṛtyabhāvins.

It is for the existence of kings who are nominally friendly but are really inimical that such appellations as Karśanīya mitra and Ucchedanīya mitra have come into being, and

8 See *K.*, VI, ch. 2.

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measures to be taken against them have also been suggested previously.

(i) If a mitra be attacked by an enemy and is about to enter into a treaty of peace with him, the vijigīṣu should extend to him help sufficient to change his course and bring the enemy to bay.

(ii) Should a mitra grow so powerful by defeating an enemy that he becomes uncontrollable by the vijigīṣu, then an opportunity may be utilized for causing a conflict between him and one or more kings from among the two sets of his (vijigīṣu's) immediate neighbours and sovereigns of territories one apart from that of the recalcitrant mitra.

A member of this mitra's family or a wayward prince kept under surveillance may be persuaded to cause him trouble by wresting lands from his possession; or he will adopt such other means as are calculated to bring down the mitra and make him tractable.

(iii) If a mitra be so much reduced in strength (atikarśita) that he is about to make an unreserved submission to his enemy, the vijigīṣu should avert this state of things and enable him to maintain his own against the enemy; but at the same time, he should not be so imprudent as to allow him to grow too powerful for him.

(iv) When a king is found unstable in the maintenance of his alliance with other kings, and the only inducement that can lead him to join the side of the vijigīṣu or his enemy and keep him to it is money, then the vijigīṣu should give it to him to retain him on his own side.

(v) If a mitra of the vijigīṣu be found to be trying to curry favour with the latter's enemy, an attempt may be made first to alienate the mitra from the enemy and then to ruin him and afterwards the enemy.

(vi) If a mitra be indifferent towards both the vijigīṣu and his enemy then a conflict should be brought about bet-

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ween the friend and a neighbouring king. Thus worried by war, he will seek the vijigīṣu's help, which should be extended to him.

(vii) If a weak mitra of the vijigīṣu approaches both the vijigīṣu and his enemy for help in his difficulty, the vijigīṣu should give him sufficient money and army in order that his want may be removed, and he may not be put any longer to the necessity of seeking aid from the vijigīṣu's enemy.

An alternative course is to request the weak king to leave the place where he is residing and stay for the time being in another place far away from the enemy of the vijigīṣu. The purpose for such removal is to stop the said enemy's negotiations with him. Before the occupation of the temporary residence, an army under a competent person should be stationed at the site of his former residence.

(viii) The mitra, who does harm to the vijigīṣu or does not render him help in times of difficulty though he is in a position to extend to him his helping hand, should be ruined by the vijigīṣu at the opportune moment when he has been gradually attracted to repose confidence in the vijigīṣu.

(ix) Should an enemy of the vijigīṣu find an opportunity of growing in power unhampered by reason of the vyasanas (calamities) of a mitra of the vijigīṣu, an attempt should be made to check that progress by the removal of the vyasanas of the said mitra.

(x) If a mitra after growing in power owing to the vyasanas of his enemy shows signs of disaffection towards the vijigīṣu, then the vyasanas of the enemy of the mitra should be removed in order that through him the said mitra might be brought under control.

An expert politician according to the *Kauṭlīya* can thus play upon the whole gamut of the 'courses of action' and their combinations, supplementing them by sāma, dāna, bheda, and daṇḍa according to the circumstances of the

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moment, and bring about the vṛddhi (gain), kṣaya (loss), sthāna (stagnation), karśana (reduction of power), and uccheḍana (ruin) of the various powers with which he has to deal in the maṇḍala. He can, by dint of his diplomacy, have his own way among the various kings and keep them under his thumb as it were by his superiority in the application of the right remedy at the right moment.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya Worship*

IV

The Nārāyaṇīya conception of the supreme deity.

We shall now deal with a very important point in the Nārāyaṇīya theology in regard to the nature of the manifestations of the deity and his essential character, without which its theory of emancipation cannot be properly understood. It must be remembered that in the shape in which the doctrine is presented in the Epic it has an unmistakable background of Sāṃkhya-Yoga with their technicalities.[1]

* Continued from vol. VII, p. 679.

1 The passages which indicate the close relation of the epic Sāṃkhya-Yoga and the Pañcarātra or Nārāyaṇīya system are definite and numerous. The Pañcarātra is expressly said to be *sāṃkhya-yoga-kṛta* (339, 111), and is numbered among the five co-ordinate speculative systems which include Sāṃkhya-Yoga (348, 81; 349, 1), and of which Nārāyaṇa is said to be the *niṣṭhā* or object of worship. Sāṃkhya and Yoga are again said to be *nārāyaṇa-para* (347, 87). Another passage declares the Pañcarātra to be coeval as a system with Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Veda and Pāśupata (349, 64), while Pañcarātra in 351, 23 is said to have been described after Sāṃkhya and Yoga. 'Sāṃkhya-yoga', 'Sāṃkhya-mūrti' etc. are Nārada's epithets of Nārāyaṇa, who is called 'Sāṃkhya-yoga-nidhi' in 347, 38. In 339, 23 Nārāyaṇa identifies himself with Kapila. The Ekānta-dharma is further declared to be *sāṃkhya-yogena tulyaḥ* (i.e. as good as Sāṃkhya-Yoga, but not the same). There can hardly be any doubt that in the age of the Epic (as in that of the Purāṇas generally) the dominating philosophy is Sāṃkhya-Yoga, which is here not only theistic but also even pantheistic. It is, however, not the classical Sāṃkhya-Yoga, but may be described as the *epic* Sāṃkhya-Yoga, which is a curious medley not only of two divergent systems but of unrelated and even inconsistent conceptions from other sources. A great deal of inchoate Sāṃkhya-Yoga, which was the common property of the Epic and the Purāṇas, is indeed mixed up in the Nārāyaṇīya, but, as Hopkins (*Great Epic*, p. 125) rightly points out, a great deal of what has been said is not Sāṃkhya-Yoga at all. It must be borne in mind that the

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This element has already been considered and commented upon by Grierson[2] and Hopkins;[3] we need not recapitulate it, as we are not directly concerned here with this curious medley of really extraneous and confusing philosophical matters.

Influence of Sāṃkhyan and Upaniṣadic theosophy.

There can, however, be no doubt that this, as well as the Upaniṣadic doctrine of Brahman in a somewhat modified form, greatly influenced the conception of the supreme deity in the Nārāyaṇīya. The Sāṃkhya tenets are apparent in its crude cosmology, its mystical Vyūha-doctrine as well as in its idea of the supreme deity as the Twenty-fifth Principle and as Puruṣa, in which last conception there is a residue also of the ṚgVedic and Brāhmaṇic Puruṣa. But Nārāyaṇa is also either directly identified with the Upaniṣadic neuter Brahma, or endowed with its characteristics. The Ekāntins offer *japa* to him as Brahma and are said to attain the state of Brahma (*brahma-bhāva*, 336, 36 and 50). The Citra-śikhaṇḍins also contemplated on the neuter Brahma before they compiled the Śāstra. To Nārada the character of this deity, who is *avyakta-yoni* (344, 2), is described as:

yat tat sūkṣmam avijñeyam avyaktam acalaṃ dhruvam|
indriyair indriyārthaiś ca sarva-bhūtaiś ca varjitam||

A similar description occurs in 339, 21-23, which practically paraphrases Upaniṣadic phraseology:[4]

Nārāyaṇīya episode forms a part of the Mokṣa-dharma Sub-parvan of the Epic, which consists of lectures on various philosophical doctrines; of these, a somewhat fluid Sāṃkhya- Yoga is expressly named as one, and others are strangely combined with it. Thus in xii, 218, 6-11, Pañcaśikha, who is described as a Kāpileya sage, is also called Pañcarātra-viśārada and a teacher of the Pañcarātra system (see Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 144), although his scheme is not the same as that of the Nārāyaṇīya.

2 *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 255f; "Bhakti-mārga" in *ERE*, p. 543.

3 *Great Epic*, pp. 101f.

4 Also see 351, 9-10. The abode of Nārāyaṇa is described in 343, 59, after the Upaniṣads, as the realm where the sun does not warm, the moon does not shine, the air does not blow etc.

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na dṛśyaś cakṣuṣā yo'sau na spṛśyaḥ sparśanena ca|
na ghreyaś caiva gandhena rasena ca vivarjitaḥ||

The unmanifest and manifest forms of the deity, how discernible.

In other words, this is the unmanifest (*avyakta*) Brahma.[5] But he can also be manifest or *vyakta*. The unmanifest is never attainable; but the manifest in its illusory or emanated forms is visible to *tapas* and *yoga*, aided by *bhakti*. This difference between the *vyakta* and the *avyakta* forms of the deity[6] explains the apparent puzzle of the two forms of Nārāyaṇa, the one performing austerities and the other residing at Śvetadvīpa. The ascetic Nārāyaṇa is presumably the illusory *vyakta* form, who supplies the information to Nārada that his real *prakṛti* or *avyakta* presence, discernible through *bhakti* alone, is at Śvetadvīpa.

The Ekāntins, as well as Nara-Nārāyaṇa, as manifest images of the unmanifest form.

In this respect the Ekāntins who worship the deity are also illusory images or copies and possess the same *lakṣaṇas*. It is not surprising, therefore, that Nārada, on his return from Śvetadvīpa, should find that the ascetics Nara and Nārāyaṇa are also marked by the same *lakṣaṇas* or supernatural attributes as the Ekāntins and the deity Nārāyaṇa-Hari himself, as he reveals himself to Nārada at Śvetadvīpa. Nārada exclaims (343, 49):

yair lakṣaṇair upetaḥ sa harir avyakta-rūpa-dhṛk|
tair lakṣaṇair upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvāṃ||

but he explains the puzzle himself by the qualifying phrases *vyakta-rūpa* and *avyakta-rūpa*, although the *avyakta* in itself, like Brahman, is unknowable. In the same way he finds

5 It is characteristic of the confused philosophy of the Epic and its somewhat fluid terminology that in the next verse (339, 24) Nārāyaṇa is also the actionless Puruṣa, who is described as the Twenty-fifth Principle of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga. See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 134 note. The term *avyakta* also implies the Sāṃkhya Avyakta (=Prakṛti or Pradhāna). Technical precision or consistency of ideas must not be expected in an epic account, which seldom conforms to the exact terminology of a systematic theology.

6 Thus Vyaktāvyakta is an epithet of Nārāyaṇa in Nārada's address (338, 4).

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Nara and Nārāyaṇa possessed of the same strange *lakṣaṇas* which characterise the Ekāntins, viz., a head like an umbrella, a voice deep as thunder, sixty teeth, eight tusks and four *muṣkas*. In another passage (348, 66) the god of the Ekāntins is described, like the Ekāntins themselves, as white (*śveta*) and possessing the radiance of the moon (*candrābha*).

This appearance of the deity in two or more forms is due to his Māyā.

This appearance of the deity in two or more forms, we are told, is due to his *māyā* or illusion. To Nārada the god confides (339, 44) that his real *avyakta* presence is unknowable (*na vijñeyam*)[7] and that it becomes knowable when it assumes form (*rūpavā iti dṛśyate*), adding further that this happens through his *māyā* (*māyā hyeṣā mayā sṛṣṭā yan mām paśyasi nārada*). This is offered as the explanation of the revelation of Nārāyaṇa's cosmic form (*viśvarūpa*, 339, 1) to Nārada, like that of Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. And yet a subtle distinction is maintained between this theophanic form at Śvetadvīpa and the manifest form as the ascetic Nārāyaṇa at Badarī. There may or may not be any point in Rönnow's comparison[8] of these theophanies to the Buddhist conception of Buddha's *sambhoga-kāya*, the heavenly form, which is discernible to "the divine eye" (*Bhagavadgītā* xi, 8); while the *vyakta*

7 In the phraseology of the Vyūha-doctrine this should correspond to the Kṣetrajña or Vāsudeva presence, while his Vyakta form, which was seen by Nārada at Śvetadvīpa and sometimes by Brahmā (340, 91), should be parallel to the Aniruddha presence of the deity. In 343, 6 we are expressly told that Nārada did not see the highest Kṣetrajña form of the deity but his Aniruddha form at the Śvetadvīpa theophany; and yet Nārada declares this form to be identical that with of the ascetic Nārāyaṇa at Badarī. If that were so, one may wonder why Nārada took so much pains to journey from Badarī to Śvetadvīpa at all. It would seem, therefore, that between the Vyakta form of Nārāyaṇā at Badarī and the Avyakta form of Nārāyaṇa at Śvetadvīpa, a subtle distinction is implied; but it is clear that both the forms are due Māyā. Possibly the distinction is only in degree and not in kind.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

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forms as ascetic Nārāyaṇa or warrior Kṛṣṇa[9] would correspond to the *nirmāṇa-kāya*, the earthly body, which he is able to exchange at will for his divine presence. At any rate, these appearances are not his *satya-kāya* or real form, which is unknowable. They are due to illusion or *māyā* and are temporary illusory personifications, differing probably in degree only, of the unmanifest being.[10] The influence of the Upaniṣadic doctrine and of inchoate Vedānta on this conception is clear; but while the idea of a featureless, intangible divine essence is thus theoretically maintained, it becomes practically unimportant in a popular religion which centres round the emotional worship of a vivid personal god.

The mystical vyūha-forms of the deity.

This scheme of illusory formation or copy must be distinguished from the theories of Emanation and Manifestation (Vyūha and Prādurbhāva) respectively, which are also revealed to Nārada at Śvetadvīpa. The highly mystical Vyūha doctrine is taught in detail in 339, 24-41, but it is also referred to in many passages throughout the narrative (339, 72-74; 340, 28f: 341, 13-17; 344, 14f; 347, 18f; 348, 2-3 and 57-58; 351, 12f). It is somewhat difficult to set forth the dogma clearly from the rather incoherent and clumsy account in the Epic with its indefinite and complicated phraseology; but the main outlines are clear.[11] The Upaniṣadic Absolute is conceived as a personal god, who is really and infinitely qualified by an infinity of blessed attributes, and who is the summit of all existence, the inward

9 But with this distinction that Kṛṣṇa is regarded as a Prādurbhāva or incarnation, which Nārāyaṇa at Badarī was apparently not.

10 One of Nārada's epithets of Nārāyaṇa is *mahā-māyā-dhara* (338, 4). In the *Bhagavadgītā* (vii, 14-25) Māyā is *daivī* (divine) and *guṇamayī* (consisting of the three Guṇas), but it is also an *ātma-māyā* of the deity. See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 138f.

11 We follow here the excellent summary given by Barnett in his English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 52-55 (Introduction). The table with slight modification is taken from it. For later and still more complicated development of the dogma, see Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*, pp. 35f.

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ruler (*antaryāmin*) as well as the inspirer of the real universe. He is variously named, either descriptively as Puruṣa (the Cosmic Man), Paramātman (the Supreme Self), Iśvara (the Lord), Kṣetrajña (the Field-Knower),[12] or by sectarian titles such as Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu. A theism which ascribes the actual production, preservation and destruction of the world to a divine first cause is incongrously mixed with elements from orthodox philosophy (chiefly inchoate Sāṃkhya), on the one hand, and with popular myths, on the other. Two real categories of Matter and plurality of Souls appear to be admitted as identical in their origin with the Supreme Spirit, but as emerging into successive emanations. The universe is supposed to evolve from the Supreme Being in two parallel and graduated orders, apparently a physical order of material causation and a spiritual order of planes of conditioned spirit,—which are named *vyūhas* or series. The process has been represented thus:[13]

The process of Vyūhas or successive emanations,

Kṣetrajña = Vāsudeva
| |
Jīva (Prakṛti?) = Saṃkarṣaṇa
| |
Manas = Pradyumna
| |
Ahaṃkāra = Aniruddha
| |
Guṇas and Mahābhūtās Brahmā

12 [The word *kṣetrajña* does not appear to have been used in philosophical literature before the *Śvetāśvatara Up.* vi, 16 (*kṣetrajñapatiḥ*), and *Maitrāyaṇī Up.* ii, 5, where it apparently designates Brahman. It is, of course, used in the *Bhagavadgītā* xiii, 1f, where it appears to signify Jīvātman or the conditioned soul, pantheistically conceived as dwelling in matter. In the latter work the word has no connexion with any direct or implied Vyūha doctrine. The word has perhaps nothing to do with the Vedic *kṣetrasya patiḥ;* see *Nirukta* x, 14-15.—S.K.D.]

13 The accounts in the text are somewhat scrappy and confusing. They may be summarised as follows:

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a curious combination of philosophical and mythical ideas.

The process is curious, its amalgamation of dogma and myth making it all the more mystical. While the one series is modelled somewhat incongruously on the Sāṃkhya scheme, the other is named after the elder brother, the son and the grandson respectively of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as successive emanations. At the summit stand the Kṣetrajña or "the Field-knower", identified with Vāsudeva, and this is probably the unconditioned (*nirguṇātmaka*) Paramātman or Supreme Self. It is difficult to explain the subsequent evolution in exact terminology, but it seems that the Cosmic Jīva, which springs from the Kṣetrajña, is equivalent to the primal indiscrete Prakṛti or Matter of Sāṃkhya. It corresponds to a phase of conditioned spirit called Saṃkarṣaṇa,

(i) 339, 25f. Vāsudeva=Paramātman=Kṣetrajña—Saṃkarṣaṇa=Jīva—Pradyumna = Manas = Sanatkumāra—Aniruddha = Ahaṃkāra. The Kṣetrajña is also called Puruṣa and the Twenty-fifth Principle.

(ii) 339, 72-74. The fourth form (i.e. Kṣetrajña)—Saṃkarṣaṇa—Pradyumna—Aniruddha—Brahmā.

(iii) 340, 28f. Mahāpuruṣa=Paramātman ("according to Sāṃkhya—Yoga")—Avyakta=Pradhāna—Aniruddha=Mahān Ātmā=Ahaṃkāra—Brahmā, Pañcabhūtas and Guṇas. In śl. 75 Nārāyaṇa declares that he is Kṣetrajña. In śl. 91 Brahmā sees the supreme deity in the Aniruddha form (apparently because it is the form from which Brahmā himself is born and which is the only form visible to him).

(iv) 341, 13-17. Nārāyaṇa—Prakṛti—Aniruddha—Brahmā.

(v) 343, 6. Nārada sees the deity in the Aniruddha form at Śvetadvīpa.

(vi) 344, 14f. The emancipated souls are said to pass in this order: Sūrya, where Nārāyaṇa resides as the door (reduced to paramāṇu)—Aniruddha (transformed into Manas)—Pradyumna—Saṃkarṣaṇa=Jīva—Vāsudeva or Kṣetrajña.

(vii) 347, 17f. Primeval darkness—Brahma (neuter)—Puruṣa= Aniruddha=Pradhāna=Avyakta. Then Viṣvaksena-Hari, yielding to Yoga-sleep, lays himself down on the water thinking of creation. From him arise in order: Ahaṃkāra—Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha Pitāmaha, who takes birth within the lotus from Aniruddha.

(viii) 351, 12f. The supreme deity is spoken of as Paramātman or Ekātman (see Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 143, note 1) and as sporting in his four forms.

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which is probably the primal motive force. From a combination of these two spring, on the one hand, the cosmic Manas, apparently the Buddhi of Sāṃkhya, and a second phase of conditioned spirit called Pradyumna. From a union of these two, again, springs a tertiary parallel pair of physical and spiritual orders, called Ahaṃkāra and Aniruddha respectively. The next stage is the evolution, from a union of these, of the Sāṃkhyan Mahābhūtas or Elements (with their Guṇas), whose dispensation of the material world is guided by Brahmā.

The importance of the theory in the Nārāyaṇīya theology

Whatever may be the rational explanation of this somewhat obscure dogma, it is clearly laid down that Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, along with Vāsudeva, are the four *vyūhas*, forms or successive emanations, of the supreme deity, who is therefore described as *catur-mūrti-dhara*, or as sporting in fourfold form (*catur vibhaktaḥ krīḍati*, 351, 22).[14] In 348, 57 we are told that the god is worshipped by some under one emanation (*eka-vyūha*, i.e. Aniruddha),[15] by some under two (*dvi-vyūha*, i.e. Aniruddha and Pradyumna), by some under three (*tri-vyūha*, i.e. Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Saṃkarṣaṇa), and by some again under all the four. But this, as Nīlakaṇṭha points out, may be due to the capacity of the worshipper (*adhikāra-tāratamyena*). The god *par excellence* is *catur-mūrti-dhara* and should be conceived as such. The four forms are declared (351, 12) to be beyond thought (*acintya*) possessing subtle significance (*bhāva-sukṣma*). The description is not inapt, but it is hardly possible to consider this abstruse result as a system of philosophy. It is noteworthy, however, that while the *Bhagavadgītā* ignores

but the doctrine is ignored in the Bhagavadgītā.

14 These must, of course, be distinguished (see above) from the four illusory forms, viz., Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Hari.

15 This emanated form alone is attainable by Bhakti, while the other forms are presumably unknowable.

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the theory of successive emanations,[16] the Nārāyaṇīya exalts it to such a cardinal doctrine that the whole system, which is revealed to Nārada, is designated by the term Kṣetrajña (*kṣetrajña-saṃjñitaḥ*, 343, 52), which term also occurs as one of the epithets of the supreme divinity in Nārada's prose hymn.

Its connexion with Nārāyaṇīya eschatology.

Whatever philosophical value may be discovered in this special modification of theism which admits a fourfold form of the deity and relates it to cosmic processes, it is interesting to us from its connexion with the Nārāyaṇīya eschatology, which determines the stages and processes through which the emancipated souls pass into divine bliss. The procedure is somewhat circumstantial. It appears (344, 14f) that some souls, after their release, enter the sun (Āditya) as the door, at whose centre apparently Nārāyaṇa resides.[17] From there consumed and made into supremely subtle entities (*paramāṇubhūtāḥ*) they enter Aniruddha. Thence, as mental entities or as pure minds (*manobhūtāḥ*) they pass into Pradyumna. From Pradyumna they go (in what form or with what modification, we are not told) to Saṃkarṣaṇa, who is Jīva. Such people are "the best Brāhmans (*vipra-*

16 [Some such doctrine may have been implied in the reference to *mahad-brahma* in *Bhagavadgītā* xiv, 3, and to *kūṭastha puruṣa* in xv, 16f. The Kūṭastha Puruṣa, set above the perishable (Kṣara) and the imperishable (Akṣara), may be equivalent to the Kṣetrajña as the highest self; but Mahad-Brahma is apparently the primal matter (Avyakta or Pradhāna), and does not correspond to the Brahmā of the Vyūha-theory, although it is connected with *bhūtāni*. These may have been later developed as regular Pañcarātra doctrines (cf. *JRAS*, 1929, p. 128); but they have hardly any connexion with the Nārāyaṇīya Vyūha-theory.—S.K.D.]

17 [This passing of the cleansed souls through the sun-door may have something to do with Nārāyaṇa's identification with Viṣṇu as the solar deity; but probably the idea was old and traditional. In *Muṇḍaka Up.* i, 2, 5-6 the duly proffered oblations are said to become the rays of the sun and lead the sacrificer to the god of gods through these rays.—S.K.D.]

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pravarāḥ), the Sāṃkhyas and the Bhāgavatas"[18] (344, 17). Finally, casting off at this elevation, all elements of material being (*traiguṇya-hīnāḥ*), they enter the *nirguṇa* Kṣetrajña or Vāsudeva, but they also live in everlasting bliss. For the ordinary good people, such as those mentioned above, the three stages of Aniruddha—Pradyumna—Saṃkarṣaṇa emancipation are prescribed as a preparation for the final passing into Vāsudeva; but the Ekāntin or the ideal devotee reaches the Kṣetrajña or Vāsudeva at once without going through the three stages (348, 2-6). This way of the Ekāntins is said to be better than that attained by the Brāhmans who study the Vedas with the Upaniṣads, and by Yatis.

The Nārāyaṇīya idea of final emancipation.

The idea of final entrance into the deity does not appear to be the total absorption taught by orthodox philosophy. The emancipated souls are, no doubt, said to enter the deity in his Vāsudeva presence (*viśanti*, 336, 29; 339, 20, 49 and 129; 344, 19), which corresponds to the philosophic Paramātman;[19] but they are also described as dwelling in bliss with the deity (*ramate*), presumably in his Aniruddha form, and worshipping him as Ekāntins or White Men in his paradise at Śvetadvīpa. In all this, however, stress is laid on the doctrine that the deliverance may be found through knowledge or austerities, but above all there must be the spirit of exclusive loving devotion (*ekānta-bhakti*) to a personal god, without which all knowledge or austerity is useless. This is called the way of devotion (*bhakti-gati*) attained by the best of the four kinds of devotees (339, 130), and it is the way beloved of Nārāyaṇa.

18 It should be noted that for the Bhāgavatas, who are classed in this respect with the Sāṃkhyas and orthodox priests, emancipation is differently prescribed from that of the Pañcarātra worshippers of Nārāyaṇa.

19 They are said to attain Brahmahood in 336, 50, as we have already noted.

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Deliverance through Bhakti and Prasāda.

It is further asserted that the grace of the god, obtained through such *bhakti*, may even find what is hidden from the sage and the ascetic; and the idea of grace (*prasāda*) connected with religious devotion, appears to be fully acknowledged in the Nārāyaṇīya. This doctrine of spiritual election is nowhere expressly taught; but we are told that he alone is awakened who is looked upon by Nārāyaṇa and that no one is awakened by his own will (348, 75). It is the grace of Nārāyaṇa alone, induced by *bhakti*, which enables one to see him in one of his emanated forms (336, 20), for the devotee is dear to him (343, 54). Nārada obtains it for *ekānta-darśana* (338, 4; 339, 12, 13 and 107; 343, 24; 344, 7), but it was denied to Bṛhaspati and to the three ascetics whose austerities and acts of sacrifice were of no avail.

The Prādurbhāvas or manifestations of the deity.

The Vyūha doctrine of creative emanation described above must be distinguished from the more definite theory of Prādurbhāva or Manifestation which, side by side, is taught specially to Nārada, and which is a fundamental tenet in the Epic and Purāṇic religion in general.[20] The immaterial Vyūha-forms cannot be properly called incarnations or manifestations which are more or less definite material appearances, descents or birth. The theory of Incarnation as a principle of popular religion (and not as a mere doctrine of the theologist) presupposes the recognition of the supreme god as the creator and upholder (in a somewhat deistic fashion) not only of the cosmic order but also of the moral order of the world. This is expressed by the phrases "for the good of all beings" (*sarva-bhūta-hitāya*, 339, 76), "for purposes of action in the world" (*loka-kāryārtham*, 339, 100 and 103) and "relieving the burden of the world" (*bhārāvataraṇaṃ pṛthivyāḥ*, 339, 101; 349, 33). In wordings similar to the much quoted verse of the *Bhagavadgītā* iv, 8

20 See Jacobi, article on "Incarnation (Indian)" in *ERE*, vii, pp. 193f.

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(*paritrāṇāya sādhūnāṃ vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām*), we have the expression: *nigraheṇa ca pāpānāṃ sādhūnāṃ pragraheṇa ca* (349, 34), which recognises the principle underlying the whole conception.[21] It is worthy of note that the incarnations of Nārāyaṇa are called here *prādurbhāvas*, 'manifestations', instead of *avatāras*, which later on becomes the regular term. The term *prādurbhāva* probably implies that the god continues to exist in his true unmanifest presence, although he manifests himself at the same time in definite forms (*rūpāṇi*, 349, 37) for particular purposes, presumably through his yoga-powers (*mahā-yogin*, 349, 17; also *yogena* in *śl.* 23). But the idea involved in the term *avatāra* seems to be that either the whole (*pūrṇāvatāra*) or a part (*aṃśāvatāra*) of the divine essence is imagined to descend from heaven, taking a particular form (*mūrti*) or birth (*janma*). The Prādurbhāvas, therefore, may be, as originally conceived, infinite in number. Indeed, in iii, 12, 28 we are told of "thousands" of divine manifestations (*prādurbhāva*), while numberless acts of manifestation are referred to in iii, 102, 25 (*evamādīni karmāṇī yeṣāṃ saṃkhyā na vidyate*), which gives also a good small list of the definite ones. After enumerating in detail some of his own Prādurbhāvas, Nārāyaṇa tells Nārada (339, 106) that his previous excellent manifestations are many (*atikrāntāś ca bahavaḥ prādurbhāvā mamottamāḥ*) although they are perhaps not all heard of

A Prādurbhāva and an Avatāra.

21 A curious myth is told (349, 17f) in this connection. Nārāyaṇa ordered Brahmā to create diverse beings, both wise and stupid, probably in accordance with the principle already enunciated that the diverse ways of the world are meant to give interest and variety to creation. Greatly puzzled, Brahmā pleaded that he had not the requisite wisdom, whereupon Nārāyaṇa thought of Buddhi or Intelligence, who at Nārāyaṇa's direction entered Brahmā. But when, as a consequence, the earth became loaded with creatures whose pride and power became a menace to the gods and sages, Nārāyaṇa perceived that he must come to relieve the burden of the earth by punishing the wicked and supporting the righteous. Thus the long series of Prādurbhāvas began.

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or recorded by tradition (*purāṇeṣu śrutās te yadi na kvacit*). But the tendency of theological speculation has been not only to fix the number, but also to define them clearly in relation to the occasion and the purpose.[22]

The Nārāyaṇīya list of Prādurbhāvas.

In the Nārāyaṇīya, Nārāyaṇa predicts to Nārada (339, 77-102) that he shall manifest himself as the Boar, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Paraśurāma, Dāśarathi-rāma, Sātvata (or Kṛṣṇa) and Kalki (Kalkin), to which an immediately following passage adds (339, 103-4) a fuller list including the Swan (Haṃsa, the Sun-bird?), the Tortoise and the Fish. The Prādurbhāvas mentioned in 349, 37 are the Boar, the Man-lion, and the Dwarf-man. Some of these manifestations are obviously shaped out of older cosmogonic or mythological ideas and must have formed a part of current belief; but others, like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, which have a popular as well as a speculative aspect, must have grown out of local legends and came to possess more practical importance in popular religion as the greatest and the most perfect manifestations in an epic setting. The tale of the mythical incarnations of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva, repeated again and again through the ages, must have assumed a new interest when it was finally embodied in that of semi-human incarnations like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa; for it brought out more vividly before popu-

22 [There is no doubt that the idea of incarnation is ancient, and Hertel may be right in shewing (*Die Sonne und Mithra*, pp. 69, 79) that it belonged to primitive Aryan thought. Its anticipations may also be sought in the Brāhmaṇic doctrine of Bandhutā, but it is not expressly set forth in Vedic or Brāhmaṇic literature. The idea of divine potency manifesting itself in certain associated objects may be taken as a stage of thought preparatory to a theory of incarnation, but it hardly indicates the same reasoned view of the universe. Hopkins is, therefore, probably right in stating that the doctrine of incarnation is still developing even in the Epic itself, though its fundamental idea appears to have been fully established. It was neither stereotyped into the usual ten, nor yet extended to the twenty-four of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, much less to the thirty-nine of later Pañcarātra Saṃhitās.—S.K.D.]

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lar imagination the idea of the service of man and could not fail to awaken a responsive affection.[23]

We have had an occasion to state before that although the Nārāyaṇīya religion owes its substance and inspiration to popular beliefs and sentiments, it is yet influenced and shaped a great deal by Brāhmaṇic theological ideas, and that therefore it lays some stress on *pravṛtti* or activity in sacrificial deeds, inspite of its exaltation of *bhakti* as the only means of salvation. There is a chapter (ch. 340) in which the question of the relative value of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* is raised; but this chapter, along with the two following ones which deal with the fanciful etymology of the various names of the deity and other irrelevant matters, is really a digression and does hardly form an integral part of the narrative. It was probably inserted with a more or less definite object of reconciling the claims of *pravṛtti*, and this suspicion is strengthened by the intrusion in one verse of a distinctly clear Gītā-doctrine of *phala-kāma* (desire for the fruits of action), of which there is no trace elsewhere in the Nārāyaṇīya. Here the supreme deity is the Bhagavat in the character of Viṣṇu, and not Nārāyaṇa; and there is a direct

The Nārāyaṇīya reconcilation of action (pravṛtti) and inaction (nivṛtti).

23 The later Bhāgavata or Pañcarātra dogma of fivefold manifestation of the deity in his Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin and Arcā forms absorbs the older doctrines of Māyā, Vyūha and Prādurbhāva of the Nārāyaṇīya theology. The Para form is the supreme Bhagavat himself, and the Vyūha forms of later theory includes the usual four evolved forms of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The Vibhava forms are secondary manifestations, which are, again, fivefold, viz., Pūrṇa-avatāra (complete incarnation), Aṃśa-avatāra (major partial incarnation), Śakti-avatāra (incarnation in might, e.g. Śiva as a form of the Lord), Kāla-avatāra (minor partial incarnation, e.g. Paraśurāma) and Vibhūti or Kārya-avatāra (incarnation for a purpose, e.g. the Mohinī at the Churning of the Ocean). The Antaryāmin form conceives the deity as the inward ruler in all beings. The Arcā forms are also regarded as (temporary) incarnations of the deity for purposes of worship, e.g. in the idol or image after consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*). See Grierson in *IA*, 1908, p. 273, footnote, and more fully in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 624-29.

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reference (342, 77-70) to the etymology of the names Sātvata and Kṛṣṇa. Nevertheless, the discussion is significant, for it makes the conclusion probable that the Nārāyaṇīya faith leans a great deal towards *pravṛtti*,[24] inconsistent as it apparently is with its fundamental tenet of personal meditation and adoration; and the whole object of the chapter is to find a justification of this tendency, which was probably more developed than original. The question is raised as to why the Bhagavat, who has himself laid down the rules of *nivṛtti* or inaction, should have instituted the ritual of sacrifice, and created gods who partake of offerings and thereby approve of *pravṛtti* or action; while others of a contrary mind follow the rule of inaction. The answer is furnished, first of all, by the story of a great sacrifice, a Vaiṣṇava Kratu, performed in the Kṛta-age by the gods and the primeval sages in accordance with Vedic rules (*veda-dṛṣṭena vidhinā*) at the direction of the Bhagavat himself. Pleased with it, the Bhagavat gives them the privilege of enjoying the fruits of sacrifice characterised by *pravṛtti*. Strengthened by these fruits, they will tend the world and strengthen the god himself. After this appeal to consecrated authority and tradition, a further reason is furnished by the suggestion that different creatures are intended for different purposes in this world, some for action and some for inaction. Thus arose two sets of teachers and two types of religion to impart variety and interest to the universe; but the divergent practices and beliefs still proclaim Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu as the supreme object of adoration. The first school, headed by the seven mind-born Prakṛtis, the original Citra-śikhaṇḍins, viz., Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and

The leaning towards *pravṛtti*.

24 Elsewhere it is said: *pravṛtti-lakṣaṇaṃ dharmam ṛṣir nārāyaṇo 'bravīt*, xii, 217, 2; *pravṛtti-lakṣaṇaś caiva dharmo nārāyaṇātmakaḥ*, xii 347, 83. In 339, 67 Nārāyaṇa praises and recommends Nivṛtti but calls it *nirvāṇaṃ sarva-dharmāṇām*. In 340, 8 the Mokṣa-dharma (apparently=the Upaniṣadic Nivṛtti) is described as *brahma-nirvāṇa*.

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Vaśiṣṭha, consisted of orthodox ritualists, teachers of the Vedas (*vedācāryāḥ*) and of action (*pravṛtti-dharmiṇaḥ*); while the second school, led by the seven mind-born sons of Brahmā, viz., Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila and Sanātana, constituted the exponents of Sāṃkhya-yoga (*yoga-vido mukhyāḥ sāṃkhya-jñāna-viśāradāḥ*) and apostles of inaction (*nivṛttiṃ dharmam āsthitāḥ*).

The last reference to Sāṃkhya-Yoga and to the Upaniṣadic teachers like Sanatkumāra is interesting. In inculcating a doctrine of activity in orthodox ritualism, a conscious opposition to the meditative inactivity of the Aupaniṣadas and Sāṃkhyas is clearly indicated.[25] But the Nārāyaṇīya does not go so far as the *Bhagavadgītā* in making out a comprehensive scheme of including all acts (and not merely sacrificial duties) and sanctifying them with a theory of desireless action. The Nārāyaṇīya merely refrains from rejecting sacrificial duties as such and inculcates their merit up to a certain point; it does not think of reconciling them philosophically with a higher conception of inactivity. The more popular attitude, which admits indiscriminately various and even conflicting elements without much internal connexion or justification, is thus evident in the Nārāyaṇīya. It lays down complacently (340, 88) that the Vedas, sacrifice (*yajña*), austerities (*tapas*), truth (*satya*), non-injury to beings (*ahiṃsā*), self-control (*dama*) should be the elements of a good religion, although all these must be subordinated to *bhakti*. These virtues are also recognised separately in the *Bhagavadgītā* as well as in the Epic in general; but in the *Gītā* their place is properly defined in a more or less definite theoretical scheme.

This stress on *pravṛtti* is in conscious opposition to the *nivṛtti* of the Aupaniṣadas and the Sāṃkhyas.

The most important characteristic in this respect is the direct forbidding of animal sacrifice in the Nārāyaṇīya

25 Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, p. 86.

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The doctrine of Ahiṃsā emphasised.

and the inculcation of the doctrine of Ahiṃsā which has since become a fundamental tenet in all Vaiṣṇava sects. It is not necessary to refer this ethical doctrine in the Epic to the influence of Jainism or Buddhism; for respect for animal life or kindness to dumb creatures may have been a popular trait, of which the Jaina or Buddhistic doctrine itself was possibly one of the many expressions.[26] In most early Indian beliefs which have a popular character, non-injury to animals as a doctrine is more or less present, and it may have independently developed. As a sumptuary measure meat-eating or slaughtering of animals is not rare in the Epic itself, and as a sacrificial measure its forbidding is pointless, unless it is due, not to any inherent repugnance to killing but to a gradual and widespread popular feeling of kindness for the helpless sacrificial beasts. The dispute between the gods and the sages over animal and vegetable sacrifice, recorded in the Nārāyaṇīya legend of Uparicara-Vasu (ch. 337), is interesting from this point of view. It is a clear indication of the ultimate victory of Ahiṃsā as a belief, which has now even the venerable sages, if not the selfish gods, as its serious partisans. In the *Bhagavadgītā* Ahiṃsā is mentioned as a laudable virtue and as a *śārīra tapas*,[27] bodily penance, (x, 5; xiii, 7; xvi, 2; xvii, 14); but it is out of the question that the Bhagavat should insist on this doctrine to Arjuna on

26 Even in the Brāhmaṇas we find the indication of a mild aversion to the beast-sacrifice by the gradual introduction of proxy sacrifices. It may have been the result, as Hopkins suggests (*Religions of India*, pp. 119-120), of a growing belief in the doctrine of Karma and rebirth in animal form; and the question of expense on the part of the laity, which probably led the substitution of smaller and cheaper animals, may have ultimately led to their abolition. In early Brāhmaṇical literature Ahiṃsā is also directly inculcated, although it is not clear that the word is in every case (e.g. *Chāndogya Up.* iii, 17, 4) to be interpreted in the specific sense of non-killing of animals. See Hopkins, *Ethics of India*, pp. 165-166.

27 as also in *Mbh.* xii, 237, 17.

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the battle-field; and to the Gītā-theory of desireless action, as well as of the immortality of the self, the distinction between injury and non-injury in itself is immaterial. It is remarkable, therefore, that while Ahiṃsā as a religious attitude is practically ignored in the *Bhagavadgītā*, it is insisted upon in the Nārāyaṇīya both by legend and precept (340, 82);[28] and in this respect, later Vaiṣṇava faiths follow the Nārāyaṇīya rule.

The independent character and origin of the Nārāyaṇīya faith.

In the brief and imperfect sketch of the Nārāyaṇīya system given above, we have made an attempt to indicate the surroundings out of which the Nārāyaṇīya faith emerges and the essentially popular character of its theology. The result of a mutual compromise with the orthodox Brāhmaṇical religion is evident, but its direct connexion with the complex body of popular myths, legends and beliefs cannot be denied. We have also discussed incidentally how this system, agreeing on the fundamental tenet of *bhakti*, *diverges* in many essentials and particulars from the Bhāgavata or Sātvata faith, represented in the *Bhagavadgītā*. Its popular legendary character probably indicates a different source. Its conception of the personal god, his paradise and his devotees is a curious combination of myth and speculation, of which there is not much trace in the more coherent teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā*. There is some resemblance between the theophanies and apocalypses of the Nārāyaṇīya and the *Bhagavadgītā* respectively, but even if it is shewn that the one had been modelled on the other, it is no proof of the identity of the two systems, and they are also conceived somewhat differently. Again, the Vyūha doctrine, even if it is known, is not given a place in the Bhāgavata scheme. The theory

28 This verse says that in the Kṛta-Age sacrificial animals should not be slain, and that in the Tretā-Age consecrated animals alone will be slain in the sacrifice. But nothing is said about the other Yugas.

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of incarnation, which is general in the Epic, finds expression in both the systems; but the Nārāyaṇīya dwells more on it as a cardinal tenet than the *Bhagavadgītā*.[29] The ways of action and inaction are not reconciled or developed on the same lines in the two systems. The *Bhagavadgītā* ignores the Ahiṃsā doctrine, though Ahiṃsā is extolled as a virtue; but the Nārāyaṇīya assigns an unmistakable importance to it. The eschatology is not the same; and the process of emancipation for the Bhāgavatas is declared in a significant passage in the Nārāyaṇīya to be different from that of the Pañcarātra worshippers of Nārāyaṇa in his Vyūha forms. In spite of many obvious points of agreement, these are indeed important differences. They are enough to justify the presumption that even if the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Epic be shewn to be later in date (of which there is, however, no direct or satisfactory proof), it is probably earlier in substance than the *Bhagavadgītā*, and it most likely embodies an earlier and somewhat different tradition of beliefs and sentiments.

Not originally identical with the Sātvata or Bhāgavata faith

We have referred to the attempts made in the text itself to bring the Nārāyaṇīya theology into a line with the Bhāgavata teaching and to declare vaguely their identity as systems; but these attempts are clearly of a slight and artificial character and need not be exaggerated. The testimony adduced above seems, on the contrary, to warrant the assumption that the Nārāyaṇīya sets forth a body of beliefs, sentiments and fancies, which must have developed independently, but which ultimately flowed into the same stream of sectarian faith and came to be identified (when earlier distinctive outlines were lost, forgotten or were of no account) with other closely analogous *bhakti*-systems which

29 Nārada tells us (343, 52) that the most cardinal doctrines of the teaching which he received from Nārāyaṇa were those relating to the Kṣetrajña (i.e. the Vyūha) and the Prādurbhāva theory.

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had probably also their independent origin and development. We have also noticed its connexion with Viṣṇuism, but here also the connexion is not organic. Nārāyaṇa is, no doubt, credited with the names and attributes of the much older Viṣṇu, the purātana deva (iii, 142, 17), but there is no serious attempt to make this or even the express identifications in passages like 343, 20, appear convincing. It looks as if the identification was of a longer standing and (as it is throughout the Epic) accepted implicity; but Viṣṇu, like Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, does not play any distinctive role in the Nārāyaṇīya.[30] It is curious that in the long digression on the etymology of the names of the godhead, the name of Viṣṇu is not considered at all, although fanciful etymologies are suggested for the names Sātvata, Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva.[31] The elusive epic Viṣṇuism is present here, but it is hardly of any importance. The attempt to identify the Nārāyaṇīya faith with Sātvata Bhāgavatism, or Nārāyaṇa with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, is still less convincing, both from the legendary as well as from the doctrinal points of view.[32] Unlike Nārā-

nor with Viṣṇuism, although the epic identifications appear to be established by a peculiar syncretism of beliefs.

30 The name Viṣṇu occurs three times in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In x, 21 the Bhagavat claims to be "Viṣṇu among the Ādityas", while in the same breath he calls himself "Śaṅkara among the Rudras." Twice again Arjuna in his beatific vision addresses the Bhagavat as Viṣṇu. R.G. Bhandarkar is of opinion that this is a context in which Arjuna may well be reminded of the sun-god. This need not prove that the identification, as W.D.P. Hill (*Bhagavadgītā*, 1928, p. 25) maintains, was of recent origin; on the contrary, it may show that it was so well established that to stress it was thought hardly necessary. The identification, however, is quite clear, here as elsewhere, especially as the theophanic form is described as bearing the emblems of Viṣṇu (*kirīṭinaṃ gadinaṃ cakriṇaṃ ca*, etc.).

31 The names Sātvata and Kṛṣṇa are considered, but etymologies suggested are too fanciful to be real.

32 An attempt is made in a curious myth (*Mbh*, i, 197, 32-33) to connect the Kṛṣṇa-incarnation bodily with Nārāyaṇa. Implored by the gods to save the earth from the burden of the wicked, Nārāyaṇa is said to have plucked two of his hairs, one black and the other white.

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yaṇa, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is presented as a definite incarnation, and we have seen that the teaching of the two systems, even though drawn together by a peculiar syncretism of beliefs, are not the same in detail.

MRINAL DASGUPTA

Descending to the earth and entering the womb of Devakī the former was born as Kṛṣṇa and the latter as Baladeva.

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The Gupta Era

The confused nature of the chronology of ancient Indian History makes it very difficult to reconcile Brāhmanic, Buddhist or Jaina traditions, with inscriptional evidences and Chinese accounts. Besides, the uncertainty of identifying the eras in which inscriptions are sometimes dated only adds to the confusion.

In view of this unsettled state of things, when in 1887, Dr. Fleet fixed the epoch of the Gupta Era at 319-20 A.D. it came as a great relief to historians as giving them something definite to go upon. As Vincent Smith said, "A great step in advance was gained by Fleet's determination of the Gupta era, which had been the subject of much wild conjecture. His demonstration that the year 1 of that era is A.D. 319-20, fixed the chronological position of a most important dynasty, and reduced chaos to order." And further "most of the difficulties which continued to embarrass the chronology of the Gupta period, even after the announcement of Fleet's discovery in 1887, have been removed by M. Sylvain Lévi's publication of the synchronism of Samudra Gupta with King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon *c.* A.D. 352-79". But despite this enthusiastic view, it must be confessed that the reconstruction of ancient Indian Chronology on Dr. Fleet's basis has gone definitely against Indian traditions, Chinese accounts and inscriptional evidences. In fact, Fleet's hypothesis creates more difficulties than it solves. Some very notable instances are mentioned below:

(1) Hiuen Tsang's (A.D. 629-648) statement that Mihirakula and therefore Narasiṃha Gupta Bālāditya and Yaśodharman flourished *several centuries* before his time has got to be rejected, if we accept Fleet's date.

(2) I-Tsing (A.D. 671-695) mentions a great king Śrī Gupta who built a temple near Mṛgaśikhavana for some Chinese pilgrims remarkable for their piety. This temple, the ruins of which were still known in I-Tsing's time as the 'Temple of China', was endowed by the king with twenty-four large villages. The foundation of the temple took place about five hundred years before the writer's time, i.e., about 170

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A.D. This statement cannot be reconciled with Fleet's determination of the Gupta era, because according to Fleet's calculation, no Gupta King as lord of Pāṭaliputra could exist about that time.

(3) Hāla, the Andhra king who is placed about A.D. 50 by tradition mentions Vikramāditya in his *Gāthā Saptaśati*. If this Vikramāditya be identified with Candragupta II whose date of accession is, according to Fleet, about 380 A.D., then the above tradition has to be rejected.

(4) The beautiful *terra cotta* medallion found by Marshall at Bhita near Allahabad depicts a scene exclusive to the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* of Kālidāsa. Vogel and others state that the medallion must belong to the Suṅga period (1st century B.C.). But according to Fleet, Kālidāsa has to be placed in the fourth century A.D. as a court poet of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, who is placed, on Fleet's hypothesis, in A.D. 380. This late dating of Kālidāsa is contrary to Indian tradition.

These difficulties have led me to examine the whole question of ancient Indian Chronology afresh, and I proceed to give a short résumé of my investigations in this matter.

Varāhamihira mentions in his *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* that king Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling the earth 2556 years before the Śaka Kāla. This Śaka Kāla will be found to refer to the Śākya or Buddha Kāla of 546 B.C. Therefore the time of Yudhiṣṭhira was (2556+546) or 3102 B.C., exactly tallying with the universal Indian tradition of the commencement of the Kali Yuga. The Buddha era no longer exists in India as a Śaka (Śākya) Kāla; but in Cambodia and the Far East it is still in use as the Buddha Śaka Kāla as pointed out by Finot (in the *BEFEO*, vol. XVII, 1917).

Incidentally it may be remarked that the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II is dated in Śaka year 556(=A.D. 634) and Kali Yuga year 3735(=A.D. 634) from which it is clear that the date of the Bharata war is identical with the beginning of the Kali era.[1]

1 त्रिशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु शतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु पञ्चाशतसु कलौकाले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम्। *IA.*, VIII, p. 242.

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Now let us see how far Fleet was correct in his astronomical verification of the Gupta epoch. We shall first examine the inscriptions dated in the twelve year cycle of Jupiter coupled with the concurrent date of the Gupta era. According to all the Hindu astronomers Jupiter's years are complete when through his mean motion he moves over one sign, i.e., 30 degrees '(बृहस्पतेर्मध्यमराशिभोगात् संवत्सरं सांहितिका वदन्ति।" Bhāskara). They also distinctly state that the solar year exceeds in duration the Jovian year.

With Fleet's hypothetical epoch Mr. Sh. B. Dixit could not get the name of the Jovian year corresponding to the supposed equivalent date of the Gupta year, on the mean sign system. So Dixit went over the unequal space divisions of the Nakṣatras. But even then he could not get results tallying with the inscriptions. He then assumed the Jovian year to be equivalent to the synodic period of Jupiter (399 days) which, every one knows, is about 34 days more than the solar year. This was an unwarranted assumption in view of the express statements by all the Hindu astronomers that Jupiter's years are shorter by more than four days than one solar year. The sidereal period of Jupiter being 4332·58 days (i.e. 11·86 years), he moves over one sign in 4332·58 or 361·0 days. With these wrong assumptions Fleet with the help of Dixit could make some of the names of the Jovian years tally with the Gupta dates. But with his assumed epoch when he came to the other Gupta inscriptions giving the week days or mentioning an eclipse, he was a total failure as will presently be seen.

There are four inscriptions of Mahārāja Hastin and his son Saṃkṣobha for the current Gupta years 156, 173, 191 and 209, i.e., the elapsed years 155, 172, 190 and 208. Assuming that the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era (which will be proved later on in this paper) these Gupta or Vikrama years are respectively equivalent to Śaka years 19, 36, 54, and 72 elapsed (=A.D. 97, 114, 132 and 150). Astronomical calculations for the mean longitudes of Jupiter in A.D. 97, 114, 132 and 150 in the beginning of luni-solar Caitra yield longitudes 222°, 17°, 204° and 29° respectively from the Hindu Initial point. The name of the Jovian year when Jupiter lies within 30° from the Hindu initial point is called Mahā Aśvayuja, and so on. Therefore the names of the

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Jovian years in those years should be Mahā-vaiśakha, Mahā-Aśvayuja, Mahā-Caitra and Mahā-Aśvayuja respectively exactly as in the inscriptions. Cunningham also in his *Indian Eras* makes the first three dates Mahā-Vaiśākha, Mahā-Āśvina and Mahā-Caitra respectively exactly as in the inscriptions. For the last date A.D. 150 (=Śaka 72), Cunningham gives Mahā-Kārtika, as against Mahā Aśvayuja. But we see that in his Table A.D. 139 was Mahā-Kārtika, the next year A.D. 140 is recorded as Mahā-Pauṣa, omitting Mahā-Mārgaśīrsa that year. If this had not been done that year, A.D. 150 would have shown Mahā Aśvayuja exactly as in the inscription.

Now I take up the Eran inscription of Budhagupta of 'the year 165, the month of Aṣāḍha, on Thursday, the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight'. This being the current Gupta or Vikrama year is equivalent to A.D. 107=Kaliyuga year 3208. Kaliyuga year 3208 elapsed =(365·2586×3208) or 1171749·85 days. The Julian day number of the epoch of the Kali yuga era (3102 B.C., 18th of February)=588466. Therefore the Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in K.Y. 3208=(1171749·85+588466) or 1760215·85 days, equivalent to March 17·85 days A.D. 107. The solar months of Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha=62·34 days. This brings us to the 19th of May for the first day of solar Āṣāḍha. Now the initial day of the luni-solar year (lunar Caitra) was Thursday the 11th of March in A.D. 107. (This is correctly given in Cunningham's *Indian Eras*). Now on the 71st day from this we have a śukla-dvādaśī. This brings us to Thursday, the 20th of May, A.D. 107, which day we find was the 2nd day of solar Āṣāḍha and the week day was Thursday exactly as in the inscription.

In the Koh grant of Mahārāja Saṃkṣobha of the year 209, the month of Caitra, for the lunar day 13 of the bright fortnight the date given is the 29th day of solar Caitra. Now this being the current Vikrama year is equivalent to A.D. 150-151. But as the month was Caitra it was A.D. 151. The Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in K.Y. 3252 (=A.D. 151)=1776287·48, equivalent to March 19·48 days in A.D. 151. The solar month of Caitra=30.37 days. Therefore the 29th of solar Caitra was the 17th of March, A.D. 151. Now full-moon fore *śuklā-trayodaśī* began on the 17th of March and this we find was

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also the 29th day of solar Caitra, exactly as in the inscription. With Fleet's epoch the assumed date (19th of March, A.D. 528) was neither the 29th day of solar Caitra, nor the 27th as emended by him. In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 379 ff. Fleet therefore remarked "..... I think that the value of the second numerical symbol must be corrected once more, and no matter what may be suggested at first sight by the value of similar symbols elsewhere, must be finally fixed at 8, i.e., the (civil) day 28." The reader must have to read the second symbol as 8, through his imagination, for so Dr. Fleet commands in order to conform to his pet theory.

Lastly I come to the Morvi grant of Jainka from Kathiawad on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in 'Gupta year 585 expired, the 5th solar day of the month of Phālguna'. This is the most important inscription for the verification of the beginning of the Gupta era. Now Vikrama year 585 expired = A.D. 528/29. But as the month was Phālguna (Jan.-Feb.) it was no longer A.D. 528 but A.D. 529.

Now A.D. 529 = Kaliyuga year 3630 elapsed. The length of the Hindu solar year = 365·25876 days. Therefore 3630 years = (3630 × 365·25876) or 1325889·28 days. Now the Julian day number of the epoch of the Kali yuga era (18th of February, 3102 B.C.) is 588466. Therefore the Julian day number of the initial day of the Kali year 3630 elapsed = (588466 + 1325889·28) or 1914355·28 equivalent to 21st of March, A.D. 529. Thus the last day of solar Caitra being the 21st of March and knowing that the Hindu solar months of Phālguna and Caitra = 60.2 days, the 5th day of Phālguna comes out to be the 25th of January, A.D. 529. Now on looking up to astronomical tables giving the dates of the eclipse of the sun we find that in A.D. 529 there was an eclipse of the sun on the 25th of January, Greenwhich Civil Time of conjunction in longitude being 23 h. 18m. This eclipse was total and ended on the earth generally in Greenwich Civil Time about 2 A.M. or in Ujjayini Civil Time about 7 A.M. in the morning. But owing to the effects of parallax this eclipse was not visible from India.[2]

2 The calculations may be verified from the Tables of Julian day number given in the *Nautical Almanacs*, Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Theodore von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finstermisse* and Prof. Dr. P. V. Neugebaver's *Astronomische Chronologie* (Berlin).

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There are instances of grants being made on the occasion of an eclipse though the same may not be visible from the particular locality. The above calculation proves conclusively that *the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era and began from 58 B.C.* Fleet as well as Cunningham with their supposed epochs of the Gupta era and the resulting dates could get no eclipse in Phālguna. They therefore had to assume that the charter was perhaps dated several months before or after the eclipse but such an assumption is unwarranted. Fleet's conclusion about the beginning of the Gupta era is therefore incorrect.

Thus we see very clearly that the (Candra) Gupta (I Vikramāditya) era = (Candragupta I) Vikrama (āditya) era and started from 58 B.C.

A few historical facts also support my contention, e.g., Mihirakula's father, Toramana's inscription is dated in the year 52. This must then be in the Śaka era, equivalent to (52 + 78) or A.D. 130 (= V.S. 188). Bhānugupta is mentioned in the Eran inscription of Goparāja of the Gupta year 191 who was a contemporary of Mihirakula. Therefore we find very clearly that *the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama Saṃvat.*

Fleet made the Gupta era identical with the Valabhi era and therefore made the Kṛta or Mālava era identical with the Vikrama era thus making the interval between the Gupta and Kṛta eras one of (318 + 58) or 376 years. Now knowing the Gupta era to be identical with the Vikrama era, we find that the earlier Śrī Harṣa era mentioned by Al-beruni the starting point of which is exactly 400 years before the Vikrama era must be identical with the Kṛta, or Mālava era. Hence the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman Viṣṇuvardhana dated in Kṛta year 589 where Mihirakula's defeat is described, must be dated in Gupta or Vikrama Samvat (589 – 400) or 189, just two years prior to Bhānugupta's date (G.E. 191).

"Vasumitra flourishing during the reign of the son of Kanishka is expressly distinguished from the other Vasumitra the President of the Fourth Council, as well as from a younger namesake living in the 6th or the 7th century, a disciple of Guṇamati". We know that Aśvaghoṣa, Vasumitra, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, etc. were contemporaries, Āryadeva and Nāgārjuna being the younger contemporaries. Āryadeva was the

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rector at Nalanda during the reign of the Gupta monarch Candragupta. Kern on the assumption of the correctness of Fleet's determination of the Gupta era threw doubts on this statement! "It cannot be true that Deva or at least this Deva was rector at Nalanda during the reign of the Gupta king Candragupta." But if the Gupta era is the same as the Vikrama Samvat, the account is quite justified. Thus we see that the early Kushans, the Imperial Guptas and the above mentioned Buddhist Ācāryas belonged to the same period. Hence *Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi*, a title characteristic of the Kushan kings—whom Samudragupta defeated as depicted in his Allahabad *Praśasti* must be *Kaṇiṣka*, while Samudragupta was the crown prince. "Traditions of Kaṇiṣka's conflict with the rulers of Pāṭaliputra and Soked are preserved by the Tibetan and Chinese writers". Hence the Vikrama era was started from the accession of Candragupta I Vikramāditya in 58 B.C. Kaṇiṣka and his descendants began to use the Saṃvat of Vikramāditya. It will be my attempt in future to show that the dates of many historical events which have so far baffled the calculations of historians on the basis of Fleet's determination of the Gupta era are accurate and tally with the contemporary events.

I now append a table of the dates of the Gupta inscriptions on the basis of my determination of the Gupta Era with the hope that the historians will verify them and point out the inaccuracies, if any.

Vijayagaḍh inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana,	Kṛta year 428=V.S. 28=31 B.C.
Naravarman's Mandasor inscription,	,, ,, 461=V.S. or G.E. 61=A.D. 3
Gaṅgdhar inscription of Viśvavarman,	,, ,, 480=V.S. or G.E. 80=A.D. 22
Udayagiri inscription of Candragupta II,	,, ,, G.E. 82=V.S. 82=A.D. 24
Gadhwa inscription, ...	G.E. or V.S. 88=A.D. 30
Sāñci inscription, ...	G.E. or V.S. 93=A.D. 35
Mandasor inscription,	Kṛta year 493=G.E. or V.S. 93=A.D. 35
Kumāragupta, Bilsar inscription,	,, ,, ,, 96= ,, 38

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Gadhwa inscription, ,, ,, ,, 98= ,, 40
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Karamádande inscription, ,, ,, ,, 117= ,, 59
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Mandasor inscr. of Bandhuvarman, Kṛta year 529=G.E. 129=A.D. 71
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G.E. or V.S. 136, 137, 138=A.D. 78, 79, 80
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Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, Mandasor inscr., Kṛta year 589=G.E. or V.S. 189=A.D. 131
Goparāja's Eran inscr., Kṛta year G.E. or V.S. 191=A.D. 133.

DHIRENDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

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A Buddhist Manuscript at Gilgit*

The note published by Sir Aurel Stein in the *Statesman* of Calcutta and, later on, in the *JRAS.* (1931, October) and in the *IA.* (1932, March) on the *Archæological Discoveries in the Hindukush* created a stir in the world of Buddhist scholars. In October last, the authorities of the Calcutta University realising its importance wished that a preliminary survey of the manuscripts found at Gilgit should be made, and requested the authorities in the Kashmir State to give me the necessary facilities to examine them. The communal trouble was just then at an ebb; so I ventured to proceed to Srinagar, where I was very kindly received by Sir Zafar Ali Khan, who gladly complied with the request of the Calcutta University by giving me a week's time to examine the mss. As most of the mss. were still lying at Gilgit, an almost unapproachable place in October and November, I had to satisfy myself with the examination of five mss. that had been brought to Srinagar.

Introductory

The manuscripts are all in a bad condition and damaged in many places. Two of the manuscripts are incomplete, while the remaining nearly complete. They are all written on birch-bark in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century A.D. in the calligraphic style, and the characters have in many cases similarity with those of the Bower Manuscript and of the inscription of Yaśodharman.

The first manuscript, that has been examined by me and of which I propose to give here a detailed summary, contains 41 leaves and is entitled the *Ajitasena-vyākaraṇa-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra.* From

* This article contians valuable information collected from a class of finds examined by an Indian scholar for the first time. My best thanks are due to Sir Zafar Ali Khan, a lover of Indian culture, for giving the writer the necessary facilities, and also to my friend Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., Bar-at-law, Fellow of the Calcutta University, for taking the initiative to enable the writer to ascertain details about the Mss.—Editor.

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the colophon it appears that the present ms. was written by one Ārya Sthirabuddhi with the help of the dharma-bhāṇaka Narendra-datta. The only clue to the date of the ms. is the palæographic evidence supplied by its characters, which can be dated in the 5th century A.D. at the earliest.

The importance of the ms. lies in its (a) language, (b) the light thrown by it on the Aṅga (division of Buddhist literature) called *Vyākaraṇa*, (c) the form of Buddhism, envisaged by its contents, and (d) the whereabouts of the Arhat Nandimitra.

In language and style, it bears a close resemblance to the *Lalita-vistara*. Like this work it relates an incident or gives a prayer first in easy and correct Sanskrit and then repeats it in broken Sanskrit, called the Gāthā dialect by the late savant Dr. R. L. Mitra. The shortening of vowels, indiscriminate use of *u* in word-endings, disregard of grammar, contraction of words for the exigencies of metre are as frequent as we find in the gāthā portions of the *Lalitavistara* and other *Mahāyāna* works.

The treatise is undoubtedly a Mahāyāna-sūtra but it represents, as I have said in my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (pp. 36-38), the semi-Mahāyānic form of Buddhism. The reason for this opinion will be found in the fact that the *Sūtra* contains only an edifying story admonishing the people to give alms to the Buddhist monks, develop faith in Buddha as the saviour of mankind, and thereby attain Buddha-hood in all its glory. In the story, there is clearly an admixture of both the Hīnayānic and Mahāyānic ideals. It will be seen at page 107 that the king's son who attained Arhathood was capable of visualizing all the Buddhakṣetras. The conception of innumerable Buddhas presiding over their respective Buddhakṣetras is foreign to the Hīnayānists, while Arhathood has no place in the spiritual stages of the Mahāyānists. The admixture of the two conceptions appears to me to indicate the stage of Buddhism in which Hīnayāna was just incorporating the Mahāyānic ideals without, however, its philosophy of *Dharmaśūnyatā;* or in other words, when the *Pāramitās* only were being included in the ethical code of the Hīnayānists.

On account of its frequent references to the infinite virtues of Buddha, the immeasurable merit acquired through gifts to monks and

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the inconceivable suffering caused by refraining from making such gifts, it can be called a Mahāyāna-sūtra of the Mahāvaipulya class.

Of the 9 or 12 divisions (*aṅgas*) of the Buddhist literature it shows, both by its title and contents, that it belongs to the division called *Vyākaraṇa*. So far the Buddhist scholars as also Buddhaghosa were not quite sure as to which portions of the *Tripiṭaka* should be placed under the *Vyākaraṇa* class. Buddhaghosa, probably quite unaware of the existence of a literature to which the present ms. belonged, said that the whole of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, all *suttas* in which there are no verses, and all other *Buddhavacanas* not included in the remaining eight divisions should be called Veyyākaraṇa (*Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, p. 24). An interpretation like this seems on the face of it a laboured one. The Mahāyānic interpretation of the *Vyākaraṇa* division of literature is more to the point. According to it, the sūtras like the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Samādhirāja*, and *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* come under the *Vyākaraṇa* class (see *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 9). All our doubts, however, about the *Vyākaraṇa* class of Buddhist literature are set at rest by the present ms. It shows that those *Sūtras*, the chief object of which is to make a prophecy about the attainment of Buddhahood by one or more devotees, belongs to the *Vyākaraṇa* class. In this sense, the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakas* may well be called a *Vyākaraṇa* as it relates the story of Sumedha Brāhmaṇa, and the prophecy made by Dīpaṅkara Buddha about his future appearance as the Buddha Śākyamuni. The sixth and ninth chapters entitled the *Vyākaraṇaparivarta* and the eighth chapter *Pañcabhikṣuśatavyākaraṇaparivarta* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* is distinctly of the *Vyākaraṇa* type, and the same may also be said of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* which depicts the career of Sudhana until his attainment of Buddhahood, he having been foretold on many occasions about the certainty of his ultimately becoming a Buddha. (See also *Śatasāhasrikā*, p. 309).

Of other matters of religious interest, I may refer to the mention of the infinite merits acquired by those who read, preach and preserve the present treatise along with the anathema pronounced upon its revilers or destroyers,[1] and to the mention of the begging-bell, the head-

1 Such anathemas are also given in other Mahāyāna treatises, e.g., in the

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dress, and the custom of assembling monks by striking a gong. The last mentioned practice is still found in many Buddhist countries. At Chittagong, there is still to be found the practice of carrying a bell (of bell-metal) by a śramaṇa accompanying a bhikṣu while going on the begging rounds. The practice of carrying a stick with small bells is noticed among certain non-Buddhist ascetics of the present day. The head-dress, I surmise, was sanctioned specially for the monks living in cold countries like Kashmir.

Of particular importance are the principal figures of the story, king Ajitasena and his spiritual guide Nandimitra, and the name of the capital of Ajitasena.

Mr. Watters supplies us with some information about Nandimitra from the Chinese work: *Ta A-lo-han Nan-ti-mi-to-lo so-shuo fa-chu-chi* (The record of the duration of the Law, spoken by the great Arhat Nandimitra) (*JRAS.*, 1898, p. 331). This has been supplemented by a fuller account given by Profs. Sylvani Lévi and Eduard Chavannes in their paper: *Les Seize Arhat Protecteurs de la Loi* (published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1916, pp. 5ff.) which gives the French translation of the important portions of the Chinese text.

In the Introduction to the Chinese book, the following information is given about the author Nandimitra:

800 years after the *Parinirvāṇa* of Buddha there was in the capital of Sheng-chün (勝 軍) in the Chih-shih-tzu (執 師 子) country an arhat called Nandimitra. He had obtained the eight *vimuktis* (vimokṣas?), three *vidyās* and six *abhijñas*. He was free from impurities (araṇā), could know the aims and objects (*praṇidhi-jñāna*) (of beings), and had obtained the highest *samāpatti*. He had a great spiritual power which spread his fame far and wide. By the power of his *Praṇidhijñāna*, he could ascertain the feelings and actions of all living beings of the world. When his rebirth and its cause had terminated, and he was going to attain Parinirvāṇa he collected all the monks and nuns, and recounted to them the great merits realised by him personally and all that he had done for the benefit and joy of living beings.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, pp. 226, 268, 337, 386, 414 etc., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, pp. 181 ff; *Lalitavistara*, pp. 88-89; *Kāśyapa-parivarta*, pp. 226 ff.

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He then told them that he would be no more, and asked them to put questions in order to remove their doubts. At this, the monks and nuns began to lament and one of them spoke out thus,

"The Buddha Bhagavā has long since entered into Nirvāṇa, the five disciples of his also are gone. The world is now void of any true leader. At present you are the only Venerable who are the eyes of gods and men. Why should you wish to have your turn to abandon us. Have pity on us and live some time more".

Nandimitra consoled them saying, "It is not proper for you to weep, O good men, you know the law of the world that whatever is born must have decay. The Buddhas who had vanquished the four demons and who possessed the power to fix the length of their lives conformed to the laws of the world and realised Nirvāṇa. How it will benefit you if I live permanently. Suppose I comply with your request, it will not be of any profit to you. You should understand it and not be sorry."

On hearing this they all began to weep more. After some time they said, "We do not know how long yet the most excellent Law of Bhagavā Śākyamuni will last?"

The Venerable said, "Listen attentively, the Tathāgata has already preached the sacred *sūtra* on the duration of the Law."

Then he told them briefly how Buddha Bhagavā had entrusted the most excellent Law to sixteen great Arhats and their followers and asked them to protect it so that it might not be destroyed.[1]

Schiefner in his *Geschichte des Buddhismus* (p. 62) mentions one Nandamitra as a bhikṣu who realised the Truth when Aśvagupta was in charge of the Teaching at Pāṭaliputra and when a son of king Kanishka was ruling at Puṣkalāvatī, while the Tibetan work *dPag. bsam. ljon. bzaṅ* (pp. 48, 51) mentions one *dgaḥ-baḥi bśes-gñen* restored by Mr. S. C. Das as Ānandamitra (by Profs. Lévi and Chavannes as Nandimitra), and relates the cause of the disappearance of the excellent religion (*bstan. pa. nub. pāḥi rgyu. ni*).

The present treatise furnishes us with a clue to the identification of the Mahāśrāvaka Nandimitra with the Nandimitra of the Chinese work. In the latter, it is stated that the Arhat Nandimitra lived in

1 See *JA.*, 1916, pp. 6-10.

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a garden in the capital of king Sheng-Chün (勝軍) in the Chih-shih-tzu (執師子) country. Watters was not very confident about the restoration from the Chinese words *Sheng* and *Chün*. Following Nanjio he suggested either Prasenajit or Jayasena, for *Sheng* means "to conquer, to get the victory" while *Chün* means "army, troops" (Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*), and he preferred the first, as the name is well-known in the Buddhist history. Profs. Lévi and Chavannes, in the absence of any other known name, accepted his suggestion (*JA.*, 1916, p. 27-28). The present ms. throws some light on this doubtful restoration. The two Chinese words may be restored as Jayasena or Ajitasena, though strictly for *Ajita* we should expect in Chinese the two additional letters preceding *sheng*, viz., *wu-neng* 無能 Ajitasena may not be an historical person, but the fact that his name is associated with Nandimitra may be taken as a valid reason for restoring Sheng-chün as Ajitasena.

Now let us examine the restoration of the name of the capital of Jayasena or Ajitasena where Nandimitra lived. In Chinese it is called *Chih-shih-tzu* and is located in Magadha. It is a pity that the ms. does not give the Sanskrit name of the capital. Mr. Watters rightly suggested (though in the fn., see *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 332) that it should be restored as Siṃhadvīpa, but as no town of importance is known by this name, he hesitatingly followed Nanjio's suggestion that it meant Siṃhaladvīpa, i.e. Ceylon, but he was inclined to look for a place of this name within Magadha and he traced also one in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*, Tok. XVII, 4, 29b, col. 17), where Buddha once stopped on his way from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛha. Profs. Lévi and Chavannes preferred Siṃhala (Ceylon)[1] and adduced reasons for the same, without seriously minding the anomaly presented by the time, place and name of the king. The present ms. proves clearly that one should take Watters' suggestion, viz., that Chih-shih-tzu referred to a place, known as Siṃhadvīpa or by some such name in Magadha situated between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha, for in the ms. also we see that Buddha was at Śrāvastī and asked Nandimitra to go eastwards to Magadha to convert Ajitasena and his son.

1 "L' indication geographique est plus precise; le royaume de Tche-che-tseu est certainement Ceylon"—*JA.*, 1916, p. 27.

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Our object therefore should be to look for a place in or near Magadha having *siṃha* as a part of its name. A careful study of the *Mahāvaṃsa* yields very interesting results. The ancient name of Ceylon as given in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is either Tambapaṇṇi or Laṅkā, and nowhere do we find mention of Siṃhala. The introductory verse of chapter ix of the *Dīpavaṃsa*,[1] if literally translated, would be: "there was the Laṅkādīpa (inhabited by) the Sīhala people so called after *sīha*. The story of the conversion of Ceylon which is as follows also shows that Ceylon was originally called Laṅkādīpa but later on came to be known as Siṃhala after the Sīhala people of eastern India.

There was the king of Vaṅga in the city of Vaṅga in the kingdom of Vaṅga. He made the daughter of the king of Kaliṅga his queen. She lost herself in the forest of Lāḷaraṭṭha, and lived with a lion. She had a son and a daughter called respectively Sīhabāhu and Sīhasīvali. After some time she returned to Vaṅga with her children. Her son Sīhabāhu was offered the throne of Vaṅga for killing the lion. He accepted it but gave it away to the 'husband of his mother'. He took his sister and went back to the forest of his birth and bulit a city called Sīhapura and the kingdom reclaimed by him from forests was known as Lāḷaraṭṭha.[2] His eldest son was Vijaya who colonised Ceylon. He gave the new name Tambapaṇṇi-dīpa to the place which had hitherto been known as Laṅkādīpa. The people who accompanied him were called Sīhalas as they were connected with the king Sīhabāhu who received the appellation of Sīhala for killing the lion.

This story clearly shows that Sīhabāhu, father of Vijaya, had nothing to do with Ceylon. His capital was called Sīhapura and the people of his realm the Sīhalas. The Chinese words *Chih-shih-tzu* may well, therefore, refer to this Sīhapura. Dr. P. C. Bagchi suggests that *Chih-shih-tzu* should literally mean "one who holds the lion" from

1 Laṅkādīpo ayam ahū sīhena sīhalā iti.

2 *Mahāvaṃsa*, vi, 34, 35:

So rajjaṃ sampaṭicchitvā datvā *mātupatissa taṃ*
Sīhasīvalim ādāya *jāti-bhūmiṃ* gato sayaṃ.
Nagaraṃ tattha māpesi, āhu Sīhapuram ti taṃ
.....
Lāḷaraṭṭhe pure tasmiṃ Sīhabāhu narādhipo

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chih meaning "to hold," and *shih* the "lion," i.e., in Sanskrit it should be Siṃhadhara. It will be seen in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (vii, 42) that Sīhala is also derived exactly in the same way, viz., because of Sīhabāhu catching the lion, he was called the Sīhalo (*Sīhabāhunarindo so sīhaṃ ādinnavā ti Sīhalo*). Mr. Watters and Profs. Lévi and Chavannes, I think, would not object if *Chih-shih-tzu* be restored as Sīhala and identified with a place in Magadha, I mean, Sīhapura of the *Mahāvaṃsa* tradition. Unless and until some positive evidence is found about the historicity of the town, it may be treated as a town known in legends and fiction, and though the Chinese travellers mention it, that does not go to prove its historicity. The fact is that the faithful Buddhists of the early Christian eras knew some place in or near Magadha as Sīhapura without probably knowing its exact location. In the *Mahāvastu*,[1] Siṃhapura is in one place located in Kaliṅga and elsewhere it is treated as a capital as prosperous as Hastināpura and not very far from it. A previous Śākyamuni Buddha is said to have entered the town of Siṃhapura for alms and thereby had converted many. In the *Cetiya Jātaka* (No. 422) Sīhapura, Hatthipura etc. were said to be cities founded by sons of the king of Ceti. All these evidences tend to show that the Chinese words Chih-shih-tzu, the dwelling place of Nandimitra, referred to Sīhala or Sīhapura near Magadha. It may therefore be concluded that the ancient name of Ceylon was Laṅkadīpa or Tambapaṇṇi-dīpa but the people of the country were called Sīhalas (Simhalese) after the name of the conquering people who accompanied Vijaya.

Nandimitra's dread for the city of Ajitasena and unwillingness to go there is quite interesting. It also points to a border country of Magadha, people of which place were rough and evidently were not in favour of Buddhism. (See page 104).

King Ajitasena, as we have already hinted, was a mere local chief, and as such, his name was not of sufficient importance as to find place in history. If we rely on the bare name, we may identify him with the Ajitasenarājā mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 170) who is said to have attained the ninth *Bhūmi*. In the *Record of the Duration of the*

1 *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 95; III, pp. 238, 432.

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Law preached by Nandimitra one Ajita is mentioned as the fifteenth Arhat to guard the Law. His place of residence was at Gṛdhrakūṭa (Rājagṛha).

I have not so far been able to trace any Tibetan version of the present ms., but I hope some scholars will find it out after going through this summary and will enlighten me about it.

Summary of the contents of the ms.

Salutation to the Omniscient! Thus have I heard. Once Bhagavā was dwelling at Śrāvastī in the hermitage of Anāthapiṇḍada with a large congregation of monks, 12500 in number, viz., Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇī-putra, Vakkula, Śāriputra, Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, Mahānāma, Revata and others. Then to him, while at Jetavana, came a large number of Bodhisattvas, viz., Anikṣiptadhūra, Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta and such other 32000 Bodhisattvas, and after saluting him, they stood on one side.

After putting on his morning robe Bhagavā wanted to enter into the great city of Śrāvastī for alms. He asked Ānanda to fetch his alms-bowl, begging-bell and head dress which were at once brought to him. Ānanda then addressed to him, with folded hands, the following verses:

यदा त्वं प्रविशसि पिण्डपातिक
विमोचयेयं हि प्राणिनाम
उत्तारयेयं वहवं हि सत्वा
नरकभयजातिजरामरणभय-
संसारदुःखकलिलमहाभयात्
विमोचयेयं तदा.....
महानुभावि वरदक्षिणेयो
विमोचयित्वा वहव हि सत्त्वा
संसारदुःखकलिलमहाभयाः

[When you will enter (into a city) as a collector of alms, you will rescue many beings from fear of hell, birth, old age, and death and from the great evils and sufferings of the world. O the great-souled, deserving the most excellent gifts, who has rescued the beings from the dread of the sufferings of the world].

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When Bhagavā was not very far from the great city of Śrāvastī, many miracles took place and the citizens were at a loss as to what could be the cause of the appearance of such good omens. At that time, an old man of many centuries removed the doubts of the citizens by telling them that the cause of the omens is that Śākyamuni Tathāgata, possessing knowledge and good conduct, the knower of the world, the incomparable, the teacher of men and gods, who is now dwelling at Jetavana-vihāra is about to enter into the city for alms. Then the people wondered how virtuous must be Śākyamuni at whose entrance into a city such miracles could happen. On hearing this, the old man said in verses:

"If one merely utters the name of Śākyanātha, he will be delivered of great misery and will never go to hell. He will go to heaven quickly. He, who hears only his name uttered, will become a Bodhisattva and will never be born in any lower region or go to hell, and will become a king or emperor. He who remembers his name will be cleansed of all his past sins, and enjoy happiness for ages, and visit all the Buddha-kṣetras and can never go to hell."

When the old man had just concluded his praises, Bhagavā entered into Śrāvastī through the city-gate. At the gate appeared 12 koṭis of lotus flowers, and on each lotus flower was seated a Bodhisattva, cross-legged and with hands folded in adoration. The moment Bhagavā entered the city, 99 koṭis of beings were established in the Sukhāvatī lokadhātu[1] and 84 koṭis in the Abhirati lokadhātu—the Buddha-kṣetra of Akṣobhya Tathāgata.

Bhagavā accompanied by Ānanda went to the house of the city-sweeper (?). On hearing the sound of the begging-bell, the daughter of the city-sweeper was astonished because no monk so far had visited her house for alms. As she had nothing to give, she shed tears, cursed her poverty and even was about to kill herself by a sharp sword. Then a god of the Suddhāvāsa heaven came to know of this situation, and so, putting on an invaluable pearl necklace, he instantly appeared before the girl with a hundred kinds of sweet food and Kāśikā cloths. He then requested the girl to wear the Kāśikā cloths and adorn herself

1 The Buddakṣetra of Amitābha. Cf. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, pp. 419, 458; also ch. VII.

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with the pearl-necklace and then offer the food to Bhagavā. She did as she was bidden by the god.

Bhagavā then asked her to make the offering as she had done formerly to Vipaśyi, Śikhi, Viśvabhuk, Krakutsanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and other Tathāgatas, and said that by this offering, her femininity and poverty would be at an end. When she followed him to some distance, Bhagavā asked her to return and promised to tell her her past birth-stories. The girl fell at his feet and prayed thus in verses:

"Be compassionate to me, and rescue me from the misery of old age, disease and death. Be my refuge, and in accordance with the vow taken by you, save me as well as all those beings living in the ten corners of Jambudvīpa from the ocean of misery, and make them happy."

Bhagavā then told her the cause of her poverty. He said, 'she once came out of her house to give alms to a begging monk but went back, thinking that she would not give alms to one shaven-headed. It was by this refusal that she was reborn in indigent circumstances and suffered immensely from poverty for 12,000 kalpas. But by one meritorious act, she received the *Bodhi-vyākaraṇa* (i.e., the prophecy that she would become a Buddha). As she received it (by this gift), she would become after many ages the Tathāgata Nagaradhvaja, possessed of knowledge and good conduct, the controller of men, the knower of the world and the teacher of gods and men'. Then she circumambulated the Bhagavā thrice, and enquired as to the nature of the Buddha-kṣetra she would have when she became the Buddha. Bhagavā satisfied her curiosity. She became much pleased and was about to return to her house. At this moment, Bhagavā told her that she would die on the seventh day and would be reborn in the east in the country of Magadha as the son of king Ajitasena and this would be her last existence. He then left the city by the western gate and went back to his Jetavana hermitage.

Ānanda once more appeared before Bhagavā and after saluting him and circumambulating him thrice, said in verses:

"O the great Being endowed with all the 32 signs of great men! When you go round for alms, you save all beings and establish them in happiness by the exercise of your *maitribala* (power of love), but what

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will happen when your religion will disappear after your demise, and there will be none to remember the sūtras."

On hearing this Bhagavā asked him to strike the gong (*gaṇḍī*) and said that he would start on his round for alms in the company of the monks. Ānanda being curious regarding the merits of hearing the sound of the gong asked Bhagavā about it. Bhagavā said:

"Whoever hears the gong-sound, gets absolved from the five deadly sins (*ānantaryāni kṛtyāni*) and becomes a never-returning Bodhisattva destined to attain bodhi."

Ānanda then struck the gong slowly and repeatedly. On hearing the sounds, all the great disciples (*mahāśrāvakas*) assembled, took their respective seats and commenced taking their meals. Among them was seated the Mahāśrāvaka Nandimitra. Bhagavā addressing him said, "Go, O Nandimitra, to the east to the country of Magadha, the kingdom of Ajitasena, and be the king's spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitra*)". Nandimitra replied, "No, O Bhagavan, I shall not be able to go to that part of the land, for the people there are hard to manage and they will take my life". Bhagavā answered, "There is not a being who can destroy your hair, not to speak of your life".

Then Nandimitra donned his golden robe early in the morning, started eastwards for Magadha and reached the capital of Ajitasena. The king was much pleased to hear of his arrival and sent one of his ministers to escort him to the palace. But Nandimitra declined to come to the king at the bidding of the minister. On hearing this the king sent 500 ministers but they too failed to make him to come to the king. Then the king himself approached the Mahāśrāvaka and entreated him with folded hands to enter into his capital. Taking him by the right hand, the king led him into the palace and made him sit on the throne.

When Nandimitra had explained to the king that monks and recluses live on alms only, the king offered him food. Nandimitra took the food and expatiated in verses on the merits of giving alms, and on the rare qualities of the Teacher. He said,

'The giver of the alms to the order of monks, who are rarely found, can never suffer at the hands of demons and such other wicked beings, and are freed from old age, disease and sufferings; those who utter the name of the Teacher never go to hell."

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Nandimitra then expressed his willingness to accept the food-offerings of the king. When he was served by the king with food, hard and soft, he enquired of the latter if there was any garden hard by and on hearing that the king had one very beautiful, he wanted to see it. He found it suitable for his dwelling as it had all the necessary equipments, viz., a cold water tank for summer, and a tank for the rainy season with water, neither very hot nor very cold, both having golden steps running down into the water; Aśoka, Mucilinda, Pāṭali and such other flower-trees giving out scents; Śuka, Śārikā, Cakravāka, Mayūra, and Kokila birds singing sweet songs; golden lotus flowers and so forth. As soon as king Ajitasena learnt from him that he liked the place, he struck the drum; on hearing the sound his ministers assembled and enquired of him about the reason for making the sound. He asked them to make ready his chariots drawn by horses and elephants, as he wanted to go to the garden. In company with the Mahāśrāvaka, the king came to the garden and asked him as to the kind of cottage (*kuṭikaṃ*) needed by him. The Mahāśrāvaka replied, "O king, build one according to your heart's content and regard for me". The king then ordered his chief minister to build a hermitage 30 yojanas long and 6 yojanas wide well-decorated with jewels, and pearls, having a terraced walk 4 yojanas long and 2 yojanas wide. He then offered it to Nandimitra, saying in verses:

"The hermitage and a dry and beautiful walk have been completed, now rescue the beings; it was a great resolution made by you that you would preach the dharma."

He then returned to his capital leaving Nandimitra in the garden-hermitage.

When Nandimitra entered into meditation, his hair, eyes, hands, chest, stomach, legs—all limbs became quite different (*anyena keśā anyena nayanā anyena bāhūni anyena hṛdayaṃ anyena udaraṃ . . .*). For seven days the king eulogised him but the words did not reach the ears of the Mahāśrāvaka. After some time the king came with his son to the hermitage and found him as a mere lump (of flesh). Seeing this, he became very remorseful, and was going to cut himself asunder by a sharp sword, when his son with folded hands said the following verses:

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मा शोकचित्तस्य भवे तृपेन्तु ।
मा वेदयी वेदनमीदृशानि ॥
आत्मघातं करित्वा तु निरये गमिष्यसि ।
रौरवं नरकं चापि गमिष्यसि सुदारुणं ॥
दक्षिणीयो अयं लोके जरव्याधिप्रमोचकः ।
दुर्लभो दर्शनं अस्य वोधिमार्गस्य दर्शकः ॥

[Do not grieve, be happy, do not suffer such a pain; by committing suicide you will go to hell. You will go to the frightful Raurava hell. In this world, the saviour of beings from old age and disease is worthy of gifts; difficult it is to have a look at one who shows the path leading to Bodhi].

By such words, the son prevented his father from slaying himself, and told him that the Mahāśrāvaka was engaged in meditation and asked him to retire till the Mahāśrāvaka would rise from same. As soon as the Mahāśrāvaka rose from meditation, he asked the king to come near him. The king, seeing the bhikṣu (Mahāśrāvaka), took off his crown and placed it on his son's head with the words, "let the kingdom be yours, govern it righteously and not unrighteously". The son replied, "I have performed innumerable kingly duties but never had satisfaction, so let the kingdom be yours, father, I have no desire for kingdom, wealth and power, rule the kingdom righteously".

The Mahāśrāvaka then dwelt on the merits of offering gifts to monks and advised the king to do so.

At this, the king ordered his ministers to make his chariots ready for going to Jetavana vihāra to see and worship Śākyamuni and hear from him the dharma. When the king was nearing Jetavana in his bejewelled chariot, Śākyamuni collected his monks and asked them to enter into the meditation which would make them appear as a garland of flames (*jvālāmālaṃ bodhisattva-samādhi*). The king seeing this garland of flames asked Nandimitra what it meant. Nandimitra told him that it was there where Śākyamuni Tathāgata lived and preached his doctrines, and practised meditation. The king then alighted from the chariot with his son and approached Bhagavā, around whose body he saw a golden flame two cubits long moving about. After ascertaining who Śākyamuni was, the king fell at his feet. He was

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raised by the outstretched hands of Śākyamuni with the words, "O king, you have for innumerable kalpas seen this body; what is your object in falling at my feet"? The king saluted him uttering in verses:

"I bow down my head to the leader of the world, endowed with the excellent signs, having long arms and golden body—one who saves beings from old age and disease, and stops the passage of beings into hell".

He then expressed his desire to retire from the world. At this Bhagavā was exceedingly pleased and said that his conversion would be a great gain to the religion as the religion would spread widely (*vaistārikī*). He asked the king to go back to his kingdom and promised to go there after seven days. The king greatly delighted returned to his capital preceded by his spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitra*). He then ordered his ministers to have the streets cleansed, ask the people to hoist flags in their houses and put bejewelled pitchers of water at the door of every house. When all these were done, just on the seventh day, the Tathāgata with a large number of monks headed by Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Ānanda, Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra reached the capital. The king Ajitasena, preceded by his spiritual guide, received Bhagavā with a basket of flowers and sprinkled the flowers on him, and prayed that by that meritorious act might all beings attain the highest *sambodhi*. Mats were then spread for all and Bhagavā was seated on the throne. Bhagavā delivered his teachings from the throne and the king satisfied him and his disciples by giving them various kinds of food. Then the king's son was presented before Bhagavā. He sought for ordination before the king and was at once ordained by Ānanda by Bhagavan's direction. As soon as he was ordained, he attained *Arhathood* (*pravrajita mātreṇa arhattvaṃ samprāptaṃ abhūt*) and saw all the Buddhakṣetras (*sarva-buddhakṣetrāṇi paśyati sma*). Then the son hovered in the sky and addressed the following verses to his father:

मा विलंबं कुरु तात

मा खेदं किंचि यस्यासि ।

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अहो सुलब्धं सुगतान दर्शनं
अहो सुलब्धं सुगतान लाभं ॥
अहो सुलब्धं परमं हि लाभं
प्रव्रज्यालाभं सुगतेन वर्णितं ।
संसारमोक्षः सुगतेन वर्णितं
प्रव्रज्य शीघ्रं मा विलंब तात ॥
मा खेदयी लोकविनायकेन्द्रं
सुदर्लभं लब्धं मनुष्यलाभं ।
सुदर्लभं दर्शनु नायकानां
शीघ्रं च प्रव्रज्य मया हि लब्धं ॥
प्राप्तं मया उत्तममग्रबोधिं ।
श्रुत्वान राजा तत् पुत्रवाक्यम् ।
निष्क्रामी प्रव्रजि शासनि नायकस्य

[Do not delay, O father, (to take ordination), you will not experience any trouble. It is a great gain to see and meet the Sugata. Retirement from the world has been praised by Bhagavā, so also emancipation from the world of transmigration. Take ordination quickly and do not delay and do not cause grief to the lord of leaders. Difficult it is to be born as man, difficult (also) to meet the Leader; quickly have I retired from the world and quickly have I attained the highest knowledge. Hearing these words of his son the king retired and embraced the doctrine of the Leader].

The king was much pleased at his son's words and spent 30 koṭis for building monasteries. The 1000 women of the harem were all transformed into men and they all took ordination.[1] Bhagavā after ordaining them returned to the Jetavana-vihāra.

1 It fully endorses the view mentioned in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 264. that the following five positions cannot be attained by a woman: Brahmasthānaṃ, Śakrasthānaṃ, Mahārājasthānaṃ, Cakravartisthānaṃ, and Avaivartika Bodhisattvasthānaṃ. It further says that a woman may fulfil the *pāramis* but can never become a Buddha.

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Ānanda asked "O Bhagavā, what will be the result of these meritorious acts of king Ajitasena?"

Bhagavā replied, "You have done well, Ānanda, that you have asked me such a question. After countless ages, this king Ajitasena will become Ajitapralokanātha-tathāgata having knowledge and good conduct etc."

Ā: What will be the results of the good deeds of Nandimitra Mahāśrāvaka, the spiritual guide of the king?

Bh.: He will become at that time Nandiprabhanāma-tathāgato.

Ā: How will their Buddhakṣetras be called?

Bh.: Their Buddhakṣetras will be called Aparimitaguṇasañcaya (a collection of innumerable merits).

Ā: What will be the merits of him who will in future promulgate (*prakāśayiṣyati*) this religious treatise (*dharmaparyāyam*)?

Bh.: They will attain Bodhi just as much as I have done through incalculable acts which are hard to perform (*duṣkara*). He, who listens to a gāthā of 4 pādas, will become non-returning (*avaivarttika*) Bodhisattvas.

Ā: What will be the merits of those *dharmā-reciters* (*bhāṇakas*) who will preach this *dharma-paryāya*?

Bh.: Those who will preach the whole of this *dharmaparyāya* will become kings or emperors, lords of the four continents (*dvīpa*) and will ultimately be emancipated from birth, old age, disease, grief and death.

Ā: What will be the fate of those who will speak ill of this *dharmaparyāya*?

Bh.: Enough, Ānanda, do not ask me about the great sins that will be incurred by them; I cannot enumerate them, nor can the koṭis of Buddhas.

Ā: Tell them, O Bhagavā, O Sugata.

Bh.: Then listen, Ānanda, they will undergo immense sufferings for ages by having their birth in the great hells of Raurava, Hāhaha and Avīci, or in the Yamaloka, animal-world or spirit-world. If they are born as human beings, they will have long and dry palate and

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throat (*dīrgha-śuṣka-tālukaṇṭha*), their tongues will be 12 yojanas long, and with their aid they will declare that those who will speak ill of the *dharmaparyāya* will fare like them.

Ā: How will this excellent dharma be destroyed?

Bh.: In future, there will be some who will rebuke, speak ill of and even injure the reciters or repositories of the *sūtras*, to whom they will bear hatred. Their demerits will be much more than those who extract the eyes of all the beings of the three thousand worlds. So also will be the demerits of those who will bear hatred towards the repositories or reciters of the *sūtras*.

Ānanda then said that many *sūtras* had been heard by him but none like this. Then in verses he said, "I shall remember and preach this sūtra and protect it from the hands of the revilers".

Then the Mahāśrāvakas Kāśyapa, Sārīputra, Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra uttered verses eulogizing the *sūtra* and its preacher the Buddha, and promised to preach it. They were followed by Brahmā Sahampati, who also took the vow to protect the *sūtra*. This is the *Ajātasena-vyākaraṇa-nirdeśa-nāma-Mahāyāna sūtram*. This (ms.) is written by Ārya Sthira-buddhi (and recited) by the *dharmabhāṇaka* Narendradatta.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

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MISCELLANY

A Quotation from the Hrdayadarpana

(a lost work on alaṅkāra found in the *Rasapradīpa* of Prabhākara A.D. 1583)

Dr. S. K. De in his *Sanskrit Poetics*[1] while treating of Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasapradīpa*, states that Prabhākara cites "Śrīharṣa Miśra, Miśra, Rucinātha, Dharmadatta, Locanakāra (Abhinavagupta), Pradīpakṛt, Sāhityadarpaṇakāra." This list does not include the work *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* from which a quotation is given in the beginning of the work, a Ms.[2] of which is available in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B.O.R. Institute. On folio 1 of the Ms. the quotation is introduced as under:—

"तदुक्तं हृदयदर्पणे
कीटानुविद्धरत्नादिसाधारण्येन कान्तता ।
दुष्टेष्वभिहि (म) ता यत्र रसाद्यनुगमः स्फुटः ॥ इति"

I have not found this verse in the Pratīka indices of the editions of *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*,[3] *Kāvyaprakāśa*,[4] and *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*.[5] Presumably the verse is not mentioned in these works. I, therefore, take it to be a quotation from the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* as stated in the *Rasapradīpa*.

The quotations from the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* so far pointed out by scholars[6] are:—

(1) *Dhvanyālokalocana* of Abhinavagupta (Kāvyamālā ed.).

A—p. 27—एतदेवोक्तं हृदयदर्पणे—
'यावत् पूर्णेन चैतेन तावन्नैवैवम्' इति ।

1 Vol. I, (1923), p. 303. 2 No. 764 of 1886-92 (Govt. Mss. Library).
3 Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXVII, 1888. 4 *BORI.* ed. 1921.
5 *Bib. Indica* edition, 1912.
6 V.V. Sovani in *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 450-2. Prof. M. Hiriyanna in the *Proceedings* of the First Ori. Conference, vol. II, 1919, p. 246, remarks that references to it (Hṛdayadarpaṇa) are plentiful in alaṃkāra works; but does not refer to any other source than the *Dhvanyālokalocana*.

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B—p. 28—यदोक्तं हृदयदर्पणे—

'सर्वत्र तर्हि-काव्य-व्यवहारः स्यात्' इति ।

C—p. 63—यत्तु हृदयदर्पण उक्तं —

'हाहा इति । संरम्भार्थोऽयम् चमत्कार' इति ।

D—p. 27—तेन यदाह भट्ट-नायकः—

'शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।
अर्थ-तत्त्वेन युक्तं तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।
द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यधीर्भवेत् ।' इति ।

(1) *Dhvanyālokalocana* of Abhinavagupta (Kāvyamālā ed.) Mr. Sovani cites evidence to support the view that Bhaṭṭanāyaka to whom the quotation (b) has been ascribed was the author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*.

I am not concerned here with the question of the authorship of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* but with its nature about which the following views are expressed so far :—

(1) According to Mr. Sovani[7] "the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* is not likely to be a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but is probably a work in prose and verse criticizing the idea of *Dhvani* as found in the Dhvanyāloka and establishing a new doctrine about poetry etc."

(2) According to Dr. S. K. De[8] "it was probably composed in a metrical form and apparently never took at all the shape of a prose commentary."

In view of the foregoing views regarding the nature of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* the quotation from the *Rasapradīpa* of Prabhākarbhaṭṭa pointed out in this note appears to be important as it is a further addition to the list of the quotations mentioned by Mr. Sovani. Though our quotation is of the metrical form, the prose quotations of Mr. Sovani proves, so far as the present catalouges go, his statement that it was "a work in prose and verse."[9] Dr. De's statement, therefore, that "it

7 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 451. 8 *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, p. 41.

9 Mr. A. Saṅkaran in his "Theories of Rasa and Dhvani", 1929, also supports the view of Mr. Sovani. He observes on p. 87 of his thesis :—"The *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* from which verses also are cited in the *Locana*, p. 27, was probably an independent treatise in prose and verse containing Nāyaka's exposition of the realisation of Rasa and his attacks on the theory of Dhvani."

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never took the shape of a prose commentary" will have to be modified in the revised edition of his *Sanskrit Poetics*.

The question now arises whether the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* was lost subsequent to A.D. 1583 which is the date of composition of the *Rasapradīpa*. It may be that it was lost much earlier and Prabhākara found the quotation in some other work and incorporated it in his present work, or, the work was before him when he wrote the *Rasapradīpa*, and that it was lost subsequent to A.D. 1583. Both alternatives are possible.

P. K. Gode

A Note on a remark of Yuan Chwang

The remark of Yuan Chwang that Harṣa "waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the Five Indias (according to another reading he had brought the Five Indias under allegiance)",[1] has led some scholars to the view that all conquests of Harṣa "were over by about A.D. 612, that he had become king six years earlier (the period of the conquest) in A.D. 606",[2] and that "Harṣa's wars with Valabhi and Pulakeśi took place within A.D. 612".[3]

There is no basis for supposing that Yuan Chwang's 'six years' began in 606 A.D., the year of Harṣa's accession, and ended in 612 A.D. It would involve a discrepancy, since the term "Five Indias"[4] implies sovereignty over Gauḍa and Orissa also, but the Ganjam inscription[5] shows that his inveterate enemy Śaśāṅka was flourshing in these regions as late as the year 619 A.D.

1 Watters, I, p. 343; Beal, I, p. 213.

2 *Harṣa* (Rulers of India Series), p. 36, note 1. See also C. V. Vaidya, *HMHI.*, I, p. 13.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Havell's *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 191; D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 385; Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 353.

5 *EI.*, vol. VI, 141.

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II

Then again, Pulakeśi II came to the throne about the year 609-10 A.D., and it would indeed be a miracle if at the very start of his career, and with his position still unconsolidated at home, the Cālukya monarch could inflict a crushing defeat on the "lord of the Five Indias". But we must point out here that Dr. Fleet was of opinion that the Hyderabad grant, dated in the third year of Pulakeśi's installation in the sovereignty in the Śaka Saṃvat 534 expired or 612 A.D., implied "by the title which was acquired by the victory over him (Harṣa), that that victory had then already been achieved".[6]

The Hyderabad grant informs us that Pulakeśi II acquired the title of Parameśvara "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles".[7] Since the subsequent records state more specifically that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harṣavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the North", it is with some plausibility argued that the conflict, which according to the Hyderabad grant won this title for Pulakeśi, was against Harṣa himself, and that it occurred before 612 A.D., the date of the epigraph. If this, however, were a fact, would it not be inexplicable why Harṣavardhana's name is not mentioned in the earlier Hyderabad grant, and finds specific mention—with legitimate pride too—in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634—35, and other later inscriptions.

III

In my opinion this omission goes against Fleet's theory, for it is hard to believe that any of Pulakeśi's earlier inscriptions ignored the name of so great and formidable an adversary, and particularly when the victory was achieved just at the start of the Cālukya monarch's career.

6 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 351, 356.
7 *Ibid.*

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The title Parameśvara was very commonly assumed by kings in those days after gaining the paramount status. It was adopted by Sarvavarman and Avantivarman Maukhari,[8] Dharasena of Valabhi,[9] and a host of other rulers. Presumably Pulakeśi II at first assumed it as a regal title only after certain preliminary successes against his rivals and the consolidation of his power at Badami. But when subsequently he scored a brilliant triumph over Harṣa, he felt special pride in its possession, and thenceforth it became a sort of a secondary name, (*aparanāmadheyaḥ*).

IV

At this point we must also explain the other statement of Yuan Chwang that Harṣa "reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon".[10] This is how Watters has translated the passage, but the text does not appear to be quite clear, as Beal renders it thus: "*After* thirty years his arms reposed, and he governed everywhere in peace".[11]

If Beal's interpretation be accepted, it would convey the sense that Harṣa carried on warfare for thirty years, after which his authority was established, and he reigned in peace.

If Watters' rendering be correct, how are we to reconcile this statement of Yuan Chwang with his other information that Harṣa had made an attack on the Kongoḍa (Ganjam) region as late as 643 A.D.?

The Chinese pilgrim, I think, probably meant that at the time of his visit Harṣa's reign had been peaceful internally, and the home-provinces had enjoyed the blessings of orderly government for thirty years. We know that when Harṣa was called upon to occupy the throne, both the kingdoms of Thāneśvar and Kanauj were passing through a critical period. Prabhākaravardhana and Rājyavardhana had died within a short space of time, and there were perhaps some fears of a recrudescence of the Hūṇa danger. The Maukhari dominions had also

8 Deo-Baranark inscription, Fleet's *CIII*, pp. 214-218.
9 *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 41; *JBBRAS*, X, p. 79.
10 Watters, I, p. 343.
11 Beal, I, p. 213.

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suffered serious losses and reverses owing to the combined attack of Devagupta of Malwa and Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa. Kanauj itself had fallen, and the political conflagration threatened even to consume his ancestral kingdom of Thāneśvar. Harṣa, however, instead of losing nerve at that juncture acted promptly and decisively; and by his energy and military strategy succeeded in overawing Śaśāṅka and recovering the lost ground. Soon the storm subsided and Harṣa established internal security and stability of government within a comparatively short period.

V

It was to this peaceful situation within the kingdom that Yuan Chwang particularly refers, for he remarks elsewhere that rebellions and internal upheavals were not of rare occurrence in those days.[12] But the success of his internal government did not mean any peace to Harṣa in his foreign relations. He was frankly imperialistic in his outlook, and the Kongoḍa campaign in 634 A.D. proves beyond doubt that he had to undertake military expeditions intermittently almost till the close of his momentous reign.

It would thus be evident from the foregoing discussion that we have no ground to support the theory that all the warlike activities of Harṣa "were over by about A.D. 612."

RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHI

12 Watters, I, p. 170.

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Macedonian Month-Name in a Brāhmī Inscription

While on a visit to Mathura in April last year (1931) I had occasion to notice a Brāhmī inscription of the time of Huvishka, incised on a pillar prominently displayed among the exhibits of the Curzon Museum. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has published an edition of the record, with a facsimile, in the *JBORS.*, XVII, p. 6.

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to its date which has a bearing on the tangled chronology of the Kushan period. Mr. Jayaswal's inference that "it is a document of Huvishka's first year" needs correction. The date is thus expressed:

TEXT: Siddham (a symbol) samvatsare 20 8 *Gurppiye* divase 1.

TRANS. "Success: (*A symbol*) In the year 28, in (the month) *Gurppiya*, on the first day....."

The month named Gurppiya[1] doubtless stands for the Macedonian month, Gorpiaeus, corresponding to August or September.[2] This has eluded the notice of Mr. Jayaswal who contents himself with the remark: "It is dated in Kanishka's era, year 28th".

Our record thus proves the use of Macedonian month-names in the Mathura region, at least, as early as the reign of Huvishka. In other dated Kushān records in the Brāhmī script from the same region, we meet with two modes of dating: (1) year, season, number of month within the season, day; (2) year, month (Indian name), day. Dates in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the same period (but not from the same region) exhibit the following modes: (3) year, month (Indian name), day, with sometimes the *nakṣatra* added; (4) year, month (Macedonian name), day. The variety in the modes may appear perplexing at first. But, when we remember that the Macedonian months were lunar, and that the Indian months then in use were likewise lunar, it becomes clear that the same lunar month could be described either by its Indian or by its Macedonian name. This fact has escaped the attention of scholars who have sought to infer from the use of Macedonian month-names in several Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions that the year associated with

1 Jayaswal reads *Gurppiya;* but *ye* is clear on the plate.

2 Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 39 and Table VII.

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every Macedonian month-name must pertain to an era of foreign origin. In reality, it would be a mere matter of nomenclature, whether the Indian or the Macedonian month-name were employed; and the nomenclature of the month cannot be deemed to have any legitimate reaction on the question of nationality of the era to which the associated year belongs.

No deeper distinction need be presumed between the two modes: (1) year, season, number of month within the season, day; and (2) year, month (Indian name), day. Because, in either case, the particular lunar month is clearly indicated by its position within the seasonal subdivision of the year, or by its own special designation (like Māgha, Phālguna, &c.). The same remark applies to a fifth mode, found in early records, for instance, in the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyī: (5) year, season, number of pakṣa (fortnight) within the season, day; for, the pakṣa is nothing but half the lunar month, so that a season consisting of four lunar months would consist also of eight pakṣas.

The date of our inscription, which alludes to Huvishka as *devaputra shāhi*, falling in August or September, in the year 28 of the undetermined era used in the Kushān records, it becomes interesting to ascertain whether it falls before or after the last known date of Vāsishka, a Kushān prince of the same series, who is known to have ruled at Mathura as well as at Sanchi, as attested by two epigraphs, one of which comes from Isapur, near Mathura, while the other belongs to Sanchi. The Isapur record is dated in the "year 24, season *grīṣma*, month 4, day 30";[3] while the Sanchi record is dated in the "year 28, season *hemanta*, month 1, day 5". We have it on the authority of Fleet,[4] that the calendar in practical general use throughout the range of records envisaged by Prof. Lüders in his valuable *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, *EI.*, X, App.) down almost to the latest in the list (wherein the Sanchi inscription is numbered 161) made lunar Mārgaśīrṣa the first month of the season *hemanta*. The date of the Sanchi inscription would thus fall in October or November.

Clearly, therefore, Huvishka's reign in Mathura commenced before

3 Vogel, *Cat. Mathura Museum*, p. 189.

4 *JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 703 ff.

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Vāsishka's reign in Sanchi terminated. Precisely how long before, we cannot say; but the date must lie somewhere between the year 24, season *grīṣma* month 4, day 30 (the date of the Isapur inscription of Vāsishka) and the year 28, month Gorpiæus, day 1 (the date of the inscription under discussion). If we place the event about the year 26, we cannot be far wrong.

The overlapping calls for explanation. A similar overlapping is known from the Ara inscription of Kanishka the second who is described therein as Vadjashkaputra,[5] son of Vadjashka, who can only be Vāsashka-Vāsishka. That inscription is dated in the year 41, when Huvishka must have been reigning at Mathura, since records belonging to Mathura and mentioning Huvishka as king are known to bear dates in the years 28, 29, 33, 38, 44, &c.; the other alternative being to assume that, Huvishka was ousted from Mathura in or after the year 38 by Kanishka II, son of Vāsishka, but was restored in or before the year 44. Leaving aside the question of ousting, there are two features in the Ara record bespeaking Kanishka II's rivalry with Huvishka. In the first place, this Kanishka is described as the "son of Vadjashka." This is rather singular, since it was not customary for Kushān monarchs to be known through their fathers. Secondly, this Kanishka is given, in the Ara inscription, the title Kaisara, in addition to the usual titles assumed by the Kushān monarchs, namely, *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja* and *devaputra*. As demonstrated by Professor Lüders (who was the first to read the title Kaisara), this assembling of titles was prompted by a desire to claim overlordship of the Four Quarters; the title *mahārāja*, of Indian origin, denoting overlordship of the South; the title *rājātirāja*, of Parthian origin, denoting overlordship of the North; the title *devaputra*, of Chinese origin, denoting overlordship of the East; and, lastly, the title *kaïsara*, of Roman origin, denoting overlordship of the West. Apparently, this "son of Vasishka"

5 The second syllable is a clear conjunct of *da* and *ja*, evidently representing voiced *sa*. Ara is a place in the N.-W. Frontier The inscription was first published by R. D. Banerji in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1908. The latest edition is by Sten Konow in *Corpus Inscr. Indicarum*, vol. II (Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions), where full references are given.

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wanted to pose as a greater monarch than Huvishka; and, in order to complete his claim to overlordship of the Four Quarters, he adopted the Roman title Kaïsara (Cæsar). His claim to the Indian throne must also have been based upon the fact that he was a son of Vāsishka; and this fact is on that account specifically stated in the Ara record. We may perhaps infer that Huvishka was *not* a son of Vāsishka, so that his coming to the throne at Mathura before the termination Vāsishka's reign at Sanchi, as established from the data discussed above, acquires a rather sinister significance. The overlapping accords more with the hypothesis of a revolt than with the hypothesis of a friendly arrangement. That Vāsishka was in all probability a financially crippled monarch seems to follow from the circumstance that no coins of his have yet been discovered, although numerous coins of Kanishka, Huvishka &c. have been found, over a wide area, through a wide period, by search and by accident. We cannot call it an unlikely supposition if we imagine that, taking advantage of Vāsishka's distress, Huvishka established himself as an independent ruler in the Mathura region, leaving Central India (Sanchi) to Vāsishka. This must have happened about the year 26 of the Kushān reckoning. In less than fifteen years, the line of Vāsishka was restored, even if temporarily, at least in Gandhāra, in the person of his son, Kanishka II, who proceeded to adopt the Roman title Cæsar in order to show forth his power and majesty.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB

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Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization

The scholars interested in the history of Indian civilization were eagerly awaiting for some time past the publication of the account of excavations at Mohenjo-daro carried out by the Government of India from 1922 to 1927. The three sumptuous volumes, of which two contain the account in 32 chapters covering 693 pp. (with a coloured map and a site plan, and some plates and illustrations), and one exclusively the plates (total 164), would be welcome to every Indologist, furnishing as they do remarkable archæological evidences that will cause a revolution in many of the current views and theories about the origin, development, and antiquity of many of the branches of arts and sciences that lay at the root of the ancient Indian civilization, and of the many articles of comfort or luxury that were used by the Indus Valley people at the remote period to which they belonged. The discoveries have given rise to many difficult problems, the solution of which will require of course a long time, but the experts who have applied their minds to them have already reached some conclusions that will constitute much food for thought for scholars in the various fields of investigation. The following extracts from the Preface, where Sir John has put together the most salient features of the Indus Valley civilization, will give the reader an idea about some of these conclusions:—

The following is in brief the scheme of distribution of the 32 chapters among the various writers:

Sir John Marshall, the Editor, has contributed 9 chapters: the country, climate, and rivers—site and its excavation—buildings—other antiquities and art—religion—disposal of the dead—extent of the Indus civilization—age and authors of the Indus civilization—the stūpa area.

Mr. Ernest Mackay, noted for his excavations at Kish and other places, has written 13 chapters: SD, L, and DK areas at Mohenjo-daro—architecture and masonry—plain and painted pottery—figurines and model animals—statuary—faience and stone vessels—seals, seal impressions, and copper tablets—household objects, tools, and implements—personal ornaments—games and toys—ivory, shell, faience, and other objects of technical interest—(the second part of a chapter on) technique and description of metal vessels, tools, implements, and other objects.

Mr. Hargreaves, Offg. D. G. A. in India: H R. Area.

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(1) "In the religion of the Indus peoples there is much, of course, that might be paralleled in other countries. This is true of every prehistoric and of most historic religions as well. But, taken as a whole, their religion is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguishable from still living Hinduism or at least from that aspect of it which is bound up with animism and the cults of Śiva and the Mother Goddess —still the two most potent forces in popular worship. Among the many revelations that Mohenjo-daro and Harappā have had in store for us, none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery that Śaivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world".

(2) "India must henceforth be recognized, along with Persia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, as one of the most important areas where the civilizing processes of society were initiated and developed. I do not mean to imply by this that India can claim to be regarded as the cradle of civilization; nor do I think on the evidence at present available that that claim can be made on behalf of any one country in particular.

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni: HR Area, section B—VS Area.

Mr. C. J. Gadd (of the British Museum) and Mr. Sidney Smith (Inspector of Antiquities in Mesopotamia): some external features and the mechanical nature of the early Indus script (in two parts).

Prof. S. Langdon (Assyriologist, Oxford University): the Indus script.

Mr. M. Sana Ullah (Archaeological Chemist): copper and bronze utensils and other objects.

Mr. A. S. Hemmy (lately Principal, Govt. College, Lahore): the system of weights and measures.

Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, Director, Zoological Survey of India, and Dr. B. S. Guha, Anthropologist to the Zoological Survey of India: human remains—zoological remains.

Sir Edwin Pascoe, Director, Geological Survey of India: minerals and metals.

The assistance of a few other specialists has also been utilized. The officers of the Department whose work has been mentioned in the Preface are the late Mr. R. D. Banerji who discovered the high antiquity of Mohenjo-daro, if not Mohenjo-daro itself and his successors Mr. M. S. Vats and Mr. K. N. Dikshit. Mr. Banerji left a report regarding his portion of the work in the stūpa area. This report has been utilized by Sir John Marshall in the 9th chapter, in which there is a note by Mr. N. G. Majumdar on the copper coins found in the area.

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In my view, the civilization of the Chalcolithic (i.e. when arms and utensils of stone were used side by side with those of copper or bronze) and succeeding ages resulted from the combined efforts of many countries, each contributing a certain quota towards the common stock of knowledge."

(3) ".....We are justified in seeing, in the great Bath of Mohenjo-daro and in its roomy and serviceable houses with their ubiquitous wells and bathrooms and elaborate systems of drainage, evidence that the ordinary townspeople enjoyed here a degree of comfort and luxury unexampled in other parts of the then civilized world".

(4) "Equally peculiar to the Indus Valley and stamped with an individual character of its own is its art. Nothing that we know of in other countries at this period (third millennium B.C.) bears any resemblance, in point of style, to the miniature faience models of rams, dogs, and other animals or to the intaglio engravings on the seals, the best of which—notably the humped and short horned bulls—are distinguished by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and plastic form that has rarely been surpassed in glyptic art; nor would it be possible, until the classic age of Greece, to match the exquisitely supple modelling of the two human statuettes from Harappa figured in plates X and XI".

Probable causes of ruin of Mohenjo-daro

The work opens with a description of the present physical conditions of Mohenjo-daro and the surrounding places. The scanty rainfall occasionally varied by torrents of rain, the extreme variations of temperature in summer and winter, dust storms, sandflies, and mosquitos have made the present Mohenjo-daro a very unattractive spot for human habitation but the conditions were different five thousand years ago, when it was a flourshing city. From the picture of the region presented by Arrian and other historians of Alexander it is evident that the general aridity of the country was in evidence some centuries before Alexander's invasion. The probable causes of such a climatic change have been discussed in detail. This change as also those undergone by the courses of the rivers in Sind, for which

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evidence has been cited, together with the violent inundations can well account for the ruin of the city.

The various Areas

The site of Mohenjo-daro has been divided into a number of areas for purposes of reference and separate delineation. A reference to the site plan shows at a glance the relative positions of the various areas together with the railway stations, the museum, and the officers' quarters. A portion of the site is called the stūpa area because there a Buddhist monastery has been unearthed, while the other areas are called HR, VS, DK and so forth probably after the names of the officers to whom they were entrusted. The six chapters X-XV contain detailed descriptions of these portions of the site with special references to the remains of buildings found there as also the various articles discovered in the different spots. Each article has been carefully delineated and its location noted down with a precise indication of the spot and the depth at which it has been discovered, enabling one to draw inferences regarding its antiquity. Several views of the areas from the air as well as a profusion of beautiful illustrations of the relics make it easy for the reader to form a general idea of the areas and a detailed idea of the finds.

Stratification. Some of the relics have a history going back to 4000 B.C.

Altogether, seven layers of buildings have been discovered at Mohenjo-daro: three of the Late Period, three of the Intermediate, and one of the Early. Earlier layers lie submerged under the sub-soil water. In normal conditions, a period of one thousand years could have been allowed for the occupation of Mohenjo-daro on the analogy of well-known sites like Troy, Athens or Rome, but as the process of decay and revival was much more rapid here, a provisional period of five hundred years, i.e., about two generations for each of the strata have been allowed. Of course, this period does not include the whole

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rise and fall of the Indus civilization because the stage at which it reveals itself is already high as demonstrated by the complexity of city life, the elaborate nature of the buildings and the excellence of the arts and crafts. For this evolution, roughly a period of one thousand years has been allotted. The individual relics that point to an early intercourse between the Indus Valley, Elam, and Mesopotamia must in the case of two seals at least be referred to the pre-Sargonic Period, and not later than the third millennium B.C., and as the antecedent period of evolution has been assumed to cover a thousand years, the relics have a history going back to the fourth millennium B.C. Mr. Gadd and Prof. Langdon infer from the two specimens of seals with 'Indus' pattern found at Ur and Kish that the 'Indus civilization must go back to an age before 2800 B.C. This is 'incontestable'. Among the many objects (other than seals) that demonstrate an intimate relation between the Indus Valley and Early Sumerian cultures, the following seven sets of relics are mentioned as of special interest:—

(1) Fragments of vases found at Al-Ubaid made of an Indian potstone;

(2) the trefoil pattern on the robe of the statuette on pl. xcviii identical with that on some Sumerian 'Bulls of Heaven' of early date;

(3) the horned figures on seals 356 and 357;

(4) a toilet set found at Harappa identical in pattern with one discovered at Ur;

(5) the etched heads of Carnelian (pl. cxlvi) resembling those from pre-Sargonic graves at Kish;

(6) a peculiar type of jar cover resembling those discovered at Jamdet Nasr; and

(7) the wavy rings of shell inlay (pl. clvi, 4 & 5), a squat carinated vessel (pl. lxxxi, 17), and the stone toilet boxes (pl. cxxxi, 36 & 37).

It has been assumed provisionally that the Ur and Kish seals belong to the Intermediate Period and accordingly the occupation of Mohenjo-daro fell approximately between 3250 and 2750 B.C.

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The buildings within the city

The people of the Indus Valley had clear ideas about town-planing. This is indicated by the striking regularity of the divisions of the city of Mohenjo-daro, the successfully aligned streets, the orientation of all the principal streets to the points of the compass, the corespondence of the houses and public buildings with the orientation of the thoroughfares and such other features of the lay-out of the city. The width of the streets ranges from 13 to 30 feet, and the lanes that separate one block from another vary in width from 3 ft. 8 in. to 7 ft. The corners of some of the streets are slightly rounded. In two cases, this rounding appears to be intentional, as there are indications of trimming by an instrument. Thin cross walls bar some of the streets showing an attempt to divide the city into wards for greater public security. The external appearances of the buildings are severely plain. The motive for keeping them unornamented has been guessed to be to avoid additional taxes, which would have been imposed, if any marks of the possession of wealth by the owners distinguished the externals of the buildings. Drains inside the houses were comparatively rare, because the kitchens and bathrooms were usually constructed next to the street wall in order that water might flow out into the drains in the street straightaway. The elaborate system of public drainage has been taken as an evidence of large rainfall in ancient Sind. Pottery drain-pipes, soak-pits, and sediment-pits were in general use, but no latrines have been found except two well-built ones in House XLIX in the HR area (p.207). The existence of small doorless chambers points to the possibility of their use as cess-pits. The construction of the true arch was not known at Mohenjo-daro because only the corbelled arch is found in use. It was known in very early times in Egypt and Babylon. Burnt and sun-dried bricks have been found in all the houses within the city. The use of some form of windlasses for the drawing of water from some private wells is inferred from the absence of marks caused by the friction of ropes on the coping. Windows were few in number in the houses. Bath-rooms are found in nearly every house.

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The Great Bath

A vast hydropathic establishment includes the great Bath—the most remarkable of all the remains discovered at Mohenjo-daro. The overall dimension of the building is 180 ft. by 108 ft. The swimming bath is in the middle of a quardrangle having verandahs on all the four sides. On three sides, at the back of the verandahs, there are various rooms and galleries. The bath is 39ft. by 23 ft. and sunk about 8 ft. below the pavement of the court with a flight of steps at either end. For the convenience of bathers, a low platform has been constructed at the base of each of the flights of steps. The bath was filled with water from a well, and the waste water was let out through a covered drain, the roof of which is about 6 ft. 6 in. high. The stairway testifies to the existence of at least one upper storey. Every precaution was taken to make the walls of the bath water-tight. The lining of the tank is made of finely dressed brick in gypsum mortar with an inch of damp-proof course of bitumen. Other interesting details regarding the method of construction are found in the description but space does not permit me to mention them here.

Hot-air bath or hypocaust

Another building near the south-west corner of the Great Bath and forming part of the same establishment is a *hammām* or hot-air bath. The portion of the building that has been cleared reveals a number of rectangular platforms of brick, each being of the size of a small room about 5 ft. high with a series of vertical chases sunk in their sides. Cinders and charcoal were found on the narrow passages between the platforms crossing one another at right angles. The heating system may have been used only to keep the house warm in winter, but the inference that the platforms were the solid sub-structures of the heated rooms of a *hammām*, and the chases the beginnings of the flues for distributing the heat through the walls and under the floors of the rooms is more likely to be correct. The existence of a building in the DK area (sec. B, block 2), leaving no doubt about the fact that the Indus people knew the principle of hypocaust, corroborates this inference.

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Three more points should be noticed in connection with the remains of buildings:

Pillared hall

(1) The discovery of a pillared hall in the area (block 4, sec. C). It is a spacious hall containing twenty piers arranged in four rows supporting the roof.

Temples not definitely identified

(2) The absence of an unambiguous clue to the identification of some spacious edifices as temples. In Mesopotamia, the temples were, broadly speaking, copies of the royal palaces. Some of the big edifices at Mohenjo-daro may have been temples; or it is also possible that like the Minoans, they had no public shrines at all but had only places for worship in their own houses.

A Buddhist stūpa with a monastery

(3) The discovery of a Buddhist stūpa and a monastery. A conjectural restoration of the stūpa at p. 116 enables the reader to have at a glance an idea of same, with as much of approximation to its actual appearance as possible. Plate XVI contains a plan of the stūpa with the surrounding quadrangle and the rows of monastic buildings on the four sides. The body of the original stūpa is still not fully visible, but on the east side the accretions have disappeared and exposed to view a sufficient portion to show that it had a width of over 50 ft. from north to south. Its length from east to west including the steps on the eastern side was about 74 ft. The drum of the stūpa has disappeared but the lower part of the circular drum measuring 8 ft. 4 in. above the plinth still exists. The diameter of the drum was about 33 ft. 6 in., hollow in the middle, and made of sundried bricks (each measuring 11½ in. × 5½ in. × 2¾ in.) laid in mud mortar. There are cells and other apartments on the four sides of the court-yard. The monastery was entered by a passage on the east side. There was a vestibule 25 ft. 6 in. × 13 ft. 6 in. To the north of the vestibule is a chapel. Next comes a stairway leading to the upper floor. There is a large assembly

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hall (44 ft. × 26 ft.) in the north-east corner. The second large hall is guessed to be the common room in the monastery. The sleeping and living rooms for use by the monks are ranged on three sides of the quadrangle. The number of monks that could be accommodated on the ground and the first floor is estimated at about forty. The additional chambers on the northern side at the back of the monk's quarters are surmised to have been used as kitchens, store rooms, etc. In chamber 27, some relics connected with a post-cremation burial have been discovered, while beneath chamber 39, a pre-historic earthenware vessel has been found. The coin-finds containing many unknown types are very interesting. A collection of 1684 coins deposited in an earthen pot belongs to a date subsequent to the Kushan king Vāsudeva I. It has been inferred from the evidence supplied by the coins and other data that the stūpa was probably founded by one of the earlier Kushan kings Kaniṣka or Huviṣka but the monastery buildings were built later, i.e., are not older than the reign of Vāsudeva I (c. 185-220 A.D.).

Seals

The seals discovered in the various strata constitute one of the most interesting of the finds. Up to May, 1927, 558 were collected. Most of them have one or two lines of scripts or pictographs as well as the representation of some animal. Sir Alexander Cunningham secured some specimens like these from the villagers near Harappā and noticed them in the *Archæological Survey Report*, vol. V (1875), p. 108, pl. xxxiii, fig. 1 (see also *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 699-701, for a note by Dr. J. F. Fleet—A representation of a seal from Harappā now in the British Museum was published many years ago by Terrien de Lacouperie in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*.). The seals have been classified into the following ten types:

(a) cylinder seals; (b) square with perforated boss on reverse; (c) square with no boss and in some cases inscribed on both sides; (d) rectangular with no boss; (e) button seals with linear designs; (f) rectangular with perforated convex back; (g) cube; (h) round with perforated boss; (i) rectangular with perforated boss; and (j) round with no boss and inscribed on both sides.

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A few features of these seals may be noted:

Re. (a) The seals are made of ivory and are longer and thinner than the cylinder seals of other countries. Three of the seals end in knobs, perhaps for being tied to a cord.

,, (b) These are made of steatite and have been found in large number.

,, (c) The *svastika* mark is found on some of them.

,, (d) Of the twenty-two specimens, five are of steatite and the rest of faience. The latter may have been used for stamping impressions for some religious purpose. The *svastika* mark appears on many of them. This symbol was found in use in many places of the ancient world, e.g., Crete, Cappadocia, Troy, Susa, Musyan. But it was not known in Babylonia or Egypt. The direction of the arms of the symbol is generally towards the right, as it is held in India in historic times to be unlucky if they be turned towards the left; but such a feeling did not exist at Mohenjo-daro as many examples of the arms turned in one direction or other are available.

The seal 516 with a number of squares one set inside the other is only one of its kind at Mohenjo-daro. It is known at Susa and dated to the proto-Elamite period.

Re. (e) The pottery seals of the type are rather rare at Mohenjo-daro.

,, (f) Only five examples are available. They are made of sandy-yellow paste and appear to have been glazed. A series of parallel lines crossing one another at various angles appear on some of the seals. The same motif was known in Mesopotamia and Susa.

Some of the seals exhibit unusual features, e.g., inscribed boss (seal 18); levelled edges (seals 335, 337); possession of two registers—a fabulous animal occupying the upper and an elephant the lower portion (seal 376); triple row of pictographs (seal 389); the inclusion of a fabulous figure like the Sumerian hero Enkidu (seal 356).

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The uses to which the seals were put at Mohenjo-daro have been the subject-matter of some conjectures. The opinion has been put forward that some of them at least were used as amulets. The absence of sealings on clay or any other substance attached to a jar or any other article of merchandise as found at other ancient sites is responsible for obscurity on the point while the hollow interior of a seal (pl. cii, q) for the reception of some small sacred object and the representation of some animal believed to possess some special power support the amulet theory. But the dual use of a seal was quite possible. Of the five fragments of pottery bearing seal impressions, three are marked with a rectangular seal, and two with a square one (pl. lxxviii, 1, 3 and pl. cxv, 558-560). In one case a faint impression of the animal appears as if made by mistake (pl. lxxviii, 3). This makes it quite probable that sometimes the whole seal while at other times only its inscribed portion was used.

None of the seals discovered in other ancient sites outside India bear resemblance to these seals in shape, devices or pictographs.

The representations of animals on the seals

On a large number of the seals is represented a *beast with a single horn*. It is a male animal resembling either an antelope of heavy build, or an ox with a tufted tail. It may be a fabulous animal—a composite of the ox and the antelope. For convenience, it has been termed *unicorn* though it does not resemble the unicorn of heraldry. This unicorn is supposed to have originated in India and mentioned by Ctesias and Aristotle as peculiar to India and called the Indian ass. There is a curious standard-like object in front of the unicorns on the seals. The lower portion of the object is a bowl-like receptacle standing on an upright support. The bowl, in some specimens, appears as made of basket work, some of embossed material, or leather. The object above the bowl is equally curious. It looks like a cage resembling the pottery cages on pl. lxxxiv, 1 and 2. In some cases it is closed on the top and so cannot be taken to be a manger. There is a knob or handle on the top in some examples. On two of the impressions of the seals,

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an interesting scene shows four men passing in a procession (pl. cxvi, 5 & 8; pl. cxviii, 9) each with a standard in hand. The object on the standard behind is the same as the supposed cult object in front of the unicorn on the seals. The scene represents the leading of sacred animals in a procession. This is reminiscent of the practice of carrying both animal and cult object on standards in procession in ancient Egypt.

The *short-horned bull* is next in order of popularity to the unicorn and is seen on seals 308-26, 487, 536, and 557 b. The animal is always found in an angry mood being the vehicle of some god of war or destruction. On some of the specimens, an ornamental collar appears around the neck of the beast. The wrinkles and the dewlap have usually been faithfully represented. The likeness of the manger found in front has been found also on a cylinder seal of bone at Susa. The seal either came from India or was made by an Elamite artist for an Indian visitor to Susa. A seal bearing the device of a bull with lowered head and containing cuneiform characters was discovered at Ur. It is similar to the seals 308-26 except in regard to the scripts. This can be dated to the pre-Sargonic period.

The Brahmani bull appears on seals 327-40 and probably also 542. The representation of the animal on seal 337 has been marvellously executed; in feeling and in the careful portrayal of the muscles, it will compare favourably with early glyptic art anywhere. This animal is not found on the seals or pottery of Sumer or Elam.

Space does not permit me to reproduce here more details about the large number of portrayals of animals on the many seals found at Mohenjo-daro. Suffice it to say that the seals contain representations of the buffalo, the great Indian rhinoceros, tiger, elephant, the fish-eating crocodile, antelopes, mythological creatures in human or partly human forms, goat (seal 150) and scorpion (seal 262).

On some of the seals (12, 15 etc.) a man appears with a bow and arrow, a bent stick or some other article. On some (37, 42 etc.) he carries a bow on his back.

The portrayal of plant-forms is found only on twelve seals (22, 126, 167 etc.). On two of them (387, 527) a plant-form constitutes the cen-

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ral motif on the pipal tree appearing on one of them. The *babul* tree is represented on four seals (252, 353, 355 and 357).

Sealings

The seal-impressions have been divided into four classes, viz., those on

(a) Rectangular or square tablets,

(b) Triangular prisms,

(c) Round tablets, and

(d) Pottery vessels.

Five seal-impressions have been found on jars, and thirty one tablets of faience and baked clay of various shapes.

Some details regarding a few impressions belonging to the four groups may be interesting:

Re. (a). No. 1 on pl. cxvi, and 7 on pl. cxviii. Six nude human figures appear on the obverse in the upper register, standing in a row. A kneeling figure in the lower register holds a bladed object in one hand. A goat stands in front of the figures and a partly defaced tree in front of the goat. There is a human figure in the centre of the tree. The same scene is found on the reverse. The scene has been interpreted as showing a priest about to sacrifice a goat to a tree-spirit. Composite animals, rhinoceros, unicorn, gharial, a file of animals and a row of eight characters and the figure of a *yogin* seated on a dais with a kneeling worshipper on each side are also found in the various impressions.

Re. (b). No. 5 on pl. cxvi has an interesting scene, in which appears a file of four men carrying standards. The central standard shows the unicorn. The procession is Egyptian in character.

No. 14 on pl. cxvi shows on one face an elephant, a rhinoceros, a tiger or leopard, and a cat-like animal. Above them are a fish and a gharial with a fish in its mouth.

Copper tablets

The copper tablets are of two kinds:

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(a) with an animal or human figure on one side and an inscription on the other, and

(b) with an inscription on each side.

The animals on the tablets are elephant, antelope, hare, rhinoceros, buffalo (?), short-horned bull, human figure, goat, *brahmani* bull, tiger, two-headed animal, composite animal, and monkey (?).

On account of the thinness of the tablets, it is difficult to use them as seals. They were probably used as amulets. The possession of an amulet gave the wearer the special protection of the deity whose particular animal was engraved on the tablet. Or it is also probable that the animals were not regarded as sacred but as possessed of a special attribute which would help the wearer.

The early Indus script

An elaborate sign-list (pls. cxix to cxxix) has been made of 396 scripts in spite of the many difficulties of understanding whether any two characters are really different or identical. It is the opinion of both Mr. Gadd and Mr. Smith that the writing is in the hieroglyphic state and has not degenerated or been worn down by use into conventional summaries like the Babylonian cuneiform, the Egyptian hieratic, or the Chinese writing. This is due to the material upon which the characters are usually written, because on soft materials, they are used cursively and hence fail to preserve their lost forms. Though it is concluded that the scripts are representations of the objects for which they stand, few have yet been identified. A list has been given suggesting the possible identifications of some of the characters with the following: Men in various attitudes, man standing, man raising arms, man with bow and arrow, man holding yoke, man carrying two water-skins on a yoke, fish, hand with different numbers of fingers outstretched, birds, animals, plants, heart, spear, chair, table, parasol, road, foot, and insects. Modifications of the signs have been very frequently made by the use of 'additions', i.e. vertical or oblique strokes at the top or by 'enclosures', i.e. signs standing in the midst of usually vertical strokes and occasionally within a sort of parantheses. The direction of writing is usually from right to left but at times it is *boustrophedon*,

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i.e., from right to left in the first line, and left to right in the second. It has been inferred that the signs are probably syllabic. The devices on the seals do not appear to have any direct connection with the legends because the same animal is found to be represented with different inscriptions. The inscriptions are probably names of the owners and their qualifications or titles. It is difficult to get at a numerical system from the inscriptions and it is likely that the collections of strokes, though containing a number of units, had a phonetic value. According to Mr. Gadd, there are few resemblances between the Indus and Sumerian signs and the analogies between the Minoan and Indus scripts may only be fortuitous and sometimes far-fetched. There are, however, certain devices and punch-marks on some coins from N.W. India bearing a strong resemblance to the ancient pictographs. The following provisional conclusions regarding the scripts have been suggested:

(a) The writing is at least in part syllabic;

(b) The seal-inscriptions are generally names;

(c) The names belong to an Indo-Aryan language.

A combination of three signs has been tentatively taken to mean son (*putra*) and the values of the three signs have been reached on the basis of that assumption.

Mr. Smith holds that the inscriptions are not mere personal names. They contain symbols standing for ideas that may not form parts of names, e.g., repetitions of the picture of a bird; men may be called by the names of birds but their plural is not suitable for a personal name.

Prof. S. Langdon has made a separate sign-list containing 288 signs. He is definitely of opinion that the Brāhmī script is derived from the Indus pictographic writing. A few of the resemblances between the Brāhmī scripts and the Indus signs have been noted by him along with references to their syllabic values. The concluding lines of the chapter written by him are worth noting:

"If this script was preserved and finally issued into the alphabet of the Buddhist period, it proves that the Aryans must have had intimate contact with these founders of culture in India. In any way we

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may look at the problem, the Aryans in India are far more ancient than history admits. Their migration across Anatolia, where traces of them are found in the inscriptions of the Hittite capital, as early as the seventeenth century, is an hypothesis entirely contradictory to the new situation revealed by these discoveries in the Indus Valley. Far more likely is it that the Aryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race."

A year after writing the chapter, Prof. Langdon added a Postcript completing in the interval his study of over 200 tablets in the most archaic Sumerian script found at Jemdet Nasr, 17 miles N.E. of Kish, in 1926. The tablets were found with a mass of painted pottery akin to that of the Indus Valley found along with the Indus seals. As the result of this study, he is more emphatic than before on the definite connection between the most archaic Sumerian script and the Indus Valley script. The entire method of writing the Sumerian pictographs in the upright position exists on very few monuments, notably on the earliest of known survivals of writing, viz., the pictographic stone tablet at Kish. The Indus Valley system which still retains many traces of its pictographic origin, is true to its original principle, viz., running from right to left and retaining the upright position.

Religion

It has already been pointed out that no structural monument of any kind of a religious character has been discovered in the remains of buildings of Mohenjo-daro or Harappā. All that we have to rely upon for a clue to the nature of the religion of the people is the testimony of the seals, sealings, and copper-tablets, various figurines of terra-cotta, faience, or metal, and some stone images in the round. In spite of the meagreness of the materials, the light that is forthcoming is invaluable inasmuch as it will serve to remove, though partially, the haziness that hangs over the question of the religion of the pre-Aryans in India. While scholars like Monier-Williams and Hopkins regard the contribution of the Dravidians or other pre-Aryan races to Hinduism as negligible, or barbaric, comprising only the worse features of Hinduism, Oppert holds a different opinion. According to Oppert,

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the non-Aryans believed in the existence of one supreme spirit of Heaven, with whom was associated the goddess of Earth. Both ruled supreme over the entire world. There was also a general belief in the transmigration of souls after death. A number of figurines of terra-cotta, etc. (pls. xii, xciv, xcv) portrays a standing female, wearing only a girdle about her loins with an elaborate head-dress and collar, and sometimes with ornamental cheek cones and a necklace. In many of these specimens, the ear ornaments are like cups suspended on either side of the head (pl. xciv, 1, 5, 12; pl. xcv, 6, 7, 8). These figurines represent the Mother or Nature Goddess. Female statuettes like these have been discovered in many countries in Western Asia between Persia and the Ægean. The cult of Mother Goddess is believed to have originated in Anatolia (probably in Phrygia). The similarity between the figurines found in the Indus Valley and those in the other places is such that the conclusion cannot be resisted that they were used either as votive offerings or less probably as cult images in household shrines. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the range of these figurines extends over almost all the regions from the Indus to the Nile, which in the Chalcolithic Age were united by common cultural bonds. Apart from the testimony afforded by the similarity between the Indian examples of the figurines and those of other places, the presumption would be strong that they represent the Mother Goddess because the cult is nowhere in the world so widespread and deep-rooted as in India. She is the prototype of the power (*prakṛti*) which developed into *śakti*. She is represented in every village as the *Grāmadevatā* (village goddess) under various names (e.g., *Mātā, Ambā, Amma, Ambāmāī, Jagadmātā Devī*) and believed to be endowed with various attributes. She is dreaded by the people. She wards off evil spirits, imparts fertility, dispenses life, and gives all things. Nowadays, these village-goddesses are generally represented by rough-carved images and sometimes only by mere stones. Occasionally the shrines remain empty. It is reasonable to suppose that the cult originated in a matriarchal state of society like that of the Mother Goddesses of Western Asia, and these goddesses held a pre-eminent position among the deities of the non-Aryan people.

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The non-Aryan character of the cult

The non-Aryan character of the cult is indicated by its popularity among the primitive tribes, and also by the fact that in the rituals the leading part is played by the pariahs and not by Brāhmans. The cult is found in existence among some of the pre-Aryan tribes which never came within the ambit of Hinduism. There is no example of the elevation of a female deity to the supreme position of the Mother Goddess by the ancient Aryans in India or elsewhere. In the *Vedas*, the goddesses play a subordinate rôle; and it is only as consorts of the male deities that they acquired influence. The principal deities were also males. The Earth Goddess (*Pṛthivī*) of the Vedic Aryans was quite distinct from the Great Earth or Mother Goddess of the more ancient races. She is no doubt personified as a deity in the *Ṛg Veda*, sometimes alone and sometimes in combination with the sky, and was invoked for her benedictions, but it was only later when the amalgamation of the Aryans had taken place that her worship resembled that of the older goddess.

The interesting sealing from Harappā

An interesting sealing from Harappā (pl. xii, 12) shows a nude female figure turned upside down with the legs apart and a plant issuing from the womb. On the reverse side stand the figures of a man and a woman, the former with a sickle-shaped knife in hand and the latter seated on the ground with her hands raised in supplication. The same depicts a human sacrifice to the Earth Goddess on the obverse side appearing with two genii, the ministrants of the deity. The peculiar representation of the Earth Goddess is paralleled by a terra-cotta relief of the early Gupta age from Bhītā in the United Provinces showing the goddess with her legs in the same position and with a lotus issuing out of her neck instead of from her womb (*Arch. Sur. Report*, 1911-12, pl. xxiii, 40).

The prototype of Śiva at Mohenjo-daro

The important seal that contains a portrayal of the prototype of Śiva is No. 17 on pl. xii. The deity is three-faced, seated on a low throne in an attitude of *Yoga* with legs bent double and toes turned

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down. He has his arms outstretched and thumbs touching the knees. A pair of horns meets at the bottom of a tall head-dress. There are four animals, viz., an elephant and a tiger on his proper right, and a rhinoceros and a buffalo on his left. Two deer stand under the throne. An inscription of seven letters appears at the top. There is an example of the three-faced Śiva in a ruined temple at Devāṅgana near Mt. Abu and other examples are illustrated in Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. But as the germ of the conception of trinity can be traced to the *Ṛg Veda* though it did not assume a philosophic aspect until the historic period, it is quite possible that the same idea has been expressed. It is however more likely that at the outset, the god had three faces to signify his all-seeing attribute, and such images suggested the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

The second feature by which this deity is connected wtih Śiva is the Yogī-like attitude, Śiva being the prince of Yogins. Like Śaivism itself, *Yoga* had its origin in the pre-Aryan population, and this explains why it was not until the Epic period that it played an important part in Indo-Aryan religion. Śiva being also the lord of beasts, the four animals have been depicted about him. The horns were used to denote a sacred character. In later times, they were replaced by the trident (*triśūla*). The two deer beneath the throne are found also in conection with many mediæval images of Śiva. These features also serve to connect the representation on the seal with Śiva. Another fact is also revealed by the finds at Mohenjo-daro. That the representation was not a mere anthropomorphic form of the god as conceived in the popular imagination but was also a cult idol is indicated by the highly conventionalized type of the image and by the discovery of a similar image on a faience sealing (pl. cxvi, 29 and pl. cxviii, 11) in which the deity is shown as being worshipped by Nāgas. The aniconic form of worship of the deity will be noticed below.

Śaktism

Śakti worship is of great antiquity in India. It developed out of the cult of the Mother Goddess. The underlying idea of Śaktism is the union of the eternal female principle with the eternal male principle. Though many of the rites connected with Śaktism are the additions of

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later Hinduism and the product of the Aryan influence, the basic elements are non-Aryan and very old. A close resemblance to the Indian Śakti cult is borne by some pre-Aryan cults of the Nearer East.

At Mohenjo-daro and Harappā some aniconic objects of stone and other materials have been discovered. Two of these (pl. xiv, 2 & 4) are realistically modelled phalli, showing beyond doubt that phallism had a pre-Aryan origin, and doing away with the theory that it was introduced into India by the Greek or other Western invaders. The other objects are more conventionalized in form varying in size from half an inch to about a foot. The miniature specimens were perhaps gamesmen or amulets. The ring-stones (pl. xiii, 9-12, pl. xiv, 6 & 8) range in size from half an inch to nearly four feet in diameter and have been found in large numbers. Those, for which no utilitarian purpose can be suggested are the *yonis* or female symbols of generation used as ex-voto offerings or for cult worship.

Tree-worship

The existence of tree-worship is evidenced by the representations on several seals and sealings. The most interesting of them is the fig. 18 on pl. xii. The tree is represented by two branches issuing out of a circle. The deity is a standing nude figure with long hair and *triśūla-horns* appearing between the branches. A half-kneeling figure appears before the tree. A composite animal is found behind the supplicant and seven standing figures with dresses down to the knees occupy the space below the tree. The leaves of the tree are like those of the pipal (*ficus religiosa*), the tree of knowledge held sacred by the people throughout India and under which Gautama Buddha obtained enlightenment. It is not yet known whether the people of Mohenjo-daro regarded the tree as the tree of knowledge but that it was held sacred may be inferred from the conventional treatment received by it in seal 387 on pl. cxii resembling the treatment of the sacred tree of life in Babylonia. The animal has been taken to be associated with the deity of the pipal tree as *vāhana*. Such association of animal with tree spirits is common in Hindu and Buddhist iconography and was traditional from pre-Aryan times.

Some sacred trees are found on a few sealings from Harappā (pl.

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xii, 16, 20, 21, 25, 26). Two at least of these trees are enclosed by a wall or a railing which is usually used as a symbol of sancity on later reliefs of the historic period.

Animal-worship

The animals represented on the seals and sealings, or by the figurines and stone images are of three kinds: (a) those of a mythical character, (b) those of a doubtful mythical character, and (c) those belonging to natural species. To the first category belong the representations of composite creatures. The stone images of such creatures were cult objects intended for worship. The representation of a semi-human and semi-bovine creature (seal 357) bearing an undeniable resemblance to the Sumerian god Enkidu, and the half-human, half-animal forms of what are regarded as Nāgas fall under this category. The second class of representations comprises figures like the unicorns, while the third the water buffalo, the *gaur* or the Indian bison, the Indian humped bull or *zebu*, the Indian rhinoceros, the short-horned humpless bull, the tiger and the elephant. Of these, three, viz., the bison, the rhinoceros and the tiger have in all cases been represented with troughs in front; the elephant and the buffalo are found with or without such troughs, while the zebu and the short-horned bull without them at all. It is surmised that the troughs symbolized food offerings, and so they indicate that the animals before which they are placed were objects of worship.

The animals that do not appear on the seals but are engraved on copper tablets or are found as figurines in the round are the ram, pig, dog, monkey, bear, hare, squirrel, parrot and some other birds that cannot be identified. Some of these were no doubt toys, but the remainder had a sacred character or was used as amulets or talismans.

The sanctity of water

Though no direct evidence has been found regarding the belief in the sacred character of water yet the important part played by it in the daily life of the people at Mohenjo-daro as indicated by the elaborate arrangements for bathing shows that ablution was regarded as a religious duty. It cannot, however, be said that the rivers were deified

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like the Ganges and the Jumna though the worship of rivers is very old in India.

Inferences drawn from the data

Excepting a few elements indicative of religious touch between the Indus Valley and Western Asia, e.g., the bison's horns as a symbol of divinity, all the material of a religious character discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā is characteristically Indian. This material, small as it is, shows clearly that iconic and aniconic cults existed side by side as they do today in India. It brings to our view the worship of the Mother Goddess occupying even now a very high place among the village population and also the worship of the prototype of Śiva. Animals, trees and inanimate objects were worshipped or venerated as at present. The spirits living in the trees are given the human shape. *Liṅga* and *Yoni* have their share of worship as in Śaivism of later times. *Yoga* was in existenec as a religious practice. Though these evidences are not so ample as to enable us to visualize the religion of the Indus people with all its principal features, yet they indicate that this religion was the ancestor of Hinduism. We get a glimpse of its popular side but not of its more rational side nor of its esoteric and philosophic aspects. In the absence of documents giving us information on these points, it is not possible to come to any definite conclusions, but it is reasonable to presume that the Vedic literature could not have contained a large mass of beliefs and doctrines originally alien to their thoughts if they had not been borrowed from the pre-Aryans. An error is often committed in the assumption that the modern jungle tribes of India are the descendants of the pre-Aryans carrying on the cultural and religious traditions of the latter. The pre-Aryans had also their cultured classes living in the cities and, therefore, it is not correct to suppose that the beliefs and superstitions of the jungle folk today represent the pre-Aryan religion in its completeness.

Statuary

Of the few stone images in a tolerable state of preservation (pls. xcviii, xcix, 4-6; c, 1-3), the first represents a person engaged in *Yoga* with eyelids almost closed and the eyes turned towards the tip of the

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nose. Images such as this are mere repetitions of an ordinary standard type, which should not be taken as the examples by which to form an estimate of the character of Indian sculptures. The head represented on pl. xcix (4-6) with prominent cheek-bones, and wide and thin lips was the likeness of a person's head. In the seated image on pl. c (1-3), much skill has been displayed in the modelling of the bare right arm, etc. and in the imparting of a soft appearance to the texture of the flesh.

The bronze dancing girl (pl. xciv, 6-8) is of a somewhat rough workmanship. It represents a young aboriginal nautch girl with her hand on hip, and legs a little forward, the feet beating time to the music. In spite of defects, the artist has given evidence of his accurate observation. The two statuettes from Harappā (pls. x and xi) are more striking than the engraving of the bull on the seals mentioned before. They revolutonize the current ideas about early Indian art. In both the figures, there are socket holes in the neck and shoulders for the attachment of the head and arms made in separate pieces, and the nipples of breasts have been fixed in with cement. This feature is without a parallel among the sculptures of the historic period of the Indo-Hellenistic or other schools. The beauty of the redstone torso (pl. x) lies in the 'refined and wonderfully truthful modelling of the fleshy parts, the subtle flattening of the buttocks and the clever little dimples of the posterior superior spines of the ilium. This is a work of which a Greek of the fourth century B.C. might well have been proud. And yet the set of the figure, with its rather pronounced abdomen, is characteristically Indian and not Greek, and even if Greek influence could be proved, it would have to be admitted that the execution is Indian'. The other statuette (pl. xi) reprsents a dancer standing on the right leg with the left leg raised in front, the body from the waist upwards bent round to the left and both arms stretched in the same direction. The pose is full of movement. It is inferred from the abnormal thickness of the neck that the figure was three-headed or three-faced and in that case it represented the youthful Śiva Naṭarāja, or the head might have been that of an animal. Be that as it may, there is no parallel to this figure among the Indian sculptures of the historic period. The anatomical faithfulness in the two

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statuettes is startling; 'that makes us wonder whether in this all important matter, Greek artistry could possibly have been anticipated by sculptors of a far off age on the banks of the Indus. We know definitely that the Indus engraver could anticipate the Greek in the delineation of animal forms; and if we compare the statuette of pl. x with, for example, seal 337 we must admit that there is a certain kinship between the two both in the monumental treatment of the figures as a whole and in the perfection of their anatomical details'.

Ornaments

The ornaments were worn by both men and women of all classes. Girdles, ear-rings and anklets were used by women alone, and necklaces, fillets, armlets and finger-rings by men and women alike. The ornaments for the rich were of gold, silver, faience, ivory, and various kinds of semi-precious stones while those for the poor mainly of shell, bone, copper, and terra-cotta. The beads used in many of the ornaments are of various shapes and materials. They are barrel-shaped, globular, segmented and so forth, and made of gold, silver, copper, bronze, faience, glazed steatite, shell, bone, terra-cotta, or coloured stones. The bangles as worn by the figure of the dancing girl mentioned already encase the whole arm up to the arm-pit.

Household articles

Copper and bronze are found to have replaced stone as the material for household implements and vessels of copper and bronze are rather rare; faience was used only for small ornamental vases. Most of the household vessels were earthenware. They were of various shapes. Among them may be mentioned offering stands, beckers, bowls, goblets, dishes, basins, pans, saucers, pipkins, cups, ladles, jar-stands, heaters, and store-jars. Spindle-whorls are made of earthenware as well as of shell and faience, while flesh-rubbers, cake-moulds, dippers, and toys are made of earth. Bone, ivory, and shell were used for making needles, bodkins, combs, etc., and copper and bronze for manufacturing axes, saws, chisels, awls, sickles, razors, ladles, fish-hooks, etc.

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Toys

The specimens of toys brought to light are very interesting. They are rattles, whistles, clay models of men and women, animals, birds, carts, and household articles such as the baking pan. The whistles may be in the shape of birds or oxen yoked to the toy carts. These carts form the earliest representation of wheeled vehicles known to us, contemporary with the chariot depicted on a stone slab at Ur (about 3200 B.C.). The animal figurines in the round are mostly toys. Some may have been designed for serving as amulets. They include a bull of terra-cotta, a mastiff-like hound, seated rams, a squirrel, monkeys, etc. Some of the toy animals had detachable heads.

Games

Marbles and dice have been discovered among the relics. The marbles are made of agate, onyx and other stones, some looking very beautiful. The disposition of the numbers on the dice, which are usually cubes, is different from what we find on the modern European ones—1 being opposite to 2, 3 to 4, and 5 to 6 instead of 1 being opposite to 6, 2 to 5, and 3 to 4.

Weights

The Indus Valley weights are of interest, nearly all the small ones being cubes of chert. Some of them are of dark grey slate like the barrel-shaped weights of Elam and Mesopotamia. The large stone weights are conical and have a rim or a hole near their heads for the passage of a rope for easy handling. According to Mr. Hemmy, they are made with greater accuracy than those of Elam and Mesopotamia. The sequence of the ratios is binary at first like the Susa weights but subsequently decimal, viz., 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 160, 200, 320, 640, 1600.

Weapons

The weapons of the war or the chase are axes, spears, daggers, bows, arrows, maces, slings and perhaps catapults. The means of defence such as shields, helmets, greaves, and armour have not been

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found, nor has the sword, which became a characteristic weapon of the later Copper Age in the Jumna-Ganges valley, been discovered. The blade axes are of two types. The spear-heads are thin and broad in the blade without any mid-rib.

No specimen of stone arrow-heads has been found while only one specimen of copper arrow-head has been obtained suggesting that the bow and the arrow were not a favourite weapon. Maces are of stone and copper and of three shapes. The pear-shaped mace appears to have been the commonest. Sling balls are very numerous belonging to two kinds, viz., round and ovoid. Heavy balls which might have been used in catapults have been found, but it is not possible to state with confidence that the catapults were invented.

Cotton-spinning and textiles

It is evident from the discovery of many spindle-whorls in the houses at Mohenjo-daro that spinning was very common. It is also inferable that both the rich and the poor practised spinning because wheels are made of the expensive faience as also of the cheap pottery and shell. Wool was used for the warmer textile and cotton for the lighter one. A few minute pieces of cotton attached to a silver vase have been carefully examined in the Technological Laboratory of the Indian Central Cotton Committee. The specimen resembles the coarser kind of the present-day Indian cotton. Its convoluted structure shows that it could never have come from a wild species, such as *Gossypium stocksii* now found in Sind but without convolutions, nor from the *Bombax* species which has also no convolutions. This finding removes the current idea that the fine Indian cotton known to the Babylonians as *Sindhu* and to the Greeks as *Sindon* was the yield of the cotton tree and not a true cotton. The purple dye on a piece of the cotton material is thought to be the pigment furnished by the Madder plant.

Agriculture and food

Specimens of wheat and barley found among the ruins indicate that both these grains were cultivated by the people of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. The kind of wheat that has been discovered is the one grown in the Punjab today while the barley has been identified with the kind

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found in pre-dynastic graves in Egypt. It is not known whether the hoe had already been replaced by the plough in the Indus Valley.

The food of the Indus people included besides the above cereals (stones of which have been found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā), beef, mutton, pork, poultry, flesh of the gharial, turtles and tortoises, fresh fish from the river and dried fish from the sea-coast as also shell-fish. That these were undoubtedly articles of diet is inferred from the fact that their shells and bones have been found in a half-burnt state in the houses of the two towns or among the offerings to the dead.

Disposal of the dead

The evidences available regarding the manner in which the people disposed of the dead may be classed into three heads, viz., (1) complete burials, (2) fractional burials, and (3) post-cremation burials. Examples of these three classes of burial have been found both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. The conclusion that has been reached after an examination of all the data is that it is probable that the usual method of disposing of the dead during the flourishing period of the Indus Valley civilization was cremation, the complete and fractional burials being exceptional, found among the foreign elements from the west in the population of the towns. All the skeletons unearthed at Mohenjo-daro belong to the Chalcolithic period and they may be taken as representative of the population of the city. Among them four ethnic types have been noticed, *viz.*, the Proto--Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock, and the Alpine. The cosmopolitan character of the population in a place like Mohenjo-daro with easy land and water communications is quite natural. It was the meeting ground of the Proto-Australoids from the Indian sub-continent, Mediterraneans from the Southern shores of Asia, and Alpines and Mongoloid Alpines from the mountains of Western and Eastern Asia respectively. This craniological inference as to the mingling of diverse races finds some confirmation in the representations of the sculptured heads found at the place. But it will be better not to attach much weight to these evidences because the skulls are too few to support a definite conclusion while the artists were not so attentive to the shapes of the heads portrayed by them. The same remark also applies to the human

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remains found at Harappā. It is no yet possible to state which of the four racial types mentioned above was the prime author of the Indus Valley civilization. Various theories have already been hazarded on this point. Some have come to the conclusion that the authors of the civilization were Vedic Aryans and the Indus civilization shows therefore the antiquity of the Aryan domination in India. Others look upon the Indus people as the kith and kin of the Sumerians, or some allied race, which accounts for the common elements in the civilization of the Indus Valley and Sumer. But such conclusions rest on a very shaky basis and cannot be accepted, because the physical type of neither the Sumerians nor the Dravidians of five thousand years ago has been settled beyond doubt.

Cultural evidence as to the authorship of the Indus civilization

Now as to the question whether from cultural evidences, the Vedic Aryans can be said to have been the authors of the Indus civilization. A comparison of the two cultures yields a negative answer:

The Indo-Aryans not yet emerged from the village state

(1) The Indo-Aryan society as depicted in the Vedas is that of a partly pastoral, partly agriculture people, who have not yet emerged from the village state, who have no knowledge of life in cities or of the complex economic organization which such life implies, and whose houses are non-descript affairs constructed largely of bamboo. At Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, however, we have densely populated cities with solid, commodious houses of brick equipped with adequate sanitation, bathrooms, wells, and other amenities (p. 110). The picture of the Dāsas as found in the *Ṛgveda* is that of black-skinned, flat-nosed barbarians distinguished from the fair Aryans, though they were rich in cattle, good fighters, and possessed of many forts. These forts have been explained by Vedic scholars as mere earthworks surrounded by palisades or rough stone walls. It was never imagined that five thousand years ago, before the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind were enjoying a civilization closely akin but in some respects superior to that of Egypt and Mesopotamia at the time. This, however,

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has now been proved beyond question by the discoveries at Harappā and Mohenjo-daro (Preface).

Use of metals etc.

(2) The metals used by the Indo-Aryans of the time of the *Ṛgveda* are gold and copper or bronze which are supplemented by silver and iron at the time of the *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda*. Among the Indus people there is no vestige of iron, silver is more commonly used than gold, and stone is sometimes used (a relic of the Neolithic Age) for the manufacture of utensils as also copper and bronze.

Offensive and defensive weapons

(3) The Vedic Aryans used as offensve weapons the bow and arrow, spear, dagger and axe, and as means of defence the helmet and the coat of mail. The Indus people have all the weapons mentioned above as also the mace of stone or metal while the defensive armour is not known to them—a fact which must have made them weak in their contests with those who wore them.

The eating of meat and fish

(4) The Vedic Aryans were meat-eaters but had aversion to fish as no direct mention of fishing is found in the Vedas. Fish is, however, an ordinary article of food with the Indus people as also molluscs, turtles and other aquatic animals.

The horse

(5) The horse is found to have played an important part in the lives of the Vedic Aryans while to the people of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, it seems to have been unknown, having no place at least among the many animals figured on the seals, etc.

The cow and other animals

(6) The cow is the object of special veneration in the Vedas but among the Indus people, it is replaced by the bull. There is no mention of tiger in the Vedas while the elephant is little known but they are familiar to the Indus people.

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Iconism and other features of the religion of the people

(7) Aniconism is the normal feature of the Vedic religion while iconism is in evidence everywhere at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. The female principle is almost wholly subordinate to the male in the Vedic religious beliefs and neither the Mother Goddess nor Śiva has any place in the Vedic pantheon but among the people of the Indus Valley, the cults of the Mother Goddess and Śiva are in the forefront and the female principle stands on the same footing as the male, if not higher. Fire (*Agni*) is a very prominent deity in the Vedas and the *agnikuṇḍa* should be found in every house but this is lacking in the houses at Mohenjo-daro. There is ample evidence of phallus worship among the Indus people but it was abhorrent to the Indo-Aryans.

Was Vedic civilization the progenitor or descendant of the Indus culture?

The hypothesis that the Vedic civilization was either the progenitor or the descendant of the Indus civilization and the differences marked above are only those brought about by time is untenable. Assuming that it was the progenitor, the evolution from the village to the city state is a question of time and a long interval has to be allowed for the progress. But this cannot account for the other cultural features. If the Vedic culture preceded the Indus, how is it that iron, the horse and the defensive armour known to the former remained unknown to the latter? How could the bull replace the cow only to be superseded by the latter in the succeeding period? How does the Indus civilization possess so many survivals of the Neolithic Age—stone implements and vessels—if the copper, bronze, and iron culture of the Indo-Aryans intervened?

Now let us suppose the Vedic civilization was evolved out of that of the Indus Valley, or in other words, that the Vedic Aryans were the authors of both the Vedic and the Indus civilization. On this assumption we can account for the introduction of the horse, the defensive armour, and iron at a later stage of the same culture, but we cannot explain the relapse of the people from the city to the village state, or the disappearence of the worship of Śiva, the *liṅga* and the Mother Goddess

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in the Vedic period after their existence in the preceding one, and their emergence again in post-Vedic times. It is also difficult to explain how having occupied Sind, they forgot this country and the Lower Indus. Thus it is not possible to find a common source for the Vedic and the Indus civilizations or explain their differences on any other hypothesis than that the Vedic was later and had an independent development.

Prof. Langdon's view regarding the antiquity of the Aryans in India opposed by Sir John Marshall

Now the question arises as to how long after the disappearance of the Indus civilization at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā followed the Vedic civilization. Prof. Langdon has expressed the opinion that the Indo-Aryan civilization had been established in India long before 1500 B.C. when, according to the majority of Vedic scholars, the Indo-Aryans first came to India. This opinion is based on his inference that the early Brāhmī script is derived from that of the Indus Valley—a fact which shows that the Indo-Aryans were in contact with the authors of the Indus civilization. The Aryans are far more ancient in India than history admits and the theory of their migration across Anatolia founded upon the inscriptions in the Hittite capital *circa* 1700 B.C. is contradicted by the new situations as revealed by the excavations in the Indus Valley. Assuming that the Indo-Aryans derived the Brāhmī script from the Indus signs, there is yet no evidence that this transpired before the latter half of the second millennium B.C. Though the remains at Mohenjo-daro belong to a period earlier than the first quarter of the third millennium B.C. and the city of Harappā fell into ruins a few centuries afterwards, it should not be supposed that the Indus civilization disappeared altogether at that time. The remains at Jhukar about 20 miles from Mohenjo-daro indicate, on the contrary, that the Indus civilization continued to exist long after the ruin of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. Though the glories of the cities had passed away, the important art of writing could well have continued to be practised. Hence the fact of the derivation of the Brāhmī script from the Indus pictographs cannot be made to support the inference that the Indo-

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Aryans were established in India long before 1500 B.C. making it possible for them to have a contact with the authors of the Indus civilization.

I have attempted to touch the most prominent and interesting points in this brief survey of the big treatise. For an acquaintance with the wealth of minor details which may be of interest to the curious reader, a perusal of the work is recommended. Sir John Marshall and his collaborators should be congratulated on the completion of this work which is so large in volume and arduous in its execution. For many years, scholars of Indian history have been trying to push further into the domain of the unknown or conjectural past the boundaries of full-lighted history but with very little tangible results. Without fresh data made available through excavations, which have supplied such rich raw materials for the reconstruction of the history of many other countries but have not been utilized in the fullest degree in India for want of funds, the steel framework of the historical edifice cannot be brought into being. The results of the excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā have roused the hope that the many pre-historic sites that lie to the west of the two cities extending up to the heart of Baluchistan may yield their hidden treasures to the strenuous efforts of the antiquary. It is earnestly expected that the Indian archæological department should be re-equipped with adequate facilities to direct their labours in this direction as soon as circumstances permit it.

Before bringing this survey to a close, I want to make a few remarks on the conclusions reached by Sir John on the strength of the cultural evidence as to the authorship of the Indus civilization.

Remarks on Sir John's conclusions

He looks upon the middle of the second millennium B.C. as the approximate period when the Indo-Aryans entered the Punjab. Hence, the centuries anterior to it must be regarded as pre-Vedic and the authorship of the civilization existing during these centuries cannot but be attributed to people other than the Indo-Aryans. It is, however, not reasonable to draw the line of demarcation between the Vedic and the pre-Vedic period at about 1500 B.C. making the *Ṛgveda*, the earliest record of the Indo-Aryans, later than that date.

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Prof Max Müller's view as to the upper limit of the age of the Ṛgveda. Re. circa 1500 B.C. as the date of the arrival of Aryans in India.

There are however strong reasons for holding that the *Ṛgveda* is much earlier, and the picture of the Indo-Aryan civilization as depicted in the treatise can well be contemporaneous with that of the Indus Valley civilization (*circa* 2800 B.C.). It is generally supposed that Prof. Max Müller considered 1200-1000 B.C. as the upper limit of the *Ṛgveda* but as a matter of fact "he always considered 1200-1000 B.C. only as a *terminus ad quem*" as in his Gifford lectures on physical religion (1889) he clearly states "that we cannot hope to fix a *terminus a quo*. Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000, or 1500, or 2000, or 3000 years B.C., no power on earth will ever determine".[1]

Prof. Winternitz's opinion: 2500 B.C. as the upper limit

Prof. Winternitz holds the view that "as all the external evidence fails, we are compelled to rely on the evidence arising out of the history of Indian literature itself for the age of the Veda. We cannot explain the development of the whole of this great literature if we assume as late a date as round about 1200 or 1500 B.C. as its starting point. We shall probably have to date the beginning of this development about 2000 or 2500 B.C. and the end of it between 750 and 500 B.C."[2] Of the many arguments advanced by Prof. Winternitz in support of this opinion, I shall state here only three:

(a) The development of Vedic literature through oral tradition, through generations of teachers and pupils required longer intervals of time than would have been necessary if the texts had been in writing. Many centuries elapsed, therefore, between the composition of the earliest hymns, and their final compilation into a *Saṃhitā*. The *Ṛgveda* denotes after all only the close of a long period of such handing down of the texts through oral tradtition.[3]

1 See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I (1927), p. 293. Cf. Zimmermann, *Second Selection of Hymns from the Ṛgveda*, appendix V, p. cxxxi.

2 See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I (1927), p. 310.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

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(b) It has been shown by Prof. Bloomfield that of the lines of the *Ṛgveda* numbering about 40,000, as many as 5000 are repetitions. This shows that the old poets had predecessors. Moreover, these predecessors were even then regarded as composers of hymns of a remote antiquity.[1]

(c) The strongest argument in support of a later dating of the Veda is its connection with the Avesta in respect of language and religious view. The points of agreement in religion are counteracted by the very great differences found to exist in regard to same; moreover, the points of agreement can be easily explained in view of the facts that the Indians and Iranians constituted one Aryan cultural unit at a pre-Vedic and pre-Avestic period, and they continued as neighbours even after the separation.[2]

Corollary from the application of Prof. Winternitz's view

Thus, if the development of the *Ṛgveda* commenced from about 2500 B.C., the Indo-Aryans must have witnessed the continuance of the Indus Valley civilization at Harappā, though Mohenjo-daro had fallen into ruin; because Harappā, according to Sir John, continued to exist for a few centuries after the destruction of Mohenjo-daro about 2750 B.C.

No importance is attached to Prof. Jacobi's and Prof. Tilak's views in the present discussion

I do not wish to attach importance, in the present discussion, to the estimate of the *Ṛgveda* made by Prof. Jacobi or Prof. Tilak on the basis of the precession of the equinoxes. The former dates its beginning in about 4500 B.C. while the latter dates some of the hymns as far back as 6000 B.C. The principal reason why these calculations are not regarded as of sufficient weight by many scholars is that the passages on which the calculations are based admit of various interpretations.

The calculation of the age of the Veda from the reference to the polar star more convincing

Prof. Jacobi thought himself confirmed in his estimate of the age

1 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 301. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 308.

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of the *Ṛgveda* by the passages in the *Gṛhyasūtras* relating to the marriage ceremonial in which the polar star was pointed out to the bride as the symbol of constancy. According to Prof. Zimmermann, this argument is "more convincing than that founded on the *nakṣatras* and the equinoxes".[1] On the strength of this argument the Vedic civilization is to be "put at the period antecedent to the third millennium", because the Alpha Draconis was, about 2780 B.C., the only star bright enough to serve the purpose of the polar star. Dr. Bühler supports in a general way the estimates of the age of the Veda made by Prof. Jacobi and Prof. Tilak: "As thus numerous facts connected with the political, literary and religious history of India force me to declare that the commonly credited estimate of the antiquity of the Indo-Aryan civilization is very much too low, it is natural that I find Prof. Jacobi's and Prof. Tilak's views not *prima facie* incredible, and that I value the indications for the former existence of a *mṛgaśiras series* of the *nakṣatras* very highly.....It is of great advantage to those who like myself feel compelled by other reasons to place the entrance of the Aryans into India long before the year 2000 B.C."[2]

The existence of the Aryans in India about 2500 B.C. or 2780 B.C. and the resulting infrences

It is now evident that there are strong grounds for holding that the development of the Vedic literature began at about 2500 B.C. if not earlier. Hence, it is not permissible to attribute the authorship of *all the relics*, brought to light through excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, to the non-Aryans, simply because the Aryans are supposed not to have been in existence in India before 1500 B.C. If the Aryans be held to have been in India about 2780 B.C. referred to above, then they must have co-existed with the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro for three decades, as the occuption of Mohenjo-daro lasted up to 2750 B.C. (from 3250 B.C.) while the acceptance of earlier dates for the development of the Vedic literature gives rise to other possibilities as to the connection of the Aryans with the authorship of the Indus Valley civilization.

1 Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, appendix V, p. cxl.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1894, p. 248.

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But setting aside the earlier dates and taking our stand on 2500 B.C. as the beginning of Vedic literature in India, we find that certain inferences emerge out of the available data.

The transmission of the knowledge of script to the Indo-Aryans

Prof. Langdon's inference of the derivation of the Brāhmī script from the Indus Valley pictographs becomes in that case easily supportable, because it is only natural that there should be borrowings between people living as neighbours or in the same place. Sir John tries to explain Prof. Langdon's inference (assuming it to be true for argument's sake) by stating that though Mohenjo-daro and Harappā were ruined, the Indus civilization continued to exist long after their destruction. The remains at Jhukar about 20 miles from Mohenjo-daro prove this. Hence, the important art of writing could have been borrowed from Jhukar or some such place by the Indo-Aryans after their arrival in India about 1500 B.C. If Sir John concedes this means of derivation of the knowledge of the Brāhmī script from the Indus pictographs, he has to make similar other concessions, e.g., about the knowledge of the construction of buildings.

The knowledge of the construction of buildings

The knowledge of this art is denied by Sir John to the earliest Indo-Aryans because all the references in the *Ṛgveda* to the *purs* or cities have been taken by him, on the strength of the explanations of several Vedic scholars, to mean nothing but "simple earthworks surrounded, may be, by palisades or rough stone walls" (Preface). The grounds for such explanations as also the reference to the *purs* will be found in the following extracts from the *Vedic Index* (vol. I, p. 538 f. under *Pur*):

"*Pur* is a word of frequent occurrence in the *Ṛgveda* and later, meaning rampart, fort or stronghold. Such fortifications must have been occasionally of considerable size, as one is called broad and wide. Elsewhere a fort made of stone is mentioned. Sometimes strongholds of iron were referred to but these are probably only metaphorical. (Perhaps sun-dried bricks are alluded to by *āmā*—*Ṛv.*, ii, 35,6).....Forts with a hundred walls are spoken of.

"It would probably be a mistake to regard these forts as perma-

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nently occupied fortified places like the fortresses of the mediaeval barony. They were probably merely places of refuge against attack, ramparts of hardened earth with palisades and a ditch. Pischel and Geldher, however, think that there were towns with wooden walls and ditches like the Indian town of Pāṭaliputra, known to Megasthenes and the Pali texts. This is possible but hardly susceptible of proof and it is not without significance that the word *nagara* is of late occurrence. On the whole, it is hardly likely that in early Vedic times, city-life was much developed.....The siege of forts is mentioned in the *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*". Arguments in support of the views embodied in the extract quoted above are found in the following passage (*VI.*, I, 539 f.n.):

"Neither the Germans nor the Slavs lived in towns. It is true that the Greeks when we first find them evidently knew castles and fortresses of the mediaeval type, but the Greeks were clearly an invading race, superimposed on an older, and in civilization, more advanced people." On the analogy between the Indo-Aryans, and the Germans and Slavs, the former are believed not to have founded any forts etc., while the supposed differences between the ancient Indo-Aryans and the Greeks were taken to point to the same conclusion. Sir John believes the Dāsas in the *Ṛgveda* to have possessed forts etc. in view of the newly discovered remains of big buildings on the Indian soil, the construction of which is attributed by him to the non-Aryans because the Aryans were not in India at the time. If the *purs* referred to in the *Ṛgveda* be interpreted as castles or forts in the case of the Dāsas, it will be inconsistent not to do so in the case of the Indo-Aryans, because such a differentiation will not be reasonable in the interpretations of the same word in the same historical record. Moreover, in view of the chronological data stated already, the possession of forts etc. by the ancient Indo-Aryans of the time of the *Ṛgveda* does not appear to be an improbability. The interpreters of the term *pur* in the *Ṛgveda* were influenced, I believe, by the consideration that as no remains of buildings of considerable size had been discovered on the Indian soil prior to the first millennium B.C., the *purs* could have been but simple earthworks. Profs. Pischel and Geldner were led by the statements

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of Megasthenes regarding Pāṭaliputra to look upon the *purs* as towns with wooden walls and ditches. Had the discoveries of the towns of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro been made at the time when the scholars wrote, their impressions about the *purs* in the *Ṛgveda* would I think have been otherwise.

In view of what has been stated above, Sir John's opinion that the ancient Indo-Aryans of the *Ṛgveda* had not yet emerged from the village state does not appear to be well-grounded. [Vide *item* (*i*)].

I shall now examine the other items in Sir John's arguments regarding the authorship of the Indus civilization. But before doing so, an important fact should be borne in mind, viz., that conclusions are being drawn from the analogies and differences between the picture of the civilization as drawn in the *Ṛk*- and later Vedas, and the data that have hitherto been available through excavations. These conclusions by their nature can at best be approximations to truth, because the information gathered from the Vedas cannot be regarded as absolutely exhaustive; for it is quite probable that the non-mention of a thing, e.g., in the *Ṛgveda* is not actually the negation of its existence in the *Ṛgvedic* period. Moreover, when so many prehistoric sites still remain to be excavated, the finds from only one or two places cannot be taken to supply a picture reflecting in every minute detail the civilization of the time to which they relate. The larger the number of finds, and the larger the number and volume of the texts used regarding a period, the greater the approximations to truth, but the limitations of the evidences of this nature are always there.

Metals

Re. *item* (2). It is stated by him that among the finds at Mohenjo-daro there is no vestige of iron, while in the list of metals in the *Ṛgveda*, iron does not find a place. This is rather a similarity between the Indus Valley and the *Ṛgvedic* civilization and not a point of difference. Gold, copper and bronze are stated to be in use among the Indus Valley people as also among the Ṛgvedic Aryans. This is also a similarity. As regards silver, it was in use among the Indus people and also among the people of the time of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Yajurveda* (*VI.*, II, p. 197); hence the absence of the term in

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the *Ṛgveda* cannot be taken to be indicative of the non-existence of the metal among the Indo-Aryans of the Ṛgvedic period.

As to the evidences of the stone utensils and implements in the *Ṛgveda*, we find references to the mortar and pestle made of stone (*upara*, *dṛṣad*, and *ulūkhala*). Mention is made of various kinds of receptacles such as *soma* vessel (*amatra*), vessel for liquids (*āsecana*), buckets (*āhāva*), cooking pot (*ukhā*), drinking vessel (*pātra*) and household utensils (*pārīṇahya*). The material of which these vessels were made is not expressly mentioned. They might have been made of stone.

Sling-stones are also mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 307) and Schrader, *Pre-historic Antiquities*, p. 221).

Weapons

Re. *item* (3). As regards the weapons, the bow and arrow, spear, dagger and axe are common to both the Indus and the *Ṛgvedic* civilization. The discovery of the mace at Mohenjo-daro (found in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* but not in the *Ṛgveda*) does not introduce so much difference as to counteract the effect of the similarity between the two sets of five weapons mentioned above.

The coat of mail was either of leather or of metal among the Ṛgvedic Aryans (see *Vedic Index* under *varman*). If the coats of mail of the Indus people had been of leather, it is nothing strange that they should be destroyed by the action of the salty soil or through other causes. Regarding the helmets, it is quite possible that they may come to hand through further excavations if they were not composed of a perishable material.

Slingstones were used by both the Indus and the Ṛgvedic people.

Eating of meat and aversion to fish-eating

Re. *item* (4). Meat-eating was prevalent among the Indus people as also among the Indo-Aryans. The reference to the aversion of the earliest Indo-Aryans to fish-eating has no support in the *Ṛgvedic* text.

The horse, cow, tiger, and elephant

Re. *items* (5) and (6). The non-discovery of the representations

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of the horse and the cow on the seals cannot be made to yield the inferences drawn by Sir John regarding the two animals, viz., that the horse was unknown to the Indus people, and the bull was the object of veneration among them instead of the cow which was prized and venerated so much by the Vedic Aryans. My objection to these two inferences is based upon the following reasons: It must be shown by Sir John (a) that the non-discovery of the representations of the horse and the cow on the seals is not due to accident, and that this discovery will not be made at some future date as the excavations proceed; and (b) that because the representations of some other animals appear on the seals, those of the horse and the cow should also have been among them for the reason that the horse and the cow stood on the same footing as the other animals in regard to their talismanic or other values among the Indus people, which brought about the portrayal of the latter animals on the seals.

So long as these two points are not sufficiently proved, the inferences mentioned above cannot be drawn from the negative evidence of the non-appearance of the two animals on the seals. Moreover, as regards the bull, the question of this animal replacing the cow as an object of veneration among the Vedic Aryans does not arise, because the bull was also much prized by the Vedic Aryans as will be evident from the following extract from Prof. Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 150: "Indra is in the *Rv.* constantly designated as a bull, a term applied much less frequently to Agni, and occasionally to other gods, such as Dyaus. In the *Av.*, a bull is addressed as Indra and in the *S.B.*, the bull is stated to be Indra's form..... .In one of the sacrifices of the Vedic ritual, a bull represents the god Rudra."

Regarding the representations of the tiger on the seals, Mr. Mackay states (*Mohenjo-daro* etc., pp. 387, 388) that the identification is inferred from the stripes on the body of the animal, but the figures may well be those of a hyena. An ancient seal depicting a man, or a tree with a hyena at its base has been discovered at Kish. Some of the Indian seals also represent a tree with a man on it and the animal at its base. It cannot be said with certainty that the figure on the Indian seals is not a hyena. If this be the case, there are references in the *Ṛgveda* to *śālavṛka* (X, 73, 2; 95, 15) meaning hyena. Assuming however that the

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figure on the seal is that of a tiger, the silence of the *Ṛgveda* on this point is not of much consequence, because the tiger existed during the continuance of the Mohenjo-daro civilization and is also mentioned in the Vedic literature immediately later than the *Ṛgveda* viz. in the *Atharvaveda, Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, etc. (see *VI.*, II, p. 337 under *vyāghra*). Hence, if the tiger existed in North-Western India during the period 3250 B.C. to 2750 B.C. and also at the time of composition of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and the *Atharvaveda* in the second millennium B.C., the silence of the *Ṛgveda* which, according to Sir John, falls between the two periods cannot but be taken to be a mere absence of the term caused by the want of a necessity in the *Ṛgvedic* hymns to refer to the animal.

According to Sir John, the elephant was little known to the Vedic Aryans but was familiar to the Indus people. The *Ṛgveda* however mentions *vāraṇa* and *hastin* signifying the elephant (*Vedic Index*). "It was tamed, as the expression *hastipa* (elephant-keeper) [*Taittirīya Saṃhitā and Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*] shows, and tame elephants were used to catch others" (*VI.*, II, p. 501). So it cannot be said that the elephant was little known to the Vedic Aryans. On the other hand, we find Mr. Mackay stating that "possibly the elephant was not so well-known to the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro as we thought at first. It may never have been wild in Sind and have been used by a few people only for purposes of State" (*Mohenjo-daro* etc., p. 388).

Aniconism

Re. *item* (7). Sir John states that aniconism is the normal feature of the Vedic religion while iconism is in evidence at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā. In spite of the silence of the *Ṛgveda* on many of the points on which we require information, we find it mentioning *an image of Indra*, for which ten cows were not an adequate price (*Cambridge Hist. of Ind.*, I, pp. 97, 106). It is also stated by Prof. Keith in the same chapter of the *Cambridge History of India*, p. 103, that the "objects of the devotion of the priests were the great phenomena of nature, conceived as alive, and usually represented in anthropomorphic shape, though not rarely theriomorphism is referred to."

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Which of the two principles, male or female, is higher?

Sir John is of opinion that 'the female principle is almost wholly subordinate to the male in the Vedic religious beliefs, while among the people of the Indus Valley, the female principle stands on the same footing as the male, if not higher. From the data discovered at Mohenjo-daro, it is not possible to estimate the degree of reverence with which the people used to look upon the female deities as compared with the male. The larger number of images representing female figures as compared with those representing male may be conceded in this discussion to be an index to the popularity of the female representation, but yet it cannot be a proof of the higher position occupied by it in the religious beliefs of the people as compared with the male deities. For, the popularity of a deity does not necessarily indicate a higher position. The god *Kārtikeya*, for instance, is very popular in Bengal, considering the number of his images worshipped every year in the various households, but yet he does not occupy a position in the highest rank of the Hindu pantheon. Moreover, the theory that the female principle is almost subordinate to the male in the *Ṛgveda* should be taken with a great limitation because of the henotheistic tendency.

It is stated that the Mother Goddess and Śiva have no place in the Vedic pantheon while they are in the forefornt among the Indus people. Regarding the Mother Goddess, Sir John says "*Pṛthivī*, the Earth Goddess of the Vedic Aryans, was a figure quite distinct from the great Earth or Mother Goddess of the older peoples." He relies on this passage in Dr. Oppert's *Original Inhabitants of India* (p. 402): "No doubt *Dyaus* and *Pṛthivī* appear in the *Ṛgveda* respectively as God of Heaven and Goddess of Earth, and are called father and mother, but the latter expression admits of a totally different explanation, and does not indicate a worship of Mother Earth such as we find among the Gauḍa-Dravidian Hindus, a worship which in this form is also now here found among the other Aryan nations." It is clear however that the idea of the creative female principle was inherent in the conception of the Goddess Earth among the early Indo-Aryans. In later times, the worship of the creative female energy personified as a separate deity was the natural

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result of the separation of the ideas imbedded in the conception of the Goddess Earth.

Śiva-worship

The statement that *Śiva* had no place among the gods of the *Ṛgvedic* pantheon, while it was worshipped by the Indus people, and therefore the god was borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the non-Aryan Indus people requires a close examination. It is admitted by the scholars generally that Rudra found in the *Ṛgveda* is the predecessor of *Śiva*. In the *Ṛgveda*, he is destructive (II, 33, 11) as well as beneficent. For the term beneficent, the word *śiva* has been used (*Ṛv.*, X, 92, 9). He has matted locks (*kapardin—Ṛv.* I, 114, 1 & 4)—the characteristic of an ascetic. *Yoga* is not unknown in the *Ṛgveda* as can be inferred from the hymn X 136. Here the ecstasy and other characteristics of a *Yogin* are found in a *muni*. In the *Atharvaveda* (II, 34, 1; XI, 2; etc.) he is *paśupati* (lord of beasts) and also thousand-eyed (*Av.* XI, 2, 2 & 7). The latter epithet indicates that the god looks in all directions. The three or four faces of the god depicted on the seal (pl. XII, 17) point to the same conception (*Mohenjo-daro etc.*, 53 f., n. 1). For these reasons, the figure may well be taken as a form of Rudra of the Vedic Aryans. Moreover, there is no reason to infer that a deity who is pre-eminently a *Yogin* should be borrowed from the non-Aryans of the Indus Valley. The pracitce of *Yoga* was a speciality of the Indo-Aryans as evidenced by their extensive literature on the subject; and therefore it is reasonable to think that the figure of Rudra seated in the attitude of a *Yogin* should be a representation of a deity of the Indo-Aryans rather than of the Indus Valley non-Aryans, among whom the prevalence of the practice of *Yoga* and belief in its virtues are yet to be proved.

The grounds for inferring that the phallus worship was borrowed from the non-Aryans are, I think, two viz.

(a) The Indo-Aryans did not exist in India before 1500 B.C., an inference that has served as the background of all the conclusions noted previously, and

(b) the passages in the *Ṛgveda* (VII, 21, 5; X, 99, 3) which have been interpreted to refer to the phallus worship as abhorrent to the Vedic Aryans.

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The first ground has already been dealt with. As regards the second, the expression *śiśnadeva* in the passages in the *Ṛgveda* refers to the enemies overthrown by India. That these enemies were non-Aryans cannot be inferred with certainty. It is probable that among the Aryans themselves, there were hostile sections, looking down upon one another on religious grounds. In the passages, the section worshipping Indra is making a contemptuous reference to the one worshipping *Śiśna*. Prof. Keith could not ignore this probability. In his *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* (vol. I, p. 129), he says "or again they (phallus worshippers) may simply be mentioned as defeated by Indra, as princes whom we have no reason to doubt as Aryan are represented as being defeated for another prince by the aid of the god, as when for Tūrvayāṇa, Āyu, Atithigva, and Kutsa are overthrown".

Worship of Agni

It is stated by Sir John that fire (*agni*) is a very prominent deity in the Vedas and the *agnikuṇḍa should* be found in every house, but this is lacking in the houses at Mohenjo-daro. There is no evidence however in the *Ṛgveda* that there was an *agnikuṇḍa* in every house. This may have been a later development.

Conclusion

Sir John points out that if we assume the Vedic Aryans to be either the progenitors or the descendants of the Indus people, we are reduced to absurd positions. The dilemma presented by him loses its strength in view of the arguments already adduced by me, showing that the conclusions, with which the results of the assumptions come into conflict, are not tenable. Therefore, the position that appears reasonable is that until further definite clues are forthcoming, the attribution of the authorship of the Indus Valley civilization to the non-Aryans is not justified.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The English Translation of the Kauṭilīya

(*a rejoinder*)

In the June issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1931, I pointed out a large number of blemishes in the 3rd edition of Dr. R. Shamashastry's English translation of the Seventh Book of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* with the object that they might be removed in the 4th edition. It was also pointed out that if the translator had devoted a little more labour to the task, he could have removed them. In his prefaces to the former editions of the translation, he made promises of removing the many inaccuracies in the light of the commentaries discovered since the publication of the 1st edition of the translation, but the promises were not redeemed. Moreover, a large volume of literature has grown up since that time as the result of researches in the *Kauṭilīya* throwing much light on the many obscure points in various places in the treatise. It was naturally expected that in the 3rd edition he would utilize the light forthcoming from this volume of literature, but he has waywardly ignored it. It was therefore a necessity, in view of the importance of the treatise, to draw his pointed attention to the unjustifiable remissness in this direction, and I did it in June last. I confined my remarks only to the Seventh Book of the *Kauṭilīya*, as it was one of the most important portions of the work, and showed how his wrong translation had misled even scholars who relied on it as correct and did not consult the text. The translator instead of taking my criticisms in a good spirit has, I find, fallen into a fit of hysterics of futile rage, as will be evident from the reply he has given to my criticisms in the April number of the *Calcutta Review*, 1932. He has indulged in personal invectives, which can by no means strengthen his very weak defence. It is very easy to pour on him abuses more pungent than those he has done on me but they do not either require or do credit to scholarship. I shall treat each of the several items of his reply one by one, but before I do so I want to remind the translator that he is hopelessly wrong in thinking that a knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar or of the Sanskrit language is his monopoly. I want also to point out that if by his opprobrious reference to the *Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra*, he means his own *Cāṇakyasūtrāṇī*, I have no quarrel with him,

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but if he means by it some work written or edited by me, he is only visualizing his own propensity in a hallucination under a strong influence of the moon, because I have never written or edited any work of that name. Regarding an inuendo about the Utopian nature of my *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*, I have only to state that if he means it seriously, let him make it a major issue with his arguments in its support, and I know how to meet them. A mere inuendo about the book sounds to me like the puling of a weakling.

The translator has been compelled to admit in some places in his reply that he has committed the errors as pointed out by me, but yet he accompanies most of his admissions with such remarks and arguments as nullify their effect. I mention below a few instances of such admissions:—

The *Calcutta Review* (abbreviated below as *CR.*,) p. 117, item (14) "The equivalent of the word 'paropakāra', helping the enemy has somehow or other dropped out of the translation".

CR., p. 118, item (15) "The omission of the word 'sambandhāvekṣī' in the translation is an oversight here."

p. 127, item (42) "The word 'daṇḍopanāyi-vṛttam' means the attitude of a conquering king. Conquered king in the translation is a mistake for conquering king".

p. 129, item (44) "The omission of *pareṇa* 'by an enemy' in the translation is a mistake."

p. 130, item (45) "The omission of 'prakṛti' is an oversight."

p. 131, item (47) "Here 'and joins an enemy (amitraṃ gacchet)' is omitted."

These examples remind me of the village parson who 'even though vanquished could argue still.'

The translator (referred to as T later on) states in regard to some of my interpretations of the *Kauṭilīya* passages that they are not acceptable to the Sanskritists. I shall point out at the proper places the nature of the support upon which they rest, but want

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to cite two instances against which T's objection mentioned above has been specially directed. He remarks

CR., p. 122, item (26) "The critic says that 'cakra' means army. It may mean so in his imaginary dictionary". (For the passage, see *K.*, VII, 13, p. 301 last but one line).

I am surprised at the poor knowledge of Sanskrit possessed by T. He does not know that every standard Sanskrit dictionary puts down 'army' as one of the meanings of 'cakra'. The *Amarakośa* II, kṣattriyavarga, 79 has वरूथिनी बलं सैन्यं चक्रञ्चानीकमस्त्रियाम्, the *Vaijayantī* (Oppert's ed., p. 108, l. 109) सैन्यं चक्रं बलं सेना चमूर्वाहिन्यनीकिनी, and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* (Aufrecht's ed., 2, 302)

चक्रं चमूर्वरूथिन्यनीकिनी स्यादनीकं च ।

Although the portion of the *Nayacandrikā* dealing with the present chapter of the *Kauṭilīya* is not available, its comment elsewhere, i.e., on *K.*, X, 2 (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 173, l. 7) supports my contention. Here *cakrānteṣu* has been paraphrased as *sainyapaścādbhāge*.

Before making remarks on others' knowledge of Sanskrit, he could even have consulted any Sanskrit-English Dictionary like those of Apte, Macdonell, and Monier-Williams.

Again, in the opinion of T, 'cala' cannot mean 'unstable'. I objected (*IHQ.*, VII, p. 409) to his rendering of the words *calaṃ mitram* by the words 'a wandering friend (i.e., a nomadic king)' and remarked that *cala* means 'unstable' in the passage. To this T (*CR.*, p. 131, item 47) replies,

" 'calaṃ mitram' means a moving or wandering friend like an āṭavika. 'Calaṃ lakṣyam' means a moving object aimed at, but not an unstable object. 'Cañcala' means unstable."

Any person with an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit knows that the word 'cala' can have the meaning as suggested by me. It is curious that according to T, 'cañcala' can mean 'unstable' but not 'cala.' The uses of the term in the sense of 'unstable' are given below:

(a) *Kumārasambhava* (IV, 28) has दयितास्वनवस्थितं नृणां न खलु प्रेम चलं सुहृज्जने

(b) *Ibid.*, III, प्रयोजनापेक्षितया प्रभूणां प्रायश्चलं गौरवमाश्रितेषु

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(c) Bhartṛhari (*Vairāgyaśataka*, 128 quoted in Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary under the word *cala*) चला

लक्ष्मीश्चलाः प्राणाश्चलं जीवितयौवनम्

Will T render *calam* in *calaṃ prema*, *calaṃ gauravam*, and *calaṃ jīvitayauvanam*, by 'wandering (i.e. nomadic)' or by 'unstable' as suggested by me? The *Kauṭilīya* (VII, 9, p. 291) mentions side by side *dhruva* and *cala* mitras, the latter being commented on by the *Nayacandrikā* as *anitya*. Here the term has been rendered as 'mutable' by T (see transl., p. 320).

I shall now deal with the items in T's reply in the order in which they appear, pointing out in passing the various points that were touched by me in my criticism but have not been met by T.

1. *CR.*, 113f.; *IHQ.*, 390f.[1] The text in regard to which the translation of T was questioned by Mm. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri (p. 2 of the preface to the first part of his ed. of the *Kauṭilīya*) runs thus:

मर्य्यादां स्थापयेदाचार्य्यानमात्यान् वा य एनमपायस्थानेभ्यो वारयेयुः ।

T renders it as "Those teachers and ministers who keep him from falling prey to dangers.....*shall invariably be respected*", while Mm. Ganapati Sastri gives the meaning as "(a king) *should appoint, as a barrier, either Ācāryas or ministers* who would.....check him whenever he shows inclination to stray away from the path of righteousness." The point of his objection is that the Sanskrit term *maryādā* cannot mean 'respect'. It means 'barrier'. T states now in his defence that the "passage means literally: 'The king should fix some limit or boundary of his proceedings for his teachers to interfere with and prevent him from going further. In other words, he should respect his teachers when they prevent him from his careless proceedings'." Here T accepts in fact the meaning suggested by Mm. Ganapati Sastri but has not the candour to admit that his translation is at fault and makes an attempt in the last sentence quoted above to defend his position that in Sanskrit, *maryādā* is equivalent to 'respect' which is

1 The references will be throughout this rejoinder to the April number of the *Calcutta Review*, 1932 and the seventh volume (1931) of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

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never the case. Moreover he finishes off his reply on this point by saying,

"The critic (referring to me) translates the passage—'The king should appoint as a barrier either Ācāryas or ministers etc.'. The critic is requested to explain what the 'appointment of a barrier' means. Appointment of a barrier is never heard of."

The criticism is by Mm. Ganapati Sastri, and therefore it is an error to refer to me as the writer of the criticism. The long-enduring habit of falling into errors is difficult to prevent in a day. Moreover, it should be pointed out to T that 'the appointment of a barrier' may not be heard of, but the 'appointment of Ācāryas or ministers as a barrier', as it were, may be quite within the range of his hearing if he listens a little cautiously.

2. *CR.*, 114; *IHQ.*, 391f. I objected to T's rendering of the passages in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* like अभ्युच्चीयमानो विगृह्णीयात् in which Kauṭilya (henceforth mentioned as K.) points out the most important conditions that should influence the decision of a sovereign in the adoption of one or more of the six courses of action. T has translated the passages in such a way as to create the impression that each condition is the only determining factor in the particular situation. The sentence quoted above has been translated as '*whoever* is superior in power *shall* wage war' (the italics are mine). The use of 'whoever' conveying with it an emphasis is unwarranted by the text, and the presence of 'shall' with 'whoever' introduces a sense of compulsion which vitiates the translation altogether. Moreover, the existence of other passages in the *Kauṭilīya* "……*jyāyān api sandhāyeta*" (……even a strong king should enter into a *sandhi* —*K.*, p. 269), which throw light on the texts and have been referred to already (*IHQ.*, 392), points to the correct interpretation. Unable to explain why he has introduced 'whoever' and 'shall' into his translaton, T argues,

'Does he expect the translator to discourse on the ethics of the action implied by the sentences translated? The translator's business is to state the meaning of the sentences.'

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But the meaning, I should add, should be such as not to conflict with passages in other portions of the work translated, and must not be vitiated by the introduction of terms in the translation not warranted by the text.

3. *CR.*, 114; *IHQ.*, 392. T's rendering of the passage *chidreṣu praharet* (*K.*, VII, 2, p. 267) as 'he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself' was pointed out by me as faulty on the ground that murder is not necessarily meant in all cases. प्र—हृ in प्रहरेत् means 'to strike' and the passage can well be interpreted as striking at the vulnerable points which may or may not include murder. T remarks,

> "The critic says, 'The utilization of the opportunity need not necessarily be murder.' Does it then mean beating so as not to cause death? Such a course may satisfy the moral critic but not a warrior bent on conquest. The author never meant beating here".

T may console himself with the thought that he has a special knowledge of what was at the back of the mind of the author. I would much rather follow the language of the treatise to get at the author's mind. The substance of T's remarks is that because *prahāra* may lead to murder, therefore *praharet* must be translated into 'may murder' and not 'may strike'. I want it to be noted how the same T has translated the term and its derivatives in the same chapter as also in other portions of the *Kauṭilīya*.

The passages are:

(a) *K.*, IV, 2, p. 228 (2nd ed. of the text).—शस्त्रेण प्रहरतः

'when a man *hurts* another with a weapon' (transl. p. 256).

(b) *K.*, VII, 2, 268—अन्यतरस्य व्यसने प्रहरेत्

'he *may strike* the other at the latter's weak point' (transl., p. 297).

(c) *K.*, VII, 6, 280—परच्छिद्रमासाद्य प्रहरेत्

'the enemy is caught hold of at his weak point and *is struck*' (transl., p. 309).

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(d) *K.*, VII, 7, 285—मूले यात्रायां वा प्रहत्तुकामः

'with the intention of *striking* him in his own place or on the occasion of marching' (transl., p. 285).

(e) *K.*, VIII, 5, 337—प्रहरेद् दण्डरन्ध्रेषु शत्रूणां नित्यमुत्थितः

'should ever be ready to *strike* his enemy's army when the latter is under troubles' (transl., p. 364).

(f) *K.*, X, 5, 374—व्यूहं तु स्थापयित्वा पक्षकक्ष्योरस्यानामेकेन द्वाभ्यां वा प्रहरेत्

'having made an array, he should *strike* the enemy with one or two of the divisions on the wings, flanks, and front' (transl., p. 402).

(g) *K.*, XII, 4, 389—तेषु (छिद्रेषु) तैः सह प्रहरेयुः

'the spies should *strike* the enemy at his weak points' (transl., p. 417).

(h) *K.*, XII, 5, 393—अग्निरसशस्त्रैर्वा प्रहरेत्

'(may) *strike* them down with fire, poison, or sword' (transl., p. 421).

(i) *K.*, XIII, 3, 402—तैः सह प्रहरेयुः

'they may *strike* the enemy with the help of the army' (transl., p. 431).

(j) *K.*, XIII, 4, 404— निष्कुरादुपनिष्कृष्य अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः

'horse soldiers may force their passage through the gate into the fort and may *smite the enemy*' (transl., p. 433).

The passages speak for themselves and further comments are superfluous.

4. *CR.*, 114; *IHQ.*, 392. The heading of chapter 3, bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya* is समहीनज्यायसां गुणाभिनिवेशः rendered by T as 'the *character* of equal, inferior and superior kings'. My objection is to taking 'guṇābhiniveśa' to signify character. It means

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the adoption of the *guṇas* or the (six) 'courses of action'. That *guṇa* means in connection with the 'science of polity' a course of action or a form of policy is well-known. Monier-Williams gives the meaning thus in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (2nd ed., p. 357, col. 1): 'The six subdivisions of action for a king in foreign politics.' Apte's *Dictionary* explains the term as 'a proper course of action.' T himself has translated the words इति गुणावस्थापनम् in the first chapter of bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya* (text, p. 263, last line; transl., p. 293) into 'such is the aspect of the six forms of policy.' But as he has committed an error, he persists in it, as done by him in so many other instances. He must translate it as 'character,' remarking,

> "The critic takes the word *guṇa* to mean courses of action. *Guṇa* never means action. It means character or nature or quality. If action were meant, 'karma' would have been the word".

I have not said that guṇa means action but it does mean 'a course of action' or 'a form of policy'.

5. *CR.*, 144f.; *IHQ.*, 392. T remarks,

> "The critic wastes his words by uselessly discoursing on *sthāna*, *āsana*, and *upekṣaṇa* without pointing out any defect in my translation".

I took pains in my criticism to explain the differences between *sthāna*, *āsana*, and *upekṣaṇa* before pointing out in the following words the defect in the translation of the first paragraph of *K.*, VII, 4, 272: "Dr. S translates the passage as 'keeping quiet, maintaining a particular kind of policy, is *sthāna*'. Here, I think, it has been contemplated by Dr. S that *guṇa* refers to a course of action other than *āsana* which is not the case". So the defect has been clearly mentioned. As it has suited T's convenience not to find out the passage, he ignores it with his characteristic remarks.

6. *CR.*, 115; *IHQ.*, 393. I pointed out the blemish in the translation of the last passage in the paragraph at p. 273, bk. VII, ch. 4 of the *Kauṭilīya* describing the circumstances in which *vigṛhyāsana* is to be resorted to. T tries in his reply to brush aside my remarks by saying

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that the translation can be made in a hundred ways. It is not so easy to wriggle out of the position to which he has committed himself by his wrong translation of the passage. I place the text, T's rendering, and the translation suggested by me side by side in order to point out clearly how the situation contemplated in the text has been utterly misunderstood by T.

K., VII, 4, p. 273 : गुणवतीमादेयां वा भूमिं सर्वसन्दोहेन वा मामनादृत्य प्रयातुकामः कथं न यायात्...

T's transl.	*Transl. suggested by me*
Since no friend would neglect the opportunity of acquiring a fertile land and a prosperous friend like myself.	How (*katham*) [an enemy] intending to march (*prayātukāmaḥ*) with all his forces (*sarvasandohena*) may not reach (*na yāyāt*) a fertile and easily acquirable region (*guṇavatīm ādeyāṃ vā bhūmiṃ*) without caring for me (*mām anādṛtya*).

The situation contemplated in the passage is as follows: When the enemy is about to march with all his forces to take away from another enemy a fertile region easily acquirable, slighting the existence of the king who is to adopt *vigṛhyāsana*, then the latter (i.e. the king slighted) should take to that course of action.

7. *CR.*, 115; *IHQ.*, 393. My objection was to the inclusion of a verse in the prose portion of the text which gave rise to a blunder in the translation. T does not at all touch this point.

It was also pointed out by me that the reading *kṛtārthā jyāyaso* (*K.*, VII, 5, p. 278) should be *kṛtārthāj jyāyaso*. T reproduces the corrected passage in his reply without admitting at all this error as pointed out by me. Moreover, the last word in the passage is *apasṛjet*, for which a better variant *apasravet* has been given by T in the foot-note. But now in his reply he substitutes *apasaret* without caring for any of the readings in the text.

Now as to the translation of the three verses including the one put by T in the prose portion of the text. The verses are

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कार्यसिद्धौ तु—

कृतार्थाज्जायसो गूढः सापदेशमपस्रवेत् ।
अशुचेः शुचिवृत्तात्तु प्रतीक्षेताविसर्जनात् ।
सत्रादपसरेद् यत्तः कलत्रमपनीय वा ।[1]

The verses contain advice meant for a king who responds to a call from another king for combination. He is asked to be careful in regard to certain matters at the time of the division of the spoils and acquisitions after a successful termination of their combined operations.

T's translation of the verses

When the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of his superior.

* Till his discharge the good character of an ally of usually bad character, should be closely scrutinized, either by suddenly coming out at a critical time from a covert position (satra) to examine his conduct, or by having his wife as a pledge for his good conduct.

(The use of the asterisk shows that the portion above it has not been taken as the translation of a verse while it is actually a verse).

Translation suggested by me

After the success of the operations, (one) should come away (apasravet) surreptitiously (gūḍhaḥ) on some pretext (sāpadeśam) from an unjust (aśuceḥ) superior (jyāyasaḥ) whose object has been achieved (kṛtārthāt); but if he be just (śucivṛttāt tu) (one) should wait (pratīkṣeta) till discharge (ā visarjanāt). Having removed (apanīya) the women (kalatram), (one) should come away (apasaret) cautiously (yattaḥ) from the residence (satrāt).

T's rendering does not yield any sense because 'the good conduct of an ally of usually bad character' cannot be 'closely scrutinized by having his wife as a pledge for his good conduct' and moreover the

1 It is curious that T in his edition of the text relegates the two correct readings for *avasare* and *'bhyattaḥ* to the foot-note and keeps the incorrect readings in the body of the text. Now he adopts the readings of the footnote.

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text does not at all support the translation. Where is, for instance, the Sanskrit text for 'a critical time'? Now as to taking 'pratīkṣeta' to be identical with 'parīkṣeta' which is mainly responsible for the meaning in the first portion of the translated passage regarding the examination of the good conduct of an ally. The equation of 'pratīkṣā' with 'parīkṣā' is absurd.

It will be clear from my translation of the passage given above that the question of 'pledging a wife' does not arise at all and therefore his objection regarding this point is baseless. *Kalatram apanīya* in the passage means 'having removed the women'. That women accompanied the king during his march to the battle-field is evidenced by the direction in the *Kauṭilīya* to the effect that the women should remain in the middle of the marching columns: *K.*, X, 2, p. 364 *madhye svāmī kalatraṃ ca*—translated by T as 'in the centre the *harem* and the master'— transl., p. 392. Cf. also the *Kāmandakīya*, XIX, 45, (p. 286)—*madhye kalatraṃ svāmī ca*, where *kalatra* has been explained by Śaṅkarārya as *antaḥpuram*.

8. *CR.*, 116; *IHQ.*, 393 f. I objected to the rendering of the term *sandhi* by 'peace' exclusively because the *Kauṭilīya* has used it in two senses in different places viz., (a) alliance which may not have any connection with war, and (b) treaty of peace putting an end to hostilities. Cf. Śaṅkarārya on the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, XIV. 2 (Trivandrum edition, p. 124)—*sandheyo dvividhaḥ abhiyoktā anabhiyoktā ca* (persons with whom *sandhis* are made are of two kinds: those who have waged war and those who have not). So the word should be rendered differently in accordance with the contexts. I pointed out some wrong interpretations made by T for ignoring the meanings mentioned above. He does not refer to those misinterpretations in his reply.

Though I have clearly stated my position yet T says,

> "If peace is not an appropriate equivalent word to the Sanskrit word 'sandhi', it is the business of the critic to suggest a suitable word. But without any such suggestion, persistence in asserting 'no, no' is no criticism."

Any one who refers to my previous criticism will find that I am being misrepresented by T.

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Regarding the meanings of some terms such as *akṛtacikīrṣā* and *kṛtaśleṣaṇa*, which have been mistranslated by T, he says,

"These words are explained in the text itself so as to give no room for misinterpretation."

Does he mean that because the words are correctly explained in the Sanskrit text, the wrong translations cannot stand in the way of understanding the right meaning? If the reader has to do the work of the translator at every step, then what purpose is served by the translation?

As pointed out already in my criticism, *akṛtacikīrṣā* cannot be translated as 'peace with no specific end' (transl., p. 309, l. 24). It should be rendered as 'desire to form (*cikīrṣā*) a new (*akṛta*) agreement.' T evades the real issue by referring to the translation of *apūrvasya sandheḥ* occurring on the same page (280) of the text (line 18) and is silent on the translation of the passage under criticism. I did not expect T to stoop to this trick for his defence. He does not say anything as to why he has introduced the words 'with no specific end' in the rendering not only in the translated passage under discussion (transl., p. 309, l. 24) but also in another on the same page (l. 34).

9. *CR.*, 116; *IHQ.*, 394. In regard to the translation of the term 'bhūmisandhi' as 'agreement of peace for the acquisition of land', I pointed out that 'agreement for the acquisition of land' would have been correct, as the words 'agreement of peace' create the impression that this sandhi is being concluded after a war; because in the *Kauṭilīya*, the term *sandhi* has two senses, viz., (a) alliance which may not have any connection with war and (b) treaty of peace after the conclusion of a war. T simply says in defence

"Does not agreement imply disagreement?". Curious reasoning!

It is absurd to think that every alliance must be preceded by a conflict.

10. *CR.*, 116; *IHQ.*, 394 f. I remarked, "In the translation of *K.*, VII, 7, para. 3, the passage 'when the kings of superior, equal, or inferior power make peace with the conqueror' is extremely misleading, because the use of the term 'conqueror' creates the impression as

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if the sovereign in question *has conquered a king* of superior, equal, or inferior strength, and that a treaty of peace is being concluded. As a matter of fact, only the question of alliance for strengthening the position of the king (vijigīṣu) in difficulty is being treated and therefore the uses of both the words 'conqueror' and 'peace' are inappropriate. Vijigīṣu literally means 'a sovereign bent on conquest'. But as this desire for conquest was not peculiar to any particular king, the word should be translated by some term of colourless signification. I have used the expression 'central sovereign or State' for the purpose, because we find in the *Kauṭilīya* that the sovereign with reference to whom a particular piece of advice is given, or with reference to whom a Maṇḍala (circle of States) is being taken into account in a particular context, is looked upon as the vijigīṣu (see *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, 1920, pp. 2, 3). That the term 'conqueror' cannot be used as the equivalent of *vijigīṣu* will also be apparent from the fact that he in particular circumstances can be reduced to a position when conquests by him are out of the question e.g., when he becomes a *yātavya* (simply weak king) [*K.*, VII, 13, p. 304, ll. 8, 9] or *abhiyukta* (attacked) [*K.*, VII, 14, p. 305, l. 8], or becomes a *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter)—a position in which he throws himself upon the mercy of the invader [*K.*, VII, 15, p. 308. Cf. *Nayacandrikā*, p. 38].

T applies his stock principle (which he breaks at convenience e.g. in item (1) where he makes the Sanskrit term *maryādā* yield the meaning 'respect') that 'it is not proper to translate a word setting aside its literal sense', and therefore 'the words suggested (by me) have no connection with the literal sense of the word'. T is here ready to sacrifice the sense to the so-called principle which he has followed so often in its breach. One instance of such observance of the principle has been pointed out above and more have been shown in the course of this rejoinder. But I cannot refrain from adding one more example of the way in which he observes the principle. The very sentence which forms the subject-matter of this discussion is a glaring deviation from the principle enunciated above. I put side by side the text and the translation for facility of comparison.

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K., VII, 7, p. 283	*T's rendering*
तेषां ज्यायसोऽधिकेनांशेन समात् समेन हीनाद्धीनेनेति समसन्धिः	When the kings of superior, equal or inferior power make *peace* with the *conqueror* and agree to pay a greater or equal or less amount of profit in proportion to the army supplied, it is termed even peace.

The introduction of the word conqueror is not at all warranted by the text. The passage relates to a king wishing to have, for his help, army for money, or money for army from the neighbouring kings. A king asking for help from a neighbouring State for consideration cannot be called a conqueror, nor can the agreement for the purpose be called peace.

11. *CR.*, 117; *IHQ.*, 395. I objected to the translation of the words *Sandhi*, *Samasandhi*, and *Viṣamasandhi* (*K.*, VII, 7, p. 283) as 'peace', 'even peace' and 'uneven peace'. T replies:

"The words 'Sama, Sandhi, Samādhi' mean peace, calmness".

Here Sandhi signifies 'agreement' (paṇabandhaḥ sandhiḥ—*K.*, VII, 1, p. 263) and not 'peace' or 'calmness.'

In connection with this item I pointed out a blunder committed by T viz., that in the second paragraph of the translation (p. 312) of chapter 7, bk. VII, the reference to 'the enemy suing peace' is out of place and betrays a misunderstanding of the text; because in the circumstances contemplated, there is no enemy suing for peace. T's reply is silent on the point.

12. *CR.*, 117; *IHQ.*, 395. In regard to this item, my main objection was that in the third paragraph of the text (VII, 7, p. 285), two classes of kings have been contemplated, one class demanding a large consideration (bhūyo labhamāno.....bhūyo yāceta) and another class meeting the demand (bhūyo vā yācitaḥ.....bhūyo dadyāt)—(see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 7). But T in his translation interprets the whole paragraph as if it speaks of one class of kings, creating thereby a confusion. T is silent as regards this objection.

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As regards my objection to the translation of the term '*bhūyaḥ*' as 'frequently' and 'again and again', T says

"A good Sanskrit scholar can very well know whether the word '*bhūyaḥ*' here means 'again' or 'large.' "

I also repeat the remark, and add that it means 'large'. I am supported in my interpretation by the ancient commentator Mādhavayajvan, author of the *Nayacandrikā* as also by Mm. Dr. Ganapati Sastri in his *Śrīmūlāṭīkā*: *Nayacandrikā* (p.7, ll. 13, 14)— बहुतरं लभमानो...बहुतरं याचेत and *Ibid.* (p. 8, l. 4)— बहुतरमभिलाभांशं दद्यादित्यर्थः। *Śrīmūlā* (vol. II, p. 282) भूयो वा याचित इति। बहुतरं द्रव्यं याचितः etc.

13. *CR.*, 117; *IHQ.*, 395 f. I pointed out that the beginning of a paragraph in the translation (p. 314) yields no cogent meaning owing to the faultiness of the Sanskrit text which has also been settled by T. The text (VII, 7, p. 285) runs as 'jyāyāṃsaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā' which should be 'jyāyān vā hīnaṃ' as adopted in the Trivandrum edition. T replies,

"It is not the business of a translator to make such changes".

But T is also the editor of the text, and it is not an editor's business to put together incoherent words which he could have rectified in the light of the Ms. commentary *Nayacandrikā* to which he refers in the Preface (xxiii) to the second edition of the text of the *Kauṭilīya*. The *Nayacandrikā* comments as follows:

ज्यायसो हीनेन सह सन्धित्रिकं दर्शयति—ज्यायान् वा इत्यादिना।

T should have translated the corrected passage.

So it is clear how he has carried out what he says in his Preface (p. xxv) to the 2nd ed. of the translation of the *Kauṭilīya*: "All along it has been my earnest endeavour to revise my translation with the aid of two more commentaries on the work since discovered. One of them is *Nayacandrikā* by Mādhavayajvan.....".

I may mention that T has not touched my objection, made in this connection, to the reference, in para 4, p. 314 of the translation, to the sending of a 'proposal of peace to another' which is without any support from the text.

14. *CR.*, 117 f; *IHQ.*, 396. I pointed out T's error in the rendering

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of the word 'paropakāra' by 'misery' (VII, 8, p. 286). T says in his reply that

> "it is śarīrabādha that has been translated by the word 'misery'. The equivalent of the word 'paropakāra', helping the enemy, has somehow or other dropped out of the translation".

This defence has perhaps its origin in the idea that omission is a lighter offence than commission, but a comparison of the text with the translation shows that 'śarīrabādha' has been rendered by 'personal troubles', leaving the term 'misery' as the equivalent of 'paropakāra'.

K., VII, 8, p. 286	*T's rendering p.* 315
(1) क्षय- (2) व्यय- ( ) प्रवास- (4) प्रत्यवाय- (5) परोपकार- (6) शरीर-बाधांश्च वर्णयेत्	He may describe to that king (1) the loss of men and (2) money, (3) hardship of sojourning abroad, (4) the commission of sinful deeds, and (5) the misery and other (6) personal troubles.

(The numerals have been used to facilitate reference.)

I also pointed out that it is not clear from the last portion of the sentence in the translation whether the disunion is between the king offering wealth and one of the allies of the invader, or, between the invader and one of his allies. The text supports the latter meaning. T is silent on this point.

15. *CR.*, 118; *IHQ.*, 396. T admits the omission of the word *sambandhāvekṣī* (*K.*, VII, 8,p. 287) in the translation to be an oversight, but evades the issue involved in my objection to the inaccurate translation in the 3rd paragraph at p. 316 (transl.) by merely remarking,

> "The critic dissects the sentence in such a way that in the explanation given by him the object of the predicate becomes a condition, and a condition an object aimed at."

In the circumstances, what I said in my criticism remains unaffected.

16. *CR.*, 118; *IHQ.*, 397. T translates *śakyārambhī viṣahyam karmārabheta* (*K.*; VII, 8, p. 287) by "whoever undertakes tolerable

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work is the beginner of possible work". The translation suggested by me was "Śakyārambhin is one who is engaged in an operation, the completion of which is within the limits of his ability". T's objection to my rendering is that "there are no words 'limits, ability' in the text." But the root *śak* together with the suffix *yat* carries with it the sense of these words. In the dictionaries such as those of Apte, Monier-Williams, or Macdonell *Śakya* means 'capable of being done' and *viṣahya* means 'practical'. According to the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 13, l. 8) *viṣahyaṃ= śakya- nirmāṇam*, i.e., capable of being done. The root *sah* in the term *viṣahya* has evidently misled T into thinking that it means 'tolerable'. T's translation of the sentence is jargon.

17. *CR.*, 118; *IHQ.*, 397. I pointed out that T's rendering 'without losing anything in the form of favour' is not at all faithful to the text, which runs as *alpenāpyanugraheṇa kāryaṃ sādhayati*. The translation should be 'accomplishes his work even with small help'. T dismisses my correction by remarking " 'anugraha' does not mean help but favour". The Sanskrit sentence is simple and there is no room for ambiguity. 'Anugraha' in the passage does mean 'help'. It is interesting to note that T contradicts himself by his own translation of the words *na anugrāhyaḥ* and *anugṛhṇāti* in the next two sentences (text, p. 287) and *anugṛhītaḥ* in the next paragraph (text, p. 288) by 'should never be helped,' 'helps' (transl., p. 316), and 'helped' (transl., p. 317) respectively.

18. *CR.*, 118f; *IHQ.*, 119. My criticism was to the effect that the circumstances contemplated in the passage

तयोरेकपुरुषानुग्रहे यो मित्रं मित्रतरं वा अनुगृह्णाति सोऽतिसन्धत्ते

(*K.*, VII, 8, p. 287) have been totally misunderstood and hence the translation (p. 316) has been utterly wrong. The rendering suggested by me contains some words that were introduced to explain the circumstances contemplated in the short sentence. T evades the issue by simply remarking that these words are not in the text. My translation correctly reflects the situation contemplated in the text.

19. *CR.*, 119; *IHQ.*, 398. T has not touched three of my objections:

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(a) He is silent in regard to my criticism 'The situation next described (*K.*, VII, 8, p. 288) bearing on the assistance rendered by the *vijigīṣu* and the *ari* each to the *madhyama* king within his own *maṇḍala* has also been misunderstood, as the *same madhyama* king has been supposed to be receiving help from the *vijigīṣu* and the *ari*'.

(b) I also pointed out the absurdity of T's rendering (p. 301) of the term *āsana* by 'neutrality after proclaiming war' and subsuming a king resorting to *āsana* and a king occupying the position of *udāsīna* under the same category. T has failed to meet this criticism.

(c) My objection to the use of the word 'defeat' for *vikrama* (transl., p. 368) has not been met. The word means *prakāśayuddha*, *kūṭayuddha or tūṣṇīṃyuddha* (see *K.*, VII, 6, pp. 280, 283).

Regarding the translation of the terms *madhyama* and *udāsīna* as 'mediatory' and 'neutral' T defends himself in this way:

> "These words are put here and there along with the original and sometimes without the original words for the sake of brevity, but *not as correct equivalents*".

So the renderings 'mediatory' and 'neutral' are, according to T, not wrong but merely 'not correct' equivalents. This may be a good piece of self-consoling euphemism but cannot meet a criticism based on strong grounds. Does T mean to say that the mistranslation of a Sanskrit term can be allowed if it be put along with the Sanskrit term? T argues further, stating "they (the words) are susceptible of no translation. Hence the objection is groundless". If there was difficulty in making a literal translation, he could have used the Sanskrit terms themselves all through, or even some symbols standing for those terms, instead of misleading the readers in the way he has done in his translation. A reader who does not consult the text will be puzzled to find that a 'neutral' king is coming into conflict in spite of his neutrality. The 'udāsīna' as a matter of fact is the strongest power within the maṇḍala. Similarly, the reader will be non-plussed to find that a 'mediatory' king has nothing to do with intermediation, because it is only a State of medium strength in the *Maṇḍala*. I have therefore called them 'super-state' and 'medium-state' respectively in my *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India* (1920). On account of the use of the

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misleading renderings without the original terms accompanying them, whole chapters have been turned into jigsaw puzzles for the readers to solve for their edification.

T replies to my objection to the translation of the term 'viguṇa' as 'devoid of qualities.' His translation, says he, "is correct and exact" and my translation 'unfavourable or turning false' "cannot be acceptable to Sanskritists". It will interest the readers to learn that *viguṇa* in *viguṇeṣu vikramayet* (*K.*, XI, 1, 380 and 381) has been translated by T as 'wicked person' (transl., pp. 409, 410). He has also rendered a derivative of *viguṇa*, viz., *vaiguṇya* occurring in *K.*, V, 6, p. 254, where *vaiguṇyaṃ bhajeta* has been translated as 'has turned inimical' (transl., p. 283). Another passage in *K.*, VII, 8, p. 287 runs thus: *kṛtārthaśca śatrurvaiguṇyam* etc., which T renders (transl., p. 317) as 'the enemy who *hates* the benefactor for his gratification'. Though the translation of the passage is very unsatisfactory it is clear that 'hates' corresponds to *vaiguṇyam eti* in the text. The two renderings support my contention. *Viguṇa* may be expounded either as *vigataḥ guṇaḥ asya* or as *viruddhaḥ guṇaḥ asya* (vide *Vācaspatya*, p. 4895, col. 2). The *Nayacandrikā* (p. 14, l. 8) explains the term as *viruddhaḥ* while Mm. Ganapati Sastri explains *vaiguṇyam eti* as *vikurute* (is changed or turns false). Hence, T's contention falls to the ground.

20. *CR.*, 119; *IHQ.*, 398 f. The *śloka* (*K.*, VII, 9, p. 291) enumerating the six kinds of submissive (*vaśya*) friends has been utterly misunderstood by T (see transl., p. 320).
The *śloka* runs thus:

सर्व-चित्र-महाभोगं त्रिविधं वश्यमुच्यते ।
एकतोभोग्युभयतः सर्वतोभोगि चापरम् ॥

Here the first verse mentions a set of three friends viz. *sarvabhoga*, *citrabhoga*, and *mahābhoga*, while the second another set of three, viz., *ekatobhogin*, *ubhayatobhogin*, and *sarvatobhogin*. But T translates it as follows: "That friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend and is said to be of three forms: one who is enjoyable only by one, one who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all is the third". My objection

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was (a) *citra* and *mahā* in the expression *sarva-citra-mahābhogam* have not been translated; (b) the whole *śloka* has been treated as referring to only three kinds of friends while it refers to six; and (c) the translation of the last three terms, viz., *ekatobhogin*, *ubhayatobhogin* and *sarvatobhogin* is wrong altogether and opposed to the meanings of the words as given in the *Kauṭilīya* itself.

A paragraph in bk. VII, ch. 17, pp. 311, 312 of the *Kauṭilīya* interprets all the six terms:

...यद्बहुश उपकरोति तत् चित्रभोगम् ;
यद्दण्डेन कोशेन वा महदुपकरोति तन्महाभोगम् ;
यद्दण्डकोशभूमीरुपकरोति तत् सर्वभोगम् ;
यदमित्रमेकतः प्रतिकरोति तदेकतोभोगि ;
यदमित्रमासारं चोपकरोति तदुभयतोभोगि ;
यदमित्रमासारप्रतिवेशाटविकान् सर्वतः प्रतिकरोति तत् सर्वतोभोगि ।

The *Nayacandrikā* (pp. 19, 20) also states very clearly that the verses under discussion refer to six kinds of friends divided into two groups—one helping the *vijigīṣu* by doing him good positively, and the other doing the same negatively by averting the evils

(उपकारो हि द्विविधः—अर्थप्राप्तिरनर्थपरिहारश्च । तत्रान्यवश्यस्यैवाद्यभेद-निमित्तान् संज्ञाभेदानाह सर्वेत्यादि ।.....द्वितीयप्रकारेणापि तस्य त्रैविध्यमाह—एकतो भोगीत्यादि ।

T replies, "This meaning (i.e. T's interpretation) is what the words here convey. The author of the *Arthaśāstra*, however, explains the word *sarvacitramahābhoga* later on in ch. 16 as a *sarvabhoga* friend, a *citrabhoga* friend and a *mahābhoga* friend. Here only three forms of these friends are explained. *Sarvabhoga* and the two other terms are technical terms and are minutely explained there by the author. Accordingly what the words literally convey here is brought out in the translation by using the phrase 'in various ways'.....As these terms are not referred to elsewhere in the text, no attempt to explain them in the author's own words is made here. This the critic calls 'gross misinterpretation'. Where is the misinterpretation? Nor is the whole expression treated

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here as referring to a single person". None of my objections have been met by T. His reasoning reminds me of the class of arguers described as 'eel-wrigglers' by the translator of the *Dīghanikāya*. The string of pointless sentences put together as arguments in defence simply provokes a laughter.

21. *CR.*, 120; *IHQ.*, 399. The translation of the heading of chapter II, bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya* (text, p. 295; transl., p. 324) was cirticized by me as inappropriate. The Sanskrit name of the chapter is *anavasitasandhiḥ* rendered by T as 'interminable agreement'. The ground for my objection was that the very opening lines of the chapter as also its contents show that the object of the alliance was to colonize waste lands. As the heading will be in consonance with this object if its connection with the root *vas*=to dwell could be pointed out, I referred to Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 932, col. 3 in support of the derivation of *vasita* (which forms one of the components of the expression *anavasita*) in the sense of inhabited land. T says that *vasita* cannot be formed from the root *vas*=to dwell coupled with the suffix *kta*. According to him it must be *uṣita* and not *vasita*. He characterizes this attempt of mine as a 'display of stupendous ignorance of Sanskrit grammar'. The derivation of the word as given in the *Dictionary* mentioned above has been criticized by T on another ground, viz., that "the Dictionary may refer to a Vedic word, but not to a classical Sanskrit word". Assuming that it is a Vedic word, how, with the derivation and meaning pointed out above, can it be out of place as the heading of a chapter dealing with alliances between kings for the colonization of waste lands? And how again can its use be inappropriate in a treatise in which, according to T himself, "many of the words are obsolete and a few violate the canons of Pāṇini.....These (i.e., 16 instances cited in a list) and a number of other words to be noticed in the Index are against the canons of Pāṇini, and raise the presumption that Kauṭilya was not aware of Pāṇini" (T's *Preface*, p. XX, transl., 3rd ed.)? But if I leave aside the assumption that it is a word, the derivation of which on the line suggested by me is sanctioned only by the Vedic usage, the word can be shown to be correctly derived with the meaning mentioned above under the rules

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of classical Sanskrit. I hope T knows the rule वचिस्वपि यजादीनां किति (Pāṇini, VI, 15) which enjoins that "the semi-vowels of the roots *vac*, *svap* and *yajādi* verbs are *vocalized* when followed by the affix having an indicatory *k*". The root *vas* (*bhvādi*) being included among the *yajādi* roots (*Dhātupāṭha*, I, 1054 *vas nivāse*), the *v* of this *vas* becomes *u* when *kta* is added to it. That this *vas* (*bhvādi*) belongs to the *yajādi* class is clearly pointed out both in the *Dhātupāṭha* (I, 1051-1057) and in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, VI, 15

(यज् देवपूजा-सङ्गतिकरण-दानेष्वित्यतः प्रभृति आगणान्तात्) ;

but there is another root *vasa* with the same meaning (*vasa nivāse*) mentioned in the *Dhātupāṭha* under X, 392 and in the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti*, *curādi*, 389 (Mysore ed., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 225).

Thus the form *vasita* is quite in order under the rules of grammar for classical Sanskrit. It is also found in use in the classical Sanskrit literature from the root *vasa* with the addition of the suffix *kta* either in the *bhāvavācya* or in the *kartṛvācya*. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, 1, 6, 2 has *bhikṣubhirvipravasite*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 54, 124 reads *tasyāmāvasite sārthe rātrau tasyāñca jāgrati*.

That the form *vasita* has nothing irregular about it is further seen from the comments on the expression *nadīṃ upavasitā* occurring in the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, 1, 14, 7, and *nadīṃ upāvasitā* in the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* (Gujarati Printing Press ed.) 1, 15, 9. The *vṛtti* of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa on the former interprets *nadīmupavasitā bhavanti* as *nadyāḥ samīpe vasanti*. The commentators of the *Pāraskara Gṛ. S.*,—Harihara, Gadādhara, and Viśvanātha—all explain *upāvasitā* as *upa samīpe āvasitā sthitā*.

The arguments that T puts forward for showing that the suggested derivation of the expression *anavasitasandhiḥ* is faulty are, "The vigrahavākya may be as 'anavasitaś cāsau sandhiś ca' or 'anavasitasya sandhiḥ'. In the former case it means an inhabited agreement, which is absurd. In the second case, the first word is an adjective and cannot be compounded with a noun in Ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa". The word *vasita* however in the expression is a noun and not an adjective as T supposes wrongly. Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 932, col. 3 also takes it as a noun meaning 'abode, residence'. *A-vasita* (with *bhāve kta*) means not-abode, i.e., uninhabited land and *an-a-vasita*

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means not-abode turned into an abode, i.e., a waste land converted into a colony.

I would mention here that even if the word *vasita* had been an adjective, there would have been no bar to its being compounded with a noun in *Ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*. The grammarians themselves have given instances of such compounds in connection with Pāṇini's rule VI, 3, 46:

(a) काशिकावृत्तिः—महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः

(b) सिद्धान्तकोमुदी—महतः सेवा = महत्सेवा

Vāmana's dictum (*Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra*, 5.1.10)

विशेषणमात्रप्रयोगो विशेष्यप्रतिपत्तौ

is a universally accepted rule in Sanskrit literature. I would also refer T to some of the chapter-headings in the *Kauṭilīya* itself where the first words are adjectives, but yet they have been compounded with nouns in *Ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*. The chapter-headings are:

I, 18 *avaruddhavṛttam*
VII, 6 *saṃhitaprayāṇīkam*
VII, 15 *daṇḍopanatavṛttam*
VII, 16 *daṇḍopanāyivṛttam*

Hence, the derivation of *anavasitasandhiḥ* as given by me is quite grammatical and its meaning as suggested by me is perfectly in consonance with the contents of the chapter in spite of what T has said to the contrary under an exaggerated impression of his own knowledge.

22. *CR.*, 121; *IHQ.*, 399. I pointed out the inaccuracies in T's rendering of the words *pratyupasthitārtha* and *yathoktaguṇā* (*K.*, VII, 11, second sentence) as 'reaping the harvest earlier' and 'fertile land' respectively. They should be translated as 'having the requisites ready at hand' and 'having the qualities as already stated'. T indirectly admits that the expressions have not been translated literally. He says,

"Here the first word is a part-quotation; the whole word is *pratyupasthitārthasampannam* rich or fertile land with standing crops. Also it is here used as an adjective to the subject (king). Accordingly it means the king who has taken possession of the ready crops, that is 'has harvested earlier' ".

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I do not understand why T here bids farewell to his much-vaunted principle of making the translation literal. The absurdity of T's explanation is obvious. The term is explained in the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 31) as follows:—*pratyupasthitārtha iti pratyagrasannihitatatsāmagrīkaḥ* which supports my rendering.

In regard to the second expression *Yathoktaguṇā* T now changes his position and says that

> 'it means the land of described quality, i.e., a fertile land, because a fertile tract is mentioned in the previous chapter'.

The question was about the literalness as well as the accuracy of the translation. Where is now his principle about the literalness of the translation, which he lays down thus, in connection with item (26) *CR.*, p. 122, "The translator's business is to render the words as literally as possible and leave the reader to understand the secondary meaning from the context". The rendering suggested by me is literal and conveys the meaning correctly.

23. *CR.*, 121; *IHQ.*, 399. My criticism was directed against the omission of the English equivalent of *vāpa* in the translation of the expression *prabhūtavāpasthāna* as 'extensive area'. (*K.*, VII, transl., p. 327; text, p. 299, l. 3). As the various kinds of irrigation works are being compared in the passage and the cultivable nature of the land served by these works of irrigation forms the criterion for judging their superiority, it is essential that the equivalent of *vāpa* should not be omitted. The rendering would be 'extensive area *under cultivation*'. Here T finds fault with my statement by pointing out that my reference to VII, 12, transl., 327 is wrong. It ought to be, he says,

> "11, transl., 324. It is not known where the critic has got the word 'prabhūtavāpasthāna from. The manuscripts collated by me give the reading 'prabhūtapūrvāparasasyam' but not 'prabhūtavāpasthāna'. It is rather surprising that the critic is very careless in his references and citations."

The course adopted here by T does not befit any one who has the least pretence to scholarship. My reference to the translation is exact. It is now too late to say that the word does not appear in the printed

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text. It does in line 3 of p. 299 of the text (revised ed., Mysore, 1919) as stated by me and any one can verify it.

24. *CR.*, 121; *IHQ.*, 399. I pointed out that T's rendering of the fifth paragraph of the text, p. 299, lines 9-11 is wrong because the paragraph has been taken in the translation to refer to men instead of to elephants which constitute the subject-matter of discussion in the previous paragraph. The connection between the two paragraphs has been maintained by the use of the expression *tatrāpi* at the beginning of the latter. Here, while comparing the game forests containing a larger number of shy (*kuṇṭha*) and a lesser number of bold (*śūra*) elephants, a further distinction is drawn between them by a reference to the divergent opinions of the Ācāryas and Kauṭilya.

K., VII, 12, p. 299, ll. 9-11	*T's rendering*
तत्रापि बहुकुण्ठाल्पशूरयोरल्पशूरं श्रेयः । शूरेषु हि युद्धम् । अल्पाः शूरा बहूनशूरान् भञ्जन्ति, ते भग्नाः स्वसैन्यावघातिनो भवन्ति इत्याचार्याः ।	My teacher says that *of the two countries*, one with a large number of effete *persons*, and another with a small number of brave *persons*, the latter is better, inasmuch as a few brave persons can destroy a large mass of effete persons, whose slaughter brings about the destruction of the entire army of their master.

Here *tatrāpi* has evidently been translated by the words 'of the two countries'; *tatrāpi* however implies here game forests by reason of the connection of the passage with the one immediately preceding. T replies,

> 'The word 'tatrāpi' may mean 'in this connection'. The whole paragraph may be taken to apply to elephants or persons or both''.

If *tatrāpi*, on T's present admission, signifies 'in this connection' and not 'of the two countries' as written above in T's rendering, then it cannot but refer to the game forests,—the topic of discussion in the preceding passage. The 'two countries' and the 'effete persons' in T's rendering have therefore their existence only in T's imagination. The expression *tatrāpi* occurs five times in the chapter (*K.*, VII, 12). Four

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of them have been interpreted by T as referring to the subject-matter of the preceding paragraphs, while in the present instance, he takes it to refer to something not dealt with in the chapter at all.

25. *CR.*, 121f.; *IHQ.*, 400. In connection with this item, my objections were four viz:

(a) The term *saṃhatya* has been rendered by the word 'simultaneously' in the first paragraph of the translation (p. 329). The *vijigīṣu* and the *ari* are in alliance and hence the word *saṃhatya* has been used in the text. Hence the use of the term 'simultaneously' is wrong.

(b) In the latter portion of the first paragraph in the translation (p. 329), the passage "*has to put down* the rear *only* after doing away with one's frontal enemy already attacked" misinterprets the situation. The *vidhiliṅ* form *ucchindyāt* in the text here as well as in the next paragraph has been taken by T to convey the sense of *vidhi* (for which 'has to put down' has been used), while it should be taken in the sense of *sambhāvanā*.

(c) The use of 'only' in the portion of the translation quoted above is out of place.

(d) As a variant reading to *labdhalābha* in the body of the text, *alabdhalābha* has been put in the foot-note, though the latter is the correct reading and ought to have been used in the body of the text. Moreover the translation does not follow the reading of the text but that of the foot-note.

The objections (a), (c) and (d) have not been touched by T.

Regarding (b), he says,

> "My object in using 'has to' is to show that the enemy attacking his enemy, i.e., the conqueror's friend, will be obliged to return to attack the *vijigīṣu* after finishing work with his frontal enemy".

I have already explained the situation in my original criticism and briefly in connection with (b) above to point out that the translation is wrong.

26. *CR.*, 122; *IHQ.*, 401. (a) T's reply in connection with this item (re. *cakra* meaning 'army') has been dealt with in the first portion of this rejoinder (p. 167).

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(b) My remarks regarding T's rendering of *sthitāmitra* and *calāmitra* (transl., p. 330; text, p. 302) were that "they are rather unhappy. They have been translated as 'entrenched enemy' and 'wandering enemy'. Enemies with or without forts are meant". T replies,

> "*Calāmitra* and *sthitāmitra* may mean in his dictionary enemies with or without forts. Such meaning may be secondary, implied from the context".

Am I to infer then that a translator is privileged to render a word by an equivalent that may not at all be suitable to the context. Moreover, is the term 'entrenched', for instance, a literal translation of *sthita?* In fact, T does not care either for the literal rendering or for the elicitation of the correct sense of the terms. The terms could at least have been translated as 'stable' and 'unstable' enemies. After all, it will be interesting to note that T himself renders the expression *sthitaśatru* elsewhere (*K.*, VII, 10, p. 293; transl., p. 322, l. 8) as 'fortified enemy', and yet he finds fault with the rendering of *sthitāmitra* by 'an enemy with a fort' as suggested by me. I may refer T to the *Nayacandrikā* (p.25) where *sthita* and *cala* have been explained as 'with fort' and 'without fort':

> p. 25, l. 8—*durgādimattayā sthiram avicālyaṃ śatrum*
> ,, l. 13—*durgādirahitād bhūmilābhe'py asandhānam āha—tulye calāmitrād iti.*

27. *CR.*, 122; *IHQ.*, 401. As the terms (a) *mūlahara*, (b) *tādātvika*, and (c) *kadarya* have been explained in the *Kauṭilīya* (II, 9, p. 69) as (a) spendthrift in regard to patrimony, (b) squandering wealth soon after acquisition, and (c) accumulating wealth by oppressing the officials and relations, I criticised T for not taking note of these explanations. He has translated the three terms in their order as 'extravagant', 'living from hand to mouth' and 'niggardly'. T gives his usual reply regarding the literalness of his translation, a rule which he follows and transgresses at will. He adds that "there is no special technical meaning assigned to these words". These are, in fact, technical terms which, T with all his attempts, cannot prove as bearing only ordinary significations. The passage in the *Kauṭilīya* (p. 69) runs thus:

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यः पितृपैतामहमर्थमन्यायेन भक्षयति स मूलहरः ।
यो यद् यदुत्पद्यते तत्तद्भक्षयति स तादात्विकः ।
यो भृत्यात्मपीड़ाभ्यामुपचिनोत्यर्थं स कदर्यः ।

Bhaṭṭasvāmin comments on the passages as *tāṃś ca mūlaharādīn svayam eva vyācaṣṭe* i.e., Kauṭilya himself explains the terms.

In later literature, these three terms are assigned the same technical meanings e.g., the *Yuktikalpataru* (nītiyukti, verses 35-37):

उत्पन्नार्थव्ययकरो यो भविष्यद्धनाशया ।
स तादात्विक आख्यातः.....॥
यः पित्राद्यर्जितं वित्तमन्यायेन तु भक्षयेत् ।
स मूलहर आख्यातः.....॥
स कदर्यस्तु भृत्यात्मपीड़नैरर्थसञ्चयी ।

Devala quoted in the *Vīramitrodayaṭīkā* on *Yājñavalkya*, I, 161:

आत्मानं धर्मकृत्यञ्च पुत्रदारांश्च पीड़यन् ।
लोभाद् यः प्रचिनोत्यर्थान् स कदर्य इति स्मृतः ॥

The *Mitākṣarā* on the verse quotes the same definition with a slightly different reading:

आत्मानं धर्मकृत्यं च पुत्रदारांश्च पीड़येत् ।
लोभाद् यः पितरौ भृत्यान् स कदर्य इति स्मृतः ॥

Govindarāja's commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 6. 8 (Kumbhakonam Edition) quotes the same definition substituting *bhrātṛn* for *bhṛtyān*.

28. *CR.*, 122; *IHQ.*, 401. I criticized T's translation 'those who have marched against their own friends' (*K.*, VII, 13, p. 302; transl., pp. 330,331) on the ground that it creates the impression that a king used to attack his friends' territory in spite of the continuance of the friendship. The first of the two paragraphs to which I take objection may be put here to make my position clear:

"The same reasons hold good in the case of those who have marched against their *own* friends. When there are two enemies, *one engaged in attacking a friend* and another an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the latter gains more advantages: for one who has attacked a friend will, after easily *making peace with the friend*, proceed against the rear-enemy; for it is easier to make peace with a friend than with an

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enemy". Here the absurdity appears on the face of the translation, because a king cannot *attack a friend* as such because there is no ill-feeling towards him; nor need he *make peace with a friend* because there is no quarrel with him to settle. The use of these mutually contradictory words stands on a par with the instances that have already been shown to have emanated from T's pen viz., a *neutral king who fights, and a mediatory king who has nothing to do with mediation* (see item 19). To avoid these contradictions in the paragraph quoted above, it is necessary to introduce some qualifying phrases such as 'false', 'nominal' etc. before the word 'friend'. Kauṭilya makes an elaborate classification of kings who are immediate neighbours of the *vijigīṣu*, and also of those whose territories are separated by a zone, according to the measure of friendship or enmity towards him. He classifies the former (or natural enemies) as well as the latter (or natural friends) into *aribhāvins, mitrabhāvins,* and *bhṛtyabhāvīns* and lays down various sub-classes. On account of the existence of kings who are nominally friends but are really inimical (e.g., the *aribhāvi-mitras* constituting the first sub-division of the second category) such appellations as *karśanīya mitra*—(lit. a friend who should be rendered lean) and *ucchedanīya mitra* (lit. a friend who should be ruined with his territory) have been mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya* with details of the treatment that should be meted out to them in particular circumstances.

T however would not listen to any reasonable advice. Says he,

"How can it be avoided when the word *mitrābhiyoginoḥ*, those two kings who attack their own friends, gives that meaning? Besides such practices were not uncommon in ancient India..... If this revolts against the high moral sense of the critic, he may turn away his eyes from such books".

No doubt, my persual of his book has been very uncomfortable to him. However, I have shown the contradictions involved in the translation. The *Kauṭilīya* itself does not obliterate the difference between friendly and inimical kings. Moreover, when the gain of strength is the object, and advice is being given by Kauṭilya to win over even an enemy, the suicidal course of attacking a friendly king as such can appeal only to T's imagination. An unjust attack upon a righteous or

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a friendly king has been pointed out in the *Kauṭilīya* as the cause of displeasure of the kings in the *Maṇḍala* (*K.*, VII, 13, p. 302; VII, 17, p. 313). This indicates what was looked upon as the generally approved practice. I would like here to remind T regarding what he has written in his translation at p. 71 (II, 10) "Writs are of great importance to kings inasmuch as treaties and *ultimata leading to war depend upon writs.*" If the sending of an ultimatum was the usual practice before declaring a war, it shows that there had to be a dispute for some cause or other and all the steps for an amicable settlement by negotiation had to be taken before a war was declared. Moreover, it is pointed out in a passage in the same chapter (II, 10, text, p. 75) that this was the usual practice, and not the one mentioned by T in his reply. If there were exceptions, they only prove the rule. The gist of the verses is as follows:—"Having followed all the *śāstras* and having ascertained the practices (prayoga) these rules regarding writs have been laid down by Kauṭilya".

29. *CR.*, 122; *IHQ.*, 401. At p. 302 of the text, *mitra* has been put instead of *amitra* in चोद्धरतोर्यो मित्रोद्धारिणः in the last paragraph. In the 1st ed. of the *Kauṭilīya*, the same mistake found a place in the body of the text, while the right reading *amitra* in चोद्धरतो योऽमित्रोद्धारिणः was put in the list of corrections. In the 2nd ed. of text, however, the incorrect reading has been given a place in the text as before, and translated in all the three editions of the translation (see transl., 3rd ed., p. 331, l. 2). The translation of the passage has been grossly erroneous, because it has assumed this shape viz., "he who attacks the rear of the former (referring to the friend=mitra) gains more advantages", which is just the reverse of what is meant. T replies that he has adopted the reading *amitroddhāriṇaḥ* in his 2nd ed. of the text but "the *akāra* sign ऽ has been omitted in the printed text." This is not the case. Had the error been thought so trivial it would not have been given a place in the list of corrections in the 1st ed. of the text. The same unscholarly trick that he has played in connection with the items 8 and 23 is being repeated here. T asserts that his translation contains the words

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'the latter' which stand for the right term *amitra*, while as a matter of fact in the translation the words that appear are 'the former' which refer to *mitra* resulting in the error pointed out by me. To conceal his error effectively, he backs up the statement by his characteristic remarks,

"The critic is so blinded with prejudice as not to see this and imagines wrong things where there are only right things".

His own text and translation give the lie direct to his statement and hence further comments are unnecessary.

30. *CR.*, 123; *IHQ.*, 401 f. I characterized as wide of the mark T's translation of *alabdhalābhāvagamane* (transl., 2nd para., p. 331; text, p. 302) as "to enforce the payment of what is not due to them". The rendering suggested by me was "in the case of returning unsuccessful". T challenges me to show which of the three words *alabdha*, *lābha*, and *avagamane* signifies the idea of returning, and which of them the idea of unsuccessful. I would point out for his information that *alabdhalābha* signifies the idea of 'unsuccessful' (in which no *lābha* is *labdha*), and *avagamana* 'returning'. I may mention that T himself has elsewhere translated *avagamana* (*K.*, XII, 2, p. 384) as "to migrate" (transl., p. 414). Now I challenge T to show how the three words *alabdha*, *lābha*, and *avagamana* mean "to enforce the payment of what is not due to them" and which of them means "to enforce".

31. *CR.*, 123; *IHQ.*, 402. It was pointed out that the sentence in the text (p. 303) *yasya vā yātavyaḥ śatror vigrahāpakārasamarthaḥ syāt* is connected with the previous one, because this sentence describes a situation alternative to that described in the preceding one. The sentence has nothing to do with the succeeding one to which it has been tagged. The resulting meaning as understood by T and reflected in his translation is very much confused.

Though I stated clearly that *vā* in the passage points to a situation alternative to the preceding one, yet T says

"the alternative implied by *vā* cannot refer to *mūlābādhaka*, for that comes later in the paragraph".

I never said in my criticism that *vā* refers to *mūlābādhaka*. T

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merely raises an imaginary opposition only to have the opportunity of fighting it with a show of triumph which he cannot have otherwise. But in regard to the real opposition his arguments are as ineffective as ever. Again he says,

"If there are no two sentences signifying two kinds of circumstances what is the use of *vā* after *sthāyi?*"

Certainly there are two kinds of circumstances signified by the existence of (i) *sthitaśatru* and (ii) *pārśvasthāyin*, but not by *yasya vā* and *yo vā* as T supposes.

The next point of my criticism was: "In the succeeding *śloka* (p. 303), *sāmantāt* should be *sāmantāḥ*, a variant which has been relegated by T to the foot-note. This word has been left untranslated". The *śloka* should stand as

पार्ष्णिग्राहास्त्रयो ज्ञेयाः शत्रोश्चेष्टानिरोधकाः ।
सामन्ताः पृष्ठतोवर्गः प्रतिवेशौ च पार्श्वयोः ॥

Again, believing that no one will verify his statement T claims that "sāmanta has been translated as an assailant king", but I do not find the words 'assailant king' in the translation of the verse which has been indicated by an asterisk. It will be recalled that in three previous instances (items 8, 23, and 29) we have found that what he claims in the reply cannot be substantiated by a reference to his translation.

Further, to defend the wrong reading, T explains now in his reply that *sāmantāt pṛṣṭhataḥ* means 'behind the assailant king'. In that case *sāmanta* the king immediately in the rear, who is the *pārṣṇigrāha* proper, is excluded from among the three kinds of pārṣṇigrāhas. In spite of this absurdity, T must stick to his erroneous opinion.

In this connection, I made remarks to the effect that though the text mentions three classes of pārṣṇigrāhas, viz., *sāmanta*, *pṛṣṭhatovarga*, and *prativeśa*, T has tried to make up the three classes by the second and the third, taking the word *prativeśau* to comprise two classes, one being on each side of the king attacked, though as a matter of fact the two prativeśas constitute only one class. T says in his reply, "There are three rear-enemies clearly stated here in the text: pārṣṇigrāhās trayo jñeyāḥ, one behind the sāmanta and two on

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the two sides of the sāmanta. In the face of such verbal citation of the author, the critic blindly says that they constitute only one class."

T tries to create the wrong impression that I have taken *pārṣṇi-grāhās trayaḥ* to form one class. As a matter of fact, however, I have spoken of three classes of *pārṣṇigrāhas*, viz., *sāmanta*, *pṛṣṭhatovarga*, and *prativeśa* (the two prativeśas indicated by the word *prativeśau* constituting only one class).

32. *CR.*, 124; *IHQ.*, 402. I have dealt with T's misleading translation of the term *udāsīna* and his reply in connection with item 19.

33. *CR.*, 124; *IHQ.*, 402 f. T translates

पार्ष्णिग्राहाभियानयोस्तु मन्त्रयुद्धादभ्युच्चयः (text, p. 303)

as "of attacks from the rear and front, that which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (mantrayuddha) is preferable" (transl., p. 331). The translation suggested by me is "But in rear as well as frontal attack, *mantrayuddha* (fight through diplomatic designs and secret means) brings about increase in strength".

In his reply T does not defend his original translation nor does he refer to the rendering suggested by me, but puts forward a new interpretation which is worse than the previous. T's new rendering is: "Excellnce of (any one of) the two is on account of the facility it gives for *mantrayuddha*." Here *pārṣṇigrāhābhiyānayos tu* has been translated by the words "of (any one of) the two." The words may be rendered as "of *pārṣṇigrāha* and *abhiyāna*" but they cannot be taken to refer to any of the two in the alternative. Moreover there is nothing special in either the rear attack or the frontal one that can give facility for *mantrayuddha*.

I pointed out that in the text edited by T (p. 303), the two sentences

"व्यायामयुद्धे हि क्षयव्ययाभ्यामुभयोरवृद्धिः ।
जित्वाऽपि हि क्षीणदण्डकोशः पराजितो भवति" इत्याचार्याः ।

have been put within inverted commas as the opinion of the *Ācāryas*. The opinion should however also include the immediately preceding sentence, the translation of which is under criticism. This sentence runs thus:

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पार्ष्णिग्रहणाभियानयोस्तु मन्त्रयुद्धादभ्युच्चयः ।

This sentence in the text and its rendering in the translation have not been taken by T as the opinion of the Ācāryas; but it cannot but be taken as such because, it makes a statement, in support of which the two sentences quoted above put forward the reasons viz., (a) an open war (*vyāyāma-yuddha*) causes harm to both the belligerents on account of the loss of men and money involved, (b) in spite of the victory, the victor becomes really a loser because of the loss of men and money.

It is for these reasons that the Ācāryas are in favour of *mantra-yuddha* i.e., fight through diplomatic designs and secret means as against open war (*vyāyāma-yuddha*).

How T excludes the main statement *pārṣṇigrāhābhiyānayos tu mantrayuddhād abhyuccayaḥ* from the opinion of the Ācāryas will be found from this quotation:

"Of attacks from rear and front that which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (*mantrayuddha*) is preferable.

My teacher says that in an open war both sides suffer by sustaining heavy loss of men and money; and that even the king who wins a victory will appear as defeated in consequence of the loss of men and money" (transl., pp. 331 f.).

In support of the exclusion of the first sentence in the above quotation from the opinion of the Ācāryas, T in his reply says that

there is "a strong reason for not taking it as part of the teacher's opinion.....The teacher was against open war. But Kauṭilya was for it. Then where is the reason for taking the previous sentence about the excellence of rear and frontal attacks as forming part of the teacher's opinion when it is not refuted?"

This argument shows that T has not understood the meaning of the sentence. It does not speak of the 'excellence of the rear and frontal attacks' at all. On the contrary, it shows the advantage of avoiding an open attack by *mantrayuddha* (i.e., fight through diplomatic designs and secret means) and therefore should form part of the Ācāryas' opinion.

The argument betrays the failure of T to make out the difference between *mantrayuddha* and *vyāyāmayuddha*. The two terms have been

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used one after another to distinguish their meanings in the very passage under discussion; but T obliterates the difference between them and looks upon both as falling within Kauṭilya's recommendation.

It will be interesting to know how differently the term *mantra-yuddha* has been translated by T in various places in the *Kauṭilīya*. In the passage quoted above and at p. 371 (transl.) it has been rendered as 'treacherous fight' but elsewhere (text, pp. 5, 382 and 386; transl., pp. 4, 411 and 415) as 'battle of intrigue'. It is curious that the same expression 'treacherous fight' has been used by T also as an equivalent of *kūṭayuddha* (text, pp. 4, 280, 283, 367, 369, 382; transl., pp. 4, 309, 311, 395, 397, 412). The *mantrayuddha* and *kūṭayuddha* are in fact different from each other, as will be apparent from their mention in the same sentence of the *Kauṭilīya* (text, p. 382) *mantrayuddhena kūṭayuddhena vā prativyūheta* where T distinguishes the two in the translation as 'battle of intrigue' and 'treacherous fight' (transl., p. 411). These contradictions show that T does not know his own mind in regard to this point.

34. *CR.*, 124; *IHQ.*, 403. The text (*K.*, VII, 13, p. 304) under discussion runs thus:

तुल्ये क्षयव्यये यः पुरस्तात् दूष्यबलं घातयित्वा निःशल्यः पश्चात् वश्यबलो युध्येत सोऽतिसन्धत्ते ।

T translates it as "Loss of men and money being equal, he who entirely destroys first his frontal enemy and next attacks his rear enemy gains more advantages".

The points against which my criticisms were directed are: (a) The terms *dūṣyabala* and *vaśyabala* meaning the 'recalcitrant' and 'submissive' portions of the army have been wrongly translated as 'frontal enemy' and 'rear enemy'; and (b) the term *niḥśalya* has not been translated at all.

T replies that

> the "sentences are susceptible of two interpretations both being syntactically and grammatically right. The words *purastāt* and *paścāt* are used in the text in the sense of 'front' and 'rear' (see p. 260 of the text). Accordingly *purastāt dūṣyabalaṃ hatvā* is interpreted by me as 'having destroyed the frontal enemy'."

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The terms *purastāt* and *paścāt* in the sentence mean 'first' and 'next' as in fact T himself has done in the rendering of the passage. But now to defend his erroneous renderings of *dūṣyabala* and *vaśya-bala* as 'frontal enemy' and 'rear enemy,' he makes the assertion that the words 'frontal' and 'rear' are the equivalents of *purastāt* and *paścāt*. Then *dūṣyabala* and *vaśyabala* would signify simply an enemy, which they cannot. The meanings in fact are *dūṣya*=recalcitrant, *vaśya*=submissive, and *bala*=army.

As to T's assertion that his translation of the Sanskrit sentence quoted at the outset is "syntactically and grammatically right", I should point out that it is not so. The term *vaśyabala*, which in the first case-ending refers to *yaḥ*, the nominative of the sentence, has been interpreted by T as an object of *yudhyeta*.

Regarding the omission of the equivalent of the term *niḥśalya* in the translation, T is silent.

My interpretation has been criticized by T on the ground that it cannot be the policy of a king to engage in fight the recalcitrant portion of his army first, and after its destruction, utilize the submissive portion of his army in the fight. He remarks, "Are we to suppose then that wars were a means of getting rid of treacherous persons in the army?" My answer is in the affirmative. For Kauṭilya's advice as to the parallel course of engaging in fight the services of an undesirable portion of the army when the risk is very great, I may refer T to the *Kauṭilīya*, IX, 2, p. 344, where the proper occasions for utilizing the different classes of troops have been discussed. By such a line of action, the king can achieve his object even in defeat (*śva-varāhayoḥ kalahe caṇḍālasyeva anyatarasiddhiḥ*—*K.*, IX, 2, p. 344, l. 1; *bilvaṃ bilvena hanyatāṃ*—p. 344, l. 7). The *Kāmandakīya* (XIX, 60, p. 290) also advises, in a passage bearing on the same point, a king to engage the *dūṣyabala* first:

प्रथमं योधयित्वा तु दूष्यामित्राटवीबलैः ।

35. *CR.*, 125, 126; *IHQ.*, 403, 404. I criticized T's utterly erroneous translation of the following *śloka* (*K.*, VII, 13, p. 304):

पार्ष्णिग्राहोऽभियोक्ता वा यातव्यो वा यदा भवेत् ।
विजिगीषुस्तदा तत्र नैत्रमेतत् समाचरेत् ॥

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The translation runs thus: "When an enemy in the rear and in the front, and an assailable enemy to be marched against happen together, then the conqueror should adopt the following policy."

Here, there is no question of 'happening together' nor are there in the Sanskrit text any words corresponding to the same. The rendering should be as follows:—When the *vijigīṣu* happens to be (*bhavet*) in the position of either the rear-invader (*pārṣṇigrāha*), or the invader (*abhiyoktṛ*), or the king invaded (*yātavya*), he should thus conduct the operations (*naitram etat samācaret*,—T reads *netram* for *naitram*).

T in his reply gives a list of the names of ten States in a maṇḍala calling the list a 'diagram', and leaves the readers to understand his interpretation with the aid of the so-called diagram. It does not however help them at all in connection with the elucidation of the meaning of this *śloka*.

Without explaining his own position, T objects to my rendering in the following words:

"If the word *vijigīṣu* is taken as the subject of *bhavet*, there is no second word, *vijigīṣu* or 'he' in the verse to be taken as the subject of the verb *samācaret*. Accordingly, he cannot take that word as the subject of *bhavet*. Hence the translation falls to the ground. My construction is the only reasonable and correct construction of the sentence."

I give below the prose order of the *śloka* to remove the chances of misunderstanding:

यदा विजिगीषुः पार्ष्णिग्राहः अभियोक्ता वा यातव्यः वा भवेत् तदा (सः) एतत् नैत्रं समाचरेत् ।

Here *saḥ* has been supplied as the meaning demands it, and there is nothing uncommon about this supply of *saḥ*.

For facility of reference and making my point clear, I quote here the next five *ślokas* (text, p. 304).

(a) पार्ष्णिग्राहो भवेन्नेता शत्रोर्मित्राभियोगिनः ।
विग्राह्य पूर्वमाक्रन्दं पार्ष्णिग्राहाभिसारिणा ॥
(b) आक्रन्देनाभियुञ्जानः पार्ष्णिग्राहं निवारयेत् ।
तथाक्रन्दाभिसारेण पार्ष्णिग्राहाभिसारिणम् ॥

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(c) अरिमित्रेण मित्रं च पुरस्तादवघट्टयेत् ।
मित्रमित्रमरेश्चापि मित्रमित्रेण वारयेत् ॥

(d) मित्रेण ग्राहयेत् पार्ष्णिमभियुक्तोऽभियोगिनः ।
मित्रमित्रेण चाक्रन्दं पार्ष्णिग्राहान्निवारयेत् ॥

(e) एवं मण्डलमात्मार्थं विजिगीषुर्निवेशयेत् ।
पृष्ठतश्च पुरस्ताच्च मित्रप्रकृतिसम्पदा ॥

The four *ślokas* (a) to (d) present details about the 'conduct of operations' (*naitra*) mentioned in the passage. The first verse in *śloka* (a) contains advice for the *vijigīṣu*, when he happens to be in the position of a *pārṣṇigrāha*:

"The *Netṛ* (the conductor of operations, referring to the *vijigīṣu* in the context) should attack the rear of the enemy who invades the friend (of the *vijigīṣu*)."

T in his translation of this verse misses the point and renders it as "the rear enemy would usually lead the conqueror's frontal enemy to attack the conqueror's friend." T has tried to explain by a reference to his so-called diagram how a *rear-enemy can usually lead the conqueror's enemy to attack the conqueror's friend* but has failed to do so. There is no reason why the rear enemy of the *vijigīṣu* would *usually lead the vijigīṣu's enemy*. This is not supported by what is meant in the text.

The two *ślokas* (b) and (c) quoted above speak of the steps to be taken by the *vijigīṣu* when he is in the position of the invader (*abhiyuñjānaḥ*). But T would not take this into account. He objects to my interpretation on the ground that the term *pārṣṇigrāhaḥ* in *śloka* (a), and *pārṣṇigrāhaṃ* in *śloka* (b) refer to two different persons if my interpretation be correct. This objection is baseless, because the term in *śloka* (a) refers to the *vijigīṣu* where he has to carry on operations in the position of a *pārṣṇigrāha*, while the second term in *śloka* (b) is the *pārṣṇigrāha* of the invaded *vijigīṣu* and therefore they are different persons. As I have already pointed out, the *ślokas* (a) to (d) deal with three situations. In the first, the *vijigīṣu* is in the position of a *pārṣṇigrāha*; in the second the *vijigīṣu* is in the position of an invader (*abhiyoktṛ*); and in the third, the *vijigīṣu* is in the position of an invaded king

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(*abhiyukta*). Kauṭilya gives in the four *ślokas* advice to the *vijigīṣu* as to what he should do in the three situations just mentioned.

T *evades the next three points* touched by me in my criticism by simply remarking

"It is unnecessary now to point out other absurdities committed by the prejudiced critic."

So the force of my statements regarding the three points remains unabated.

I criticized next the utterly erroneous translation (p. 332) of the first verse in *śloka* (e) quoted above (text, p. 304) viz., *evaṃ maṇḍalam ātmārthaṃ vijigīṣur niveśayet* as "thus the conqueror should, through the aid of his friends, bring the circle of States under his own sway." The question of 'bringing under sway' does not arise in the context, nor can the words *ātmārthaṃ niveśayet* convey that sense. The absurdity of T's contention that to utilize the services of other kings, they must be brought under sway will be apparent by a reference to the case of America joining the Allies in the Great War. Does T mean to say that America had been brought under the sway of England and France before she agreed to render her services to them in the War? The verse means, 'thus the *vijigīṣu* should engage the members of the circle of States(*maṇḍalaṃ niveśayet*) to serve his own purpose (*ātmārtham*). The subject dealt with in the text is the utilization of the services of the kings of the *Maṇḍala* (circle of States) either by enlisting their assistance directly in favour of the *vijigīṣu*, or by setting one or more of them against the *vijigīṣu's* enemies.

36. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 404. The text (p. 305) *mitrabhūtaḥ sapatnānāṃ hatvā hatvā ca saṃvṛtaḥ* has been translated by T as "and having again and again destroyed the strength of his enemies, he should keep his counsels concealed, being friendly with his friends." Here *hatvā* has been rendered by 'having destroyed the *strength of* his enemies', the words 'the strength of' being wrongly and unnecessarily supplied from imagination. *Saṃvṛtaḥ* has been translated as 'he should keep his counsels concealed' though the question of 'counsels' does not arise at all in the text. The word simply means 'being concealed, i.e., secretly.' Again *mitrabhūtaḥ* has been rendered by 'being friendly with his

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friends', which is a flagrantly erroneous translation. It means 'acting as a friend', i.e., under the guise of a friend. Thus the whole verse means 'killing (the enemies) secretly under the guise of their friend'. T asserts in his reply that '*mitrabhūtaḥ*' does not mean 'under the guise of their friend'. The interpretation put by me is so obvious that no explanation is needed (cf. *kṣaṇabhūteva nau rātriḥ saṃvṛtteyam*—*Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 65, 3; see also *bhāṣyabhūta* in the *Śiśupālavadha*, II, 24, and *suhṛdbhūta* in the *Pañcatantra*, 81, 5). He also states, *saṃvṛtaḥ* is an adjective to *vijigīṣu* but not an adverb modifying *hatvā* (killing). As already stated, *saṃvṛta* means 'being concealed' i.e., secretly, and so it is not an adverb modifying killing.

37. & 38. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 404, 405. In the passage *K.*, VII, 14, p. 305 (last line), the word *atisaṃhitāḥ* should be rendered by 'outwitted' and not by 'well-combined' as done by T (transl., p. 333). That the term cannot mean 'well-combined' in the sentence will be clear from a scrutiny of the text **अथ उभयवेतनाः फलभूयस्त्वं दर्शयन्तः सामवायिकान् "अतिसंहिताः स्थः" इति उद्ब्रूषयेयुः** (text, p. 305, last two lines).

The passage contains advice as to how a weak king, when attacked by an enemy grown stronger by combination with other powers, should cause disputes among the parties to the combination through spies in order that the combination might fall through. The spies sent by the weak king approach the allies of the enemy and point out to them the disadvantage in the combination made by them. The spies impress upon the allies that the leader of the combination (i.e., the enemy of the weak king) is gaining much greater advantages than they, who are thus being 'outwitted' (*atisaṃhitāḥ*). The term *atisandhāna* or the verb *ati—sam—dhā* has been used in this sense in various places in the *Kauṭilīya*, where T himself has translated it as such

Text	p. 287—*atisandhatte*:	T's Transl.,	p. 316—*overreaches.*
,,	p. 288—*atisandhīyate*:	,,	p. 317—*will...be deceived.*
,,	p. 284—*atisandadhyāt*:	,,	p. 313—*may deceive.*
,,	p. 288— Do. :	,,	p. 318— Do.
,,	p. 252—*atisandhāna*:	,,	p. 281—*deception.*

But here T says in reply (item 38), "*atisaṃhitāḥ* means both cheated and well combined."

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While suggesting a translation of the word *atisaṃhitāḥ* in my criticism, I explained the term *ubhayavetana*. To show clearly that it was an explanation, I put the explanatory words within brackets and after "i.e." In spite of this precaution, T does not hesitate to indulge in unwarranted verbosity against me. Says he,

"Does the word convey so much meaning? The critic is very generous with the words."

39. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 405. The text relating to the point touched in this item is *duṣṭeṣu sandhiṃ dūṣayet* (p. 306). This has been translated by T as "If some of the kings of the combination are wicked, they may be made to break the treaty" (transl., p. 333). My criticism was to the effect that *duṣṭa* in the sentence "should not be translated as 'wicked' having regard to the context. The reference is to the alienation of the allies from their leader by the suggestion made above (see item 38) that they have been outwitted". T does not meet my arguments saying that I have not suggested the rendering. In spite of my clear statement that "the reference is to the *alienation* of the allies from the leader", T pretends not to find in the statement the suggested rendering for *duṣṭa*, which is 'when alienated'. The translation of the whole passage quoted above is "when alienated, the alliance should be caused to be broken".

I also pointed out that T's translation has been vitiated by the existence of the readings (a) *pūrvānyatarābhāve* (b) *kanyādānayauvanābhyām* and (c) *kṛtasandhihīnam* at p. 306, ll. 6, 8, & 15. The Trivandrum edition (vol. II, pp. 331, 332) has *pūrvān uttarābhāve, kanyādānayāpanābhyām* and *kṛtasandhir hīnam* for (a), (b) and (c) respectively. The readings in T's text yield no cogent meaning. He replies that none of the manuscripts consulted by him have those readings. I wish I could have relied on his statement that all the manuscripts consulted by him contain the wrong readings but in view of the tricks to which he has stooped in connection with the items (8), (23), (29), (31) and (42) and in view of the readings in the Trivandrum edition, I am sorry, I cannot do so.

40. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 405. The heading of the 15th chapter of the VIIth Book of the *Kauṭilīya* (p. 308), *balavatā vigṛhyoparodhahetavaḥ*

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daṇḍopanāyivṛttaṃ ca has been wrongly translated by T as "measures conducive to peace with a strong and provoked enemy; and the attitude of a conquered enemy".

I suggested that the first part of the heading should be rendered as "The reasons (*hetavaḥ*) for shutting (*uparodha*) [oneself in a fort] while waging war (*vigṛhya*) with a powerful enemy (*balavatā*)." I have put the Sanskrit terms by the side of some of the English equivalents to facilitate comparison.

Uparodha can never mean "measures conducive to peace". T in reply does not say anything to defend his own translation but finds fault with my rendering on the ground that "*uparodha* does not mean shutting oneself in a fort". That the root *rudh* used with *upa* signifies 'to shut up' is well-known (see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 205, col. 2). This meaning also finds support from the contents of the chapter speaking of a weak king seeking shelter inside a fort as one of the means of self-defence against an attack upon him by a strong. In a similar situation, the *Kāmandakīya* (XIV, 56) also advises the weak king to resort to a fort (*abhiyukto balavatā tiṣṭhan durge prayatnavān*) where the commentator Śaṅkarārya uses the term *uparuddha* with reference to the king who shuts himself up in a fort (*ātmānam uparuddhaṃ mocayet—Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra*, Trivandrum ed., p. 133). It will be interesting to note that T himself translates differently the term *uparodhahetavaḥ* mentioned elsewhere in the *Kauṭilīya* (XII, 5, p. 391—*uparodhahetavo daṇḍopanatavṛtte vyākhyātāḥ*) in a reference to this very chapter as "Measures to obstruct the movements of the enemy" (transl., p. 420).

As regards the second portion of the heading, I remarked that *daṇḍopanata* cannot be rendered properly as 'a conquered enemy, because the conquered enemy is not always a *daṇḍopanata*. He may request the victor for a treaty of peace, but when he is weaker still and therefore cannot expect to enter into any treaty of peace with better terms, he surrenders himself to the mercy of the conqueror (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 36: *sandhyantarānabhyupagame ātmārpaṇena sandhyabhidhānārthaṃ sūtraṃ daṇḍenopanatavṛttam iti*). It is then that he becomes *daṇḍopanata*. The root *nam* means 'to submit', 'to surrender'; hence *upa-nata*='one who has submitted (one's self)' and *daṇḍopanata*=lit.,

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'one who has submitted (one's self) under force'. Keeping this meaning in view, I coined the word 'self-submitter' to stand for *daṇḍopanata*. I may mention that the root *nam* found in *daṇḍopanata* has been the basis of the formation of the noun *praṇāma*, which has been explained by Śaṅkarārya in his commentary on the *Kāmandakīya* (p. 142) as *tavāham ity ātmopanidhānam* i.e., self-submission. There is no substance in T's argument that there is no idea of 'self' in the word *daṇḍopanata* and there is no idea of *daṇḍa* in the expression 'self-submitter'. I have shown above how the idea of self comes from the implication of the expression *daṇḍopanata* and how the idea of *daṇḍa* is implied in self-submission. I ask T in return, what is the word corresponding to *daṇḍa* in his rendering of *daṇḍopanata* as 'conquered king'? T's rendering 'conquered king', as shown above, is neither literal nor exact.

41. *CR.*, 127; *IHQ.*, 405. The passage *tulyadurgāṇām nicayāpasārato viśeṣaḥ* (*K.*, VII, 15, p. 308) has not been correctly rendered by T in his translation (p. 336). He puts it as "*when there are many forts*, difference should be sought in their affording facility for the collection of stores and *supplies*". Here the right meanings of the terms *apasāra* and *tulya* have been missed by T. *Apasāra* cannot mean 'supply'. It signifies *apasaraṇamārga* (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 39, l. 9), i.e. 'a passage for exit'. T himself has taken it in that sense at p. 39 of his translation (*K.*, I, 20, p. 40-*suṣirastambha praveśāpasāram*). It will be interesting to note how he translates the same word *apasāra* with the same meaning differently in different places in the *Kauṭilīya*, e.g., as 'a passage for exit' at p. 39, as 'help' at p. 331, as 'supply' at p. 336, as 'a friend' at p. 337, as 'defensive works' at p. 338, and as 'strongholds' at p. 29 (text: *apasārabhūmi*).

The passage contains advice to a king seeking shelter inside a fort. The meaning of the sentence is 'of forts of (apparently) equal advantages (*tulyadurgāṇām*), the supply of provisions (*nicaya*) and means of escape (*apasāra*) constitute the distinguishing merit (or, superiority)'. T does not touch at all my objections to the meanings of *apasāra* and *tulya*, but raises new issues by saying that *viśeṣa* does not mean superiority, while *nicaya* means 'collection of things' and not 'necessaries of life'. I have given above the literal translation of the passage and it will be

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seen that if one of the forts be selected to the exclusion of the remaining ones, it is 'superior' in the circumstances? That *viśeṣa* may mean 'superiority' need not be proved, because it is well-known (see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 990, col. 2). Moreover 'provisions', the meaning of the term *nicaya* (see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*), is the same as 'necessaries of life'. *Nicaya* has been explained as *dhānyādisaṃgraha* in the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 174). Hence, my renderings are correct.

42. *CR.*, 127 f.; *IHQ.*, 405f. The translation of the heading of the chapter *daṇḍopanāyivṛttam* (VII, 16) as "the attitude of a *conquered* king" is utterly erroneous. This rendering conveys a sense which is the very reverse of what is meant. The palpable mistake has been repeated through all the three editions of the translation. The wrong impression that the chapter treats of the conduct of a *conquered* king has given rise to mistaken renderings in many places. T has no other alternative than to admit that "conquered king in the translation is a mistake for conquering king", but yet he must, as usual, tag some disparaging remarks to the admission. He finds fault with the word 'dominator' which I have used in my *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India* as a synonym for *daṇḍopanāyin*. The Sanskrit term means literally *daṇḍena balena upa samīpe nayati iti* (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 38) 'one who brings (another) under him by force' i.e., one who dominates another.

I showed by reference to the translation (p. 338) of the opening paragraph of the chapter (*K.*, VII, 16) how it reflects T's confusion of ideas as to the difference between the *daṇḍopanāyin* (dominator) and the *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter). The portion of the text necessary for reference in this discussion is

अनुज्ञातस्तद्धिरण्योद्वेगकरं बलवान् विजिगीषमाणः यायात् ।

As T is under the impression that the chapter deals with the 'attitude of a conquered king', he has taken the word *balavān* to refer to a *vassal* king. The word, in fact, refers to the dominator (*daṇḍopanāyin*). The passage quoted above means 'when a powerful king (*balavān* i.e., the dominator) intends to subdue (*vijigīṣamāṇaḥ*) one who, having made a promise (*anujñātaḥ=anujñāṃ vidhāya - lyab lope karmaṇi pañcamī*,

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see Trivandrum ed., Mm. Ganapati Sastri's commentary) [to pay] causes anxiety in regard to [the payment of] the money (*taddhiraṇyo-dvegakaram*), he should march (*yāyāt*).....'. But T renders the passage thus (transl., p. 338):

"In view of causing financial trouble *to his protector*, a powerful *vassal* king, desirous of making conquests, may under the permission of his *protector* march....." T here contemplates a powerful vassal king who goes out to make conquests with the permission of his protector. But as a matter of fact, the vassal king is the *daṇḍopanata*, who cannot be powerful. It was on account of his helpless condition that he at last had to surrender himself to the mercy of the *daṇḍopanāyin* (see the last portion of the previous chapter i.e., *K.*, VII, 15). To speak of him as bent on conquests is absurd. Hence, the introduction of the words 'a powerful vassal king' in the translation is without any support in the text. Again, the use of the term 'protector' twice in the translation is also without any justification, because it is without its equivalent in the Sanskrit text. T says in his reply that the term *tat* in *taddhiraṇyo-dvegakaram* refers to *bhartṛ* in the word *bhartāram* found at the end of the second paragraph on page 312 of the text. The passage we are discussing occurs at the top of p. 311 of the text, and so *tat* according to T refers to a noun that comes after a full page and a half. Assuming that it is so, T's position will not improve the least, because the term *bhartāram* in the passage at p. 312 does not mean what T calls the 'protector'. It means 'owner' i.e., the *daṇḍopanata* king, who was the former *svāmin* of the land (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 43, l. 1: *bhartāram pūrvasvāminam*). Moreover how can the whole expression *taddhiraṇyo-dvegakaram* which is obviously the object of *vijigīṣamāṇaḥ* be translated as "in view of causing financial trouble to the protector"?

Now as to T's criticism of my rendering, I would reply: (a) *Anujñā* means *abhyupagama* (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 39) i.e., assent or promise; *tat* refers to that *anujñā* (i.e., the promise of payment). As in many other cases, T misrepresents me here again by insinuating that I have translated *anujñāta* as 'dominator' (see *CR.*, p. 129, l. 5) which I have never done. This only shows that T himself is in confusion which in his reply has become worse confounded.

(b) Next, I pointed out a blemish in T's edition of the text at p. 311

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where the sentence commencing with *evam utsāhavato* has been ended after *sthāpayet*, while it should be linked up with the next line which has been wrongly tagged on to a new paragraph. T as usual makes the assertion that the sentence has been put in the text rightly and rounds off his statement with the remark "the critic is so blinded with prejudice that he cannot see things as they are". So I am caustically asked to believe that the blind have eyes. The blemish is there in the *text*, and *a reference to the translation* cannot remove it.

As regards my criticism viz., "the translation (p. 339) speaks of reinstatement of kings by the powerful vassal king, while in fact it deals with the question as to how the dominator will utilize the services of the self-submitters of various descriptions", T is silent.

43. *CR.*, 129; *IHQ.*, 406f. The text (last para., p. 311) mentions six kinds of helping kings, the first set of three doing good to the dominator directly (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 41—*arthaprāptau*) and the second set of three doing good to him indirectly by preventing harm (*Nayacandrikā*, p. 41—*anarthaparihāre*). In view of this fact, the incorrect reading (p. 312) *yad amitram āsāraṃ copakaroti tad ubhayatobhogi* should be replaced by the correct one found in the Trivandrum edition viz., *yad amitram āsāraṃ cāpakaroti tad ubhayatobhogi*. The translation should be 'he who *harms* the enemy as well as the enemy's ally helps in two ways'. But T's translation runs thus: "Whoever *helps* also his enemy and his enemy's allies is a friend offering enjoyment to *both sides*" (p. 339). T's reply betrays that he has misunderstood the whole situation, as otherwise he could not have explained 'both sides' in his translation as 'friend and enemy'. How can a *daṇḍopanata*, who has made an abject surrender and whose services are being utilized by the *daṇḍopanāyin* can venture to *help the enemy of the daṇḍopanāyin* (as represented in T's translation)? T criticizes my interpretation by stating "what the two ways are is not clear". It is clear as daylight, but may not be so to T. The *Nayacandrikā* (p. 20, l. 8) explains the terms thus:

यत् अमित्रम् आसारं च उभयतः प्रतिकरोति तत् उभयतोभोगि ।

Apakaroti has been explained as *pratikaroti*. It cannot be *upakaroti* as T contends. One who harms or checks both the *amitra* (enemy) and

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the *āsāra* (enemy's friend) [of the dominator] can certainly be regarded as helping that king in *two ways*.

44. *CR.*, 129; *IHQ.*, 407. I pointed out the erroneous character of the translation of a passage dealing with the disposal of a piece of land by a strong king after it has been wrested from a weak king in conflict. The text (p. 312) runs as follows:—

परेणानधिवास्यया स्वयमेव भर्त्तारमुपग्राहयेत् ।

It means that [the *daṇḍopanāyin*] should himself (*svayam eva*) conciliate (*upagrāhayet*) the owner (*bhartāram* i.e., the former owner of the land) by (giving him) a piece of land which cannot be occupied (*anadhivāsyayā*) by any one else (*pareṇa*). But T translates it as "(he should provide) his *own protector* with an uninhabitable land". As the advice contained in the whole paragraph is meant for the *daṇḍopanāyin* (the dominator) and not for the *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter) whom T calls a vassal king, the translation has become the reverse of what is meant. Here *bhartāram* refers to the (former) owner (*pūrvasvāminam—Nayacandrikā*, p. 43) and not the king whom T calls 'protector'. Moreover, the term *pareṇa* has not at all been translated by T. He admits the omission of the equivalent of *pareṇa* in the translation, but in his reply renders it as 'by an enemy' which cannot be the meaning here. *Pareṇa* means 'by any one else' in the sentence (*tato'nyena—Nayacandrikā*, p. 43).

The next two points of my criticism have not been touched by T. In connection with the last point I remarked that sentences like *dattvā cābhayam piteva anugṛhṇīyāt* (text, p. 312) ['should like a father protect those who are promised security from fear' (transl., p. 340)] cannot refer to what should be done by 'a vassal king' to the 'protector' (using T's terminology). On the contrary, they speak of the duties of the 'protector', i.e., the dominator towards his 'vassal kings' i.e., the self-submitters.

It was also remarked that the sentence (p. 313) *evam asya daṇḍopanatāḥ putrapautrān anuvartante* [thus (i.e., if such a course be adopted), the *daṇḍopanatas* will loyally follow his (*daṇḍopanāyin's*) sons and grandsons] shows conclusively that the line of action suggested in the chapter is meant for the *daṇḍopanāyin* and not for the *daṇḍopanatas*.

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At the end of my criticisms in connection with this item, I stated that in view of the very many errors arising from T's wrong impression of the subject-matter of the chapter, the translation of the whole chapter should be re-written. T replies (*CR.*, p. 128)

"with regard to interpretation of the chapter, I am convinced that I am right and that he is wrong."

45. *CR.*, 130; *IHQ.*, 407f. The opening sentence of ch. 18 of bk. VII of the *Kauṭilīya* should be *madhyamasya ātmā tṛtīyā pañcamī ca prakṛtī prakṛtayaḥ* (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 55, l. 3; as also the Trivandrum ed.) instead of *madhyamasya ātmatṛtīyā* etc., as found in T's edition of the text (p. 317). This wrong reading is responsible for the error in the translation. In the first two sentences of the chapter, a grouping of certain States in the *maṇḍala* has been made. The Madhyama himself and the third and the fifth States from him (i.e., *mitra* and *mitramitra*) are *prakṛtis* (i.e., natural friends—*prakṛṣṭakaraṇāt prakṛtitvam—Nayacandrikā*, p. 55) while the second, fourth and sixth States from the *Madhyama* (i.e., *ari*, *arimitra* and *arimitramitra*) are *vikṛtis* (i.e., natural enemies—*viruddhakaraṇād vikṛtitvam—Nayacandrikā*, p. 55). T criticises the reading pointed out by me on the ground that, according to it, the *Madhyama* becomes friendly 'to himself'— 'a self-evident statement for which there is no use'. I have already stated that such a grouping has been made for convenience of reference and for pointing out the States that are naturally friendly. For a parallel statement, in the *Kauṭilīya*, I would refer him to the passage in VII, 2, p. 261 (*vijigīṣur mitraṃ mitramitraṃ vā 'sya prakṛtayaḥ*) where the *vijigīṣu himself* and *mitra* and *mitramitra* (i.e., the third and fifth States from him) have been called *prakṛtis*.

It was shown in support of the reading *ātmā tṛtīyā* instead of *ātmatṛtīyā* that with the adoption of the latter reading supported by T, the use of the word *prakṛtayaḥ* would be out of place, as there will remain in that case only two *prakṛtis* for which the use of the dual number instead of the plural number would be in order. T makes an amusing remark in reply to this argument:

"The use of '*prakṛtayaḥ*' in plural is only to balance with '*vikṛtayaḥ*' in the next sentence."

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T should be reminded that it is not a question of rhyming.

As to my remark that the situation contemplated in the next two sentences of the first paragraph of ch. 18, bk. VII has been misunderstood by T in view of the fact that the words 'those States' found in his translation (p. 344) "the conqueror should be friendly with *those states*" evidently refer to both *prakṛtis* and *vikṛtis* while the text speaks only of *prakṛtis*, T has no other alternative than to admit that "the omission of '*prakṛti*' is an oversight."

46. *CR.*, 130; *IHQ.*, 408, 409. (a) The text (p. 317) *madhyamaś ced vijigīṣor mitraṃ mitrabhāvi lipseta.....mitraṃ trāyeta* has been translated by T (p. 344) as "if the *Madhyama* king *is desirous of securing the friendship of* the conqueror's *would-be* friend.....the conqueror should preserve his own friend". I objected to the renderings of the words *lipseta* and *mitrabhāvi* italicized in the translation quoted above. The term *lipseta* does not in the context convey the sense of 'securing friendship' in view of the nature of the *mitrabhāvi mitra* as depicted by *Kauṭilya* (VII, 9, p. 291) viz.,

एकार्थानर्थसम्बन्धमुपकार्यविकारि च ।
मित्रभावि भवत्येतन्मित्रमद्वैध्यमापदि ॥

T's translation of this passage is as follows (p. 320): "That friend who contracts friendship with a single aim in view, and who is helpful, *immutable*, and amicable, *is a friend never falling foul even in adversity*".

If *madhyama* be assumed to be desirous of securing the friendship of the *mitrabhāvi mitra* of the *vijigīṣu*, the question of the protection (see *trāyeta* in the text) of the *mitrabhāvi mitra* by the *vijigīṣu* against the *madhyama* cannot arise. The fact is that the *madhyama* is going to bring under him the *mitrabhāvi mitra* of the *vijigīṣu* and therefore the word *lipseta* has been used. The term means 'if (one) wants to have', i.e., 'if one wants to have (the *mitrabhāvi mitra*) under him' (cf. *Nayacandrikā* p. 55—yadi ādātum icchet).

Again, the term *mitrabhāvimitra* cannot be rendered by the expression 'would-be friend' as done by T, because it means 'a real friend'. He is mentioned as 'immutable' in the definition quoted above.

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T asks in his reply "What did the critic gain by such change of words?" My answer is that the gain lies in the correction of the errors committed by T.

(b) As regards T's misleading renderings of the terms *madhyama* and *udāsīna*, I have already made some remarks in connection with item 19. I want to add that the description of *madhyama* and *udāsīna* given in the *Kauṭilīya* (VI, 2, pp. 261, 262) and referred to by me in my original criticism (*IHQ.*, 409) supports my contention. The *Kāmandakīya* (Trivandrum ed., p. 107) is also explicit about the meanings of the two terms. Śaṅkarārya, the commentator of the work, comments as follows:—

मध्यमो बलवान्। तस्मादपि यो बलवत्तरः स उदासीनसंज्ञः।...तस्मादुदासीनात् परतः अधिकतरो नास्ति।

In view of these authoritative statements, my renderings as 'Medium-State' and 'Super-State' are correct. T finds fault with my explanatory note on the term *udāsīna*, viz., *ut=ūrddhvam āsīnaḥ*, i.e., seated on a height, or in other words, the strongest power in the *maṇḍala*, because, according to him, it is unauthorized and unacceptable to the Sanskritists. He does not state the reason why it is unacceptable. I have named above the authorities, one of whom expressly states that 'there is in the *maṇḍala* no power stronger than the *udāsīna*'.

47. *CR.*, 130f., *IHQ.*, 409. T admits that he is at fault in regard to the translation of the verse (VII, 18, p. 320) *nopakuryāt amitraṃ vā gacched yad atikarśitam*, in which the most important portion viz., *amitraṃ vā gacchet* has not been translated at all (transl., p. 347).

I have given my reasons at the outset (p. 167-8) why *cala* means 'unstable', though T is unaware of this meaning. It cannot be "wandering i.e., nomadic" as T contends. The context in which *calaṃ mitram* occurs (text, p. 320) makes it imperative that *cala* should be rendered by 'unstable' or some other word of the same import. The *Kauṭilīya* (p. 320) says, "If a *cala* (unstable) friend be found willing to enter into an alliance on receipt of money, the cause for not entering into the alliance should be removed i.e., money should be paid to make him stable (*na caled yathā*)" (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 64—*calanahetum arthalipsā-*

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dikaṃ svayaṃ pradānādinā'pi hanyāt yathā punar na calet ity arthaḥ). In this passage *calą* cannot be taken as 'nomadic'.

48. *CR.*, 131; *IHQ.*, 409f. The verse (*K.*, VII, 18, p. 320) *niveśya pūrvaṃ tatrānyaṃ daṇḍānugrahahetunā* has been translated by T (p. 347) as "having made some previous arrangements to punish or favour the friend". My criticisms were: (a) *niveśya* means 'having stationed' (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 65—*tatra anyaṃ sthāpayitvā*) and does not contain the idea of 'making arrangements'; and (b) *daṇḍānugrahahetunā* signifies 'for rendering military help' (see *Nayacandrikā*, p. 65—*daṇḍena sāhāyyakaraṇārtham*) and should not be translated as "to punish or favour the friend". T states in his reply that *daṇḍānugraha* cannot be interpreted as "military help". "The appropriate word for it" says he "is *daṇḍasāhāyya*". The attempt to draw a line of demarcation between *daṇḍānugraha* and *daṇḍasāhāyya* is very amusing, specially when it is found that T himself translates *balena anugṛhṇīyāt* in the immediately preceding *śloka* (text, p. 320) as "should *help* with the army" (transl., p. 347). Thus, according to T, though *anugṛhṇīyāt* means 'should help', *anugraha* cannot mean 'help'. Splendid reasoning, indeed!

T adduces another argument against the adoption of *daṇḍānugraha* in the sense of military help, viz., the rendering of such help cannot bring the wavering king, receiving the help, to the side of the helper. But it should be remembered that the wavering king is weak and is in need of military help; and the receipt of such help from either the *vijigīṣu* or the *amitra* fixes him up with the side from which the help is obtained.

49. *CR.*, 131f.; *IHQ.*, 410. In the translation (p. 347) of the next *śloka* (*K.*, VII, 18, p. 320)

अपकुर्यात् समर्थं वा नोपकुर्याद्यदापदि ।
उच्छिन्द्यादेव तन्मित्रं विश्वस्याङ्कमुपस्थितम् ॥

the first portion of the first verse has been wrongly rendered by T. His translation is as follows: "The conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful, or destroy him when he does not help the conqueror in danger and when he lies on the conqueror's lap in good faith". Here,

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the portion of the passage "The conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful" should be corrected into "(the *mitra*) who does harm (to the *vijigīṣu*) when powerful". The *śloka* means that a *mitra*, who does harm to the *vijigīṣu* if he has power, or who does not render him help in times of difficulty, should be ruined by the *vijigīṣu* at an opportune moment when he comes within his (*vijigīṣu's*) reach in confidence. Here *yat samartham apakuryāt* and (*yat*) *āpadi vā na upakuryāt* are two adjectival clauses qualifying *tat mitram* in the second verse. T, however, makes *vijigīṣu* the subject of *apakuryāt*. According to T's rendering, one does not find any reason why the *vijigīṣu* harms the *mitra* when grown powerful. Moreover, it is not supported by the very reasonable explanation of the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 65) viz.,

यत्तु समर्थं सत् विजिगीषोरपकुर्यात् तस्य आपदि न वा उपकुर्यात् परिहारार्थं न चेष्टेत, तत् मित्रम्...उच्छिन्द्यादेव ।

The rendering suggested by me is in consonance with the *Nayacandrikā*. T criticizes the rendering on the ground that "if *apakuryāt samarthaṃ vā* is taken as an adjectival sentence to '*mitra*', then what is the use of the second adjectival sentence *nopakuryāt yad āpadi*? For he who does harm to the Central State will never help it in danger. Hence, the second adjectival clause will be of no use". I may point out to T that the two adjectival sentences are alternative to each other, as indicated by the particle *vā* standing between the two sentences. Therefore, his criticism is baseless.

50. *CR.*, 132; *IHQ.*, 410. I criticized T's translation (p. 347) of the last *śloka* at p. 320 of the text as altogether wide of the mark. The *śloka* is as follows:

अमित्रव्यसनान्मित्रमुत्थितं यद्विरज्यति ।
अरिव्यसनसिद्ध्या तच्छत्रुणैव प्रसिध्यति ॥

It means 'If a *mitra* after growing in power (*utthitam*) owing to the calamities of his enemy (*amitravyasanāt*) becomes disaffected (*virajyati*) [towards the *vijigīṣu*], then by the removal of the calamities of that enemy (*arivyasanasiddhyā*) he (*tat*=the *mitra*) is brought under control (*prasidhyati*) through that very enemy (*śatruṇaiva*) [of the mitra].

But T relegating the reading *yad virajyati* to the foot-note in his

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edition of the text (p. 320) adopts *sad virajyati* instead and translates the *śloka* thus (p. 347): "When a friend keeps quiet after rising against an enemy under troubles, that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles".

Here, *virajyati* has been rendered by 'keeps quiet' while it means 'becomes disaffected'. T's translation is meaningless because there is no reason why a friend should 'keep quiet' after rising against his enemy specially when the enemy is 'under troubles', affording him time to get rid of his troubles and take vengeance upon him (the friend). Further, while all the *ślokas* speak of the conduct of the *vijigīṣu* towards his *mitras*, there is no reason why this *śloka* would deviate from this line and speak of the conduct of the *mitra* towards his enemy. My interpretation is supported by the *Nayacandrikā* (pp. 65, 66) as also by the commentary of Mm. Ganapati Sastri (vol. II, p. 367). Against this interpretation T says that " '*utthitam*' does not mean 'growing in power'. Being a perfect participle of the verb '*sthā*', to stand, it always means one who has risen or that which has risen'." For the meaning of root *ut—sthā*, I may refer him to the verse *uttiṣṭhamānas tu paro nopekṣyaḥ pathyam icchatā* of the *Śiśupālavadha*, II, 10 where *uttiṣṭhamānaḥ* has been paraphrased by Mallinātha as *vardhamānaḥ* (growing powerful). As a past participle of *ut—sthā* (not perfect participle as T says), *utthitam* can well signify 'grown in power' and when connected with a verb in the present tense e.g., with *virajyati* in the passage under consideration, it can be rendered either by 'having grown in power' or by 'after growing in power.'

As regards T's statement that *virajyati* "does not mean disaffected, or indisposed to favour or support, turn out unfriendly or hostile," I need only refer him to the following passages where the verb *vi—rañj* has been used in the sense of 'to become disaffected.'

तत् सा विद्याधरी रक्ताप्यनुरागपरा क्षणात् ।
प्राप्य कञ्चित् स्वजातीयं विरज्येत् त्वयि मानुषे ॥

Kathāsaritsāgara, 37, 144.

विरज्यन्ति न मित्रेभ्यः ।

Mahābhārata (Cal. ed.), Śāntiparva, 6285.

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किमनुरक्तो विरक्तो वा मयि स्वामी ।

Hitopadeśa, 53, 18.

The verb or its derivatives have been used in the same sense in many places in the *Kauṭilīya* itself e.g.

VIII, 5, p. 338—कृच्छ्रेण साध्यते मित्रं सिद्धं चाशु विरज्यति ।

VII, 5, p. 277—क्षीणाः प्रकृतयो लोभं लुब्धा यान्ति विरागताम् ।
विरक्ता यान्त्यमित्रं वा भर्तारं घ्नन्ति वा स्वयम् ॥

It is interesting to note that T himself renders *virāgatāṃ yānti* and *viraktāḥ* found in the last passage quoted above as "become disaffected" and "disaffected" respectively (transl., p. 305).

It is a matter for regret that I have been put to the necessity of explaining at length the obvious meaning of a word like *virajyati*. T's objection that *śatruṇā* can never mean 'through the enemy' is very futile. I refer him to the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 66) *śatruṇā eva sādhitaṃ bhavati*, which fully supports me.

Again, T's objection that *prasidhyati* does not at all mean 'is brought under control' is baseless, because the term means, according to the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 66), "*sādhitaṃ bhavati*" i.e., 'is brought under control'. For this meaning of the root *sidh* cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 30, 17.

एवं कलिङ्गसेनाऽसौ तव सेत्स्यति सुन्दरि ।

Ibid., 46, 188, 189—

सिद्धानि चाऽस्य रत्नानि विद्याश्चाद्यापि किं पुनः ।
नैतस्यौषधयः सिद्धास्तेन मे दूयते मनः ॥
चन्द्रपादगिरौ ताश्च सर्वाः सन्ति गुहान्तरे ।
सिध्यन्ति पुण्यभाजश्च चक्रवर्त्तिन एव ताः ।

Cf. also Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, pt. VII, 1002 under root *sidh*—

अपि वीर्योत्कटः शत्रुर्यतो भेदेन सिध्यति ।

In this connection, T remarks

"By his translation, the critic has taught us here a new political lesson. It is that in order to bring under control a hostile friend, an enemy may be helped to get rid of his troubles".

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That it is not a 'new political lesson' will be evident from the following passages in the *Kāmandakīya* where it is stated that (a) a false friend should be treated ruthlessly like an enemy, and (b) an enemy can be treated as a friend if the purpose in view can be served.

(*a*) भोगप्राप्तं विकुर्वाणं मित्रमप्यवपीड़येत् ।
अत्यन्तविकृतं हन्यात् स पापीयान् रिपुर्मतः ॥

Kāmandakīya, VIII, 74, p. 119.

(*b*) अमित्रानपि कुर्वीत मित्राण्युपचयावहान् ।
अहिते वर्तमानानि मित्राण्यपि परित्यजेत् ॥

Ibid., VIII, 76, p. 120.

I have now come to the conclusion of my examination of each of the arguments put forward by T in defence. As the result of this examination we find that

(a) T has said nothing about nineteen of the many errors pointed out by me in my original criticism. Each of these errors regarding which he is silent has been indicated *en passant* in this rejoinder.*

(b) I have shown in connection with the preliminary observations (p. 166) that T has admitted his errors in six instances, viz., items 14, 15, 42, 44, 45 and 47, but in most of them, he has marred the effect of his admission by unjustifiable caustic remarks against me.

(c) In several cases, e.g., items 15, 16, 17, 18, 40 and 41, he has not answered my criticisms, but has attempted to point out faults in my suggestions without any success.

(d) He has also tried to create a wrong impression by attributing to me suggestions not made by me at all, e.g., in items 1, 31, 42,

(e) Lastly, he has stooped to unscholarly dodges in connection with the items 8, 23, 29, 31 and 42. A reference to what I have said in regard to those items will give the readers an idea of the nature of the tricks.

I now repeat my warning that the translation of the *Kauṭilīya*

* In connection with items 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19 (comprising 3 untouched points), 20, 25 (comprising 3 untouched points), 35 (comprising 3 untouched points), 42 and 44 (comprising 3 untouched points).

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made by T is very unreliable. The errors pointed out above from the translation of the seventh Book of the treatise are only illustrative of the character of the translation of the whole work. T has not been able to meet effectively any one of my criticisms in his reply, while his attempts to defend what are actually errors have made his position worse by eliminating the possibility of doubt in regard to one or more of them that they were committed through inadvertence. In view of these facts, I should repeat the caution to the readers against relying on the translation alone for arriving at the correct meanings of the passages in the *Kauṭilīya*.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The Soma or Sauma Sect of the Śaivas

Dr. G. Tucci in his Introduction to *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (p. XXVIII, f. n. 2) has cited two passages where the Saumas or Somasiddhāntavādins are mentioned. In course of my Tantric studies I have come across several such passages which refer to the Soma or Sauma sect. But we do not know anything about the doctrines of this school. A detailed account of the Na-ya-siumo or Naya-sauma (as suggested by Dr. Tucci) School from Chinese sources may be of considerable help in this connexion.

The passages in question are found in the *Vaśiṣṭha Purāṇa*, *Sūta-saṃhitā*, and *Kūrmapurāṇa*. They are quoted in the *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra, *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* of Appaya Dīkṣita on the *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya* of the *Vedāntasūtra*. The last two quotations have so far been identified. It will be observed that all the passages refer to the somas as one of the heretic sects.

The passages are:—

1 केचिल्लोकायतं ब्रह्मन् केचित् सोमं महामुने ।
नाकुलं कोचिदिच्छन्ति तथा केचित्तु भैरवम् ॥[1]

2 कापालं नाकुलं चैव तयोर्भेदान् द्विजर्षभाः ।
तथा पाशुपतं सोमं भैरवप्रमुखागमान् ॥[2]

3 वामं पाशुपतं सोमं लाङ्गलं चैव भैरवम् ।
न सेव्यमेतत् कथितं वेदबाह्यं तथेतरत् ॥[3]

This sect is referred to as *Kāmātmavādin* in a work called the *Darśana-kaṇikāsaṃgraha* of Tīrthasvāmin,[4] a manuscript of which is

1 Attributed by the *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* (p. 2 of Rājrājeśvarī Press edition, Benares v.s. 1945) to *Vaśiṣṭhapurāṇa* and *Liṅgapurāṇa* (Ch. IX).

2 Attributed by *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* (p. 13) to *Sūtasaṃhitā* (Yajña-vaibhavakhaṇḍa). It has been identified there as verse 3 of Chap. XXII.

3 *Vīramitrodaya* (vol. I, p. 22) and *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* of Appaya Dīkṣita, (p. 112) attribute it to *Kūrmapurāṇa*.

4 ननु सोमः कामात्मवादो । तदपि भारते परमात्मस्तोत्रे तस्मै कामात्मने नमः (fol. 1b).

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in the Library of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat.[5] According to this work, the philosophy of *Somasiddhānta* is based on dualistic conception.

It is not known if Soma or moon has any connection with the sect. But it should be noted here that the moon, with her digits, plays an important part in the Tantras. *Candrajñānavidyā* forms a part of Tantra theology. There seems to have been two forms of this *Vidyā*. One of these as is included in the doctrines of the Kāpālika Sect of the Śaivas is stated to have been inculcated in the *Candrajñāna Tantra*.[6] The *Candrajñānavidyā* is further stated to have concerned itself with the worship of the sixteen deities called the *Nityās*.

There was also a section of the Tantras known as *Kalāvāda*, i.e., the section that dealt with the exposition of lunar digits. According to Lakṣmīdhara, the works of Vātsyāyana and others deal with Kalāvāda. Topics discussed in this section are represented to have been Kalāgrahaṇa, Kalāmokṣaṇa, Daśasthāgrahaṇa, Candrakatāropaṇa, Paradāragamaṇa, etc.[7]

The other and commendable form of *Candravidyā*, according to Lakṣmīdhara, is Śrīvidyā. Members of all castes have an access to this form while the other one is meant only for the śūdras and other low caste people.[8] It seems to have had a close connection with *Samayācāra* which consists principally of internal mystic worship.

Lakṣmīdhara makes an attempt to prove the close connection of *Candrajñānavidyā* or rather the former type of it and *Kalāvāda* with the *Kāpālikas*, a sect of the Śaivas. The Somas also seem to have been

5 For a short description of the work by the present writer cf. *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (vol. xxxviii).

6 चन्द्रज्ञानविद्यायां षोडश नित्या-प्रतिपादनम्। नित्या-प्रतिपादकत्वेऽपि कापालिक-मतान्तःपातित्वात् हेयमेव। उपादेय-चन्द्रज्ञानविद्या चतुषष्ठितन्त्रातीता।
Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on *Saundaryalaharī* (Govt. Oriental Library Series, Mysore, p. 82).

7 Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

8 चन्द्रकलाविद्याष्टकं श्रीविद्याप्रतिपादकं तन्त्रम्—चन्द्रकला, ज्योत्स्नावती, कलानिधिः, कुलार्णवम्, कुलेश्वरी, बार्हस्पत्यम्, दूर्वासमेतं चेति। अस्मिन् तन्त्राष्टके त्रैवर्णिकाणां शूद्रादीनां चाधिकारोऽस्ति।—Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 85

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a sect of the Śiva-worshippers as they are found to have been mentioned in different places (cf. the passages cited above) together with other Śaiva sects. And they may even have had intimate connection with *Candrajñāna* and *Kalāvāda* if they had anything to do with the moon (as their name would lead one to suppose).

It would be interesting to note here that the Śaivavādī sect whose views are quoted in the *Maṇimekhalai* is stated to have recognised that "the two lights (the sun and the moon), doer and the five elements constitute the basis out of which human beings are made by combination of life and body."[9] It cannot be stated if these Śaivavādis also had any relation with the Somas.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

9 Aiyangar, *Maṇimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, p. 192.

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Kāśakrtsna

It is well-known that Vopadeva in one of the introductory verses to his *Kavikalpadruma* mentions eight early grammarians, viz., Indra, Candra, Kāśakṛtsna, Āpiśali, Śākaṭāyana, Pāṇini, Amara and Jainendra. He refers to them as आदिशाब्दिक and in his *Kāvyakāmadhenu* speaks of them as पूर्वाचार्याः.[1] Indra's name is also mentioned in a commentary on Vopadeva's *Mugdhabodha* which is attributed to the author himself but which is in reality a forgery belonging probably to the 17th century. Here the introductory verses run as follows :—

त्रैलोक्यपितरौ वन्दे गङ्गाधरगदाधरौ । प्रलयस्थितिकर्तारौ भर्त्तारौ जगतां करौ ॥
पाणिनिर्वार्त्तिको भाष्यं महाभाष्यं ततः फणी । प्रक्रियारत्नकारश्च काशिकावृत्तिरेव च ॥
इन्द्रश्चन्द्रो महेन्द्रोऽपि चान्द्रः कान्द्रः कपालिनी । कैयटो हरदत्तश्च कज्जटो दीक्षितः शुभः॥
शाकटायनजैनेन्द्रौ सारस्वतसरोरुहौ । जुमरामरभट्टाश्च मेदिन्याद्या रसाभुजाः ॥
बुद्धिपादकलापौ च रत्नमाला च मालिका । नैयासिकमहाशङ्खौ सुपद्मः कमलासनः ॥
एतेषां मतमालोक्य मुग्धबोधं मया कृतम् । क्रियते तस्य व्याख्यासौ सर्वशास्त्रप्रबोधिनी॥[2]

Of these Indra is hardly more than a mere name to us, though the *Aindra Vyākaraṇa* was extant as late as the middle of the 17th century as is clear from the mention of the work in the Kavīndrācārya list. Durgācārya in his commentary on the *Nirukta*, while speaking of the division of words into parts of speech says : अर्थः पदमैन्द्राणाम्. The same remark is found in the *Kavirāja* on *Kātantra* 1.1.20. अर्थं पदमाहुरैन्द्राः, विभक्तान्तं पदमाहुरापिशलीयाः, सुप्तिङन्तं पदं पाणिनीयाः, इहार्थोपलब्धौ पदमिति वररुचिः। It is worthy of note in this connection that in the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* of Kātyāyana, we find a rule *Arthaḥ padam* (iii. 2), which also appears to be a sūtra of the *Aindra Vyākaraṇa*.[3]

1 The author of the *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* says at the outset:

इन्द्रादयोऽपि यस्यान्तं न ययुः शब्दवारिधेः । प्रक्रियां तस्य कृत्स्नस्य क्षमो वक्तुं नरः कथम् ॥
where the reference is clearly to the legend about Indra's studying grammar at the feet of Bṛhaspati and his failing to acquire mastery in word-lore because Bṛhaspati instead of expounding the principles of grammar by means of general rules and exceptions took up individual words and explained them (महाभाष्य, पस्पशाह्निक)

2 The names mentioned here will be discussed in another paper.

3 And the available information regarding the *Aindra Vyākaraṇa* was culled and published by Burnell in his Aindra School of Grammar. Some leaves containing rules of Grammar were discovered by the Central Asia expedition, but it is very doubtful whether the rules are from the Aindra Grammar.

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The first rule of the *Aindra Vyākaraṇa* is quoted by the Jaina commentator Vimalamati as सिद्धिरनुक्तानां रूढेः।

A line from Indra is also quoted by Upamanyu in his commentary on śloka 2 of the Nandikeśvara Kāśikā : तथाचोक्तमिन्द्रेण—अन्त्यवर्णसमुद्भूता धातवः परिकीर्त्तिताः। In the Kātantrapradīpa on II. 4. 13 we read अयाचितारमित्यादिप्रयोगोऽसाधुरेव सदाचारस्य स्मृतितो दुर्बलत्वादितीन्द्रमिश्रेणोक्तम् तत्तु च्छमेव etc. Indramiśra is quoted several times in Hemacandra. This Indramiśra is manifestly a much later writer.

Originally, to each school of grammar there seems to have been attached a lexicon. We find mention of an *Aindra-Nirghaṇṭu* by Vararuci in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (vol. IX, no. 4738). The work begins thus :

पूर्वं पद्मभुवा प्रोक्तं श्रुत्वेन्द्रेण प्रकाशितम्।
तद्बुधेभ्यो वररुचिः कृतवानिन्द्रनामकम्॥

Kātyāyana's *Nāmamāla*, and coming to more recent times, Padmanābhabhaṭṭa's *Bhūriprayoga* are also well-known.

A portion of Candra's grammar together with his own commentary has been published by Liebich, but the last two chapters of the work have still to be discovered and there are reasons to doubt whether the commentary published by Leibich is really from the pen of Candra.

Of Kāśakṛtsna our knowledge is very meagre. Kāśakṛtsni as a mīmāṃsaka is referred to thrice in the *Mahābhāṣya*. (एवमपि काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी—महाभाष्य IV. 1. 4 ; IV. 1. 93 ; IV. 3. 155).

Kāśakṛtsna is mentioned by name in the *Brahmasūtra* (1-4-22). On the strength of a quotation from the *Tattvaratnākara* found in the *Tattvavārttika* on the *Śrībhāṣya*, some are inclined to hold that Kāśakṛtsna is the author of the *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa* of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*. The passage quoted runs thus :

कर्मदेवता ब्रह्मगोचरा सा त्रिधोद्बभौ सूत्रकारतः।
जैमिनेर्मुनेः काशकृत्स्नतो बादरायणादित्यतः क्रमात्॥

It is to be noted in this connection that the name as found here and in the *Brahmasūtra* is Kāśakṛtsna whereas that found in the *Mahābhāṣya* is Kāśakṛtsni. So far as I have seen, the *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa* as published from Benares contains nothing like the view attributed to

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Kāśakṛtsna by Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the *Brahmasūtras*,[4] and though the *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa* is fairly early as is evident from the fact that Śabarasvāmī wrote a commentary on it, it is still difficult to hold that Kāśakṛtsna is its author. On the other hand the fact that Śabara says: *Iti Saṅkarṣe vakṣyati* (XII, 2, 11) would lead one to suppose that according to Śabara the *Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa* also is from the pen of the author of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*. So much for the philosopher Kāśakṛtsna.

The grammar of Kāśakṛtsni appears to be mentioned by Patañjali in the following passage :

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्। आपिशलम्। काशकृत्स्नम्।[5]

Since Pāṇini and Āpiśali are grammarians it is not unreasonable to suppose that Kāśakṛtsni, whose work is mentioned here, is also a grammarian. Candra's (?) *Vṛtti* on his own grammar as also the *Kāśikāvṛtti* contain several references to Kāśakṛtsni and his work. From these we learn that the grammar of Kāśakṛtsni consisted of three chapters :

अष्टकं पाणिनीयं सूत्रम्। तदधीयते विदन्ति वा अष्टकाः, पाणिनीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः (*Candravṛtti*, II. 1. 42).

पाणिनीयम् अष्टकं सूत्रम्, तदधीयते अष्टकाः, पाणिनीयाः। दशकाः, वैयाघ्रपदीयाः। त्रिकाः, काशकृत्स्नाः। (*Kāśikā*, IV. 2. 65).

आपिशलपाणिनीयाः। पाणिनीयरौढीयाः। रौढीयकाशकृत्स्नाः। (*Ibid.*, VI. 2. 36).

Kāśakṛtsni's grammar is also mentioned in the *Kāśikā* on IV, 3. 115 :

पाणिनीयमकालकं व्याकरणम्। काशकृत्स्नम्। गुरुलाघवम्। आपिशलं दुष्करणम्।

but the reading there is evidently corrupt.

Kāśakṛtsna is again mentioned in the Kāśikā on तेन प्रोक्तम् iv. 3. 301 : अन्येन कृता माथुरेण प्रोक्ता माथुरी वृत्तिः। पाणिनीयम्। आपिशलम्। काशकृत्स्नम्।

Kaiyaṭa in his *Vivaraṇa* on Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* on तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च (*Pāṇini* II, 1. 50) quotes a rule of Kāśakṛtsna. Patañjali says: किं पुनर्द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोर्भवति on which Kaiyaṭa remarks : काशकृत्स्नस्य प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोरिति सूत्रम्, तद्विचारयति, पाणिनीयं तु पश्चाद्विचारयिष्यति।

Kṣīrasvāmī in his *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* (ii. 60) remarks that according

4 काशकृत्स्नस्याचार्यस्याविकृतः परमेश्वरो जीवो नान्य इति मतम्।.....तत्र काशकृत्स्नीयं मतं श्रुत्यनुसारीति गम्यते प्रतिपिपादयिषितार्थानुसारात्, 'तत्त्वमसि' इत्यादिश्रुतिभ्यः।

5 *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, p. 12, ll. 5-6.

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to the followers of Kāśakṛtsni the past participle of the root श्वस is formed without the union-vowel *i* : काशकृत्स्ना अस्य (i.e. of the root श्वस्) निष्ठायामनिट्त्वमाहुः । आश्वस्तः । विश्वस्तः । This view is referred to in the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* under the root श्वस्—निष्ठायामिटं नेच्छन्ति काशकृत्स्ना इति स्वामिकाश्यपौ ।

From the fact that we find no mention of Kāśakṛtsna or Kāśakṛtsni in the *Nirukta, Prātiśākhyas,* or *Pāṇin* ias also from the examples in Vāmana's *Vṛtti* on VI. 2. 36 where we read आपिशलपाणिनीयाः, पाणिनीयरौढीयाः, रौढीयकाशकृत्स्नाः, it would appear that Kāśakṛtsna was posterior to Pāṇini though anterior to Patañjali. In all probability Kāśakṛtsna was prior to Kātyāyana also, for the vārttika द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्चेदितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः seems to refer to Kāśakṛtsna's rule प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च . The name Kāśakṛtsna is found no doubt in the उपकादिगण (II. 4. 69) and the अरीहणादिगण (iv. 2. 80), but the *Gaṇapāṭha* as found in the *Kāśikā* and other works bears unmistakable traces of later manipulation and is therefore unreliable for the purpose of determining dates.

With the materials at our command it is difficult to come to any conclusion as to whether the philosopher Kāśakṛtsna and the grammarian Kāśakṛtsni were one and the same person, though it appears highly probable that Kāśakṛtsna and Kāśakṛtsni refer to the same person.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

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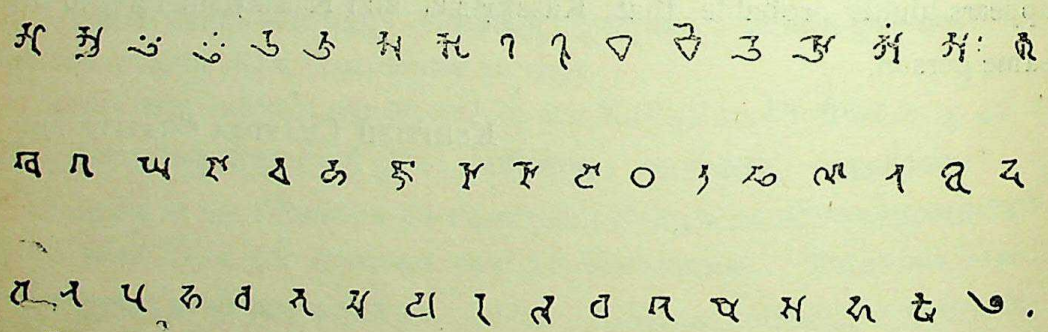
Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva

In his article on this interesting inscription, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī has opined that the Yaśovarmadeva of this document is identical with the potentate whose name occurs as Yaśodharman in the Mandasor inscription. He has further stated that the King Bālāditya, who also figures in the Nālandā inscription, was the subordinate of Yaśovarmadeva. The accuracy of this view has been questioned by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar[1] (*IHQ.*, VII) and no body has so far criticised the latter. An ordinary perusal of Dr. Śāstrī's article would show that what is being put forward to combat his view has already been considered by him.

Dr. Mazumdar bases his argument on palæography and considers the evidence of the form of certain *akṣaras* in the document under notice too axiomatic to require re-examination of the point. I wish he had compared the script of this inscription with the alphabet in which the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscript of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* from Japan is written, for in that case, he would not have been so over-confident. As this is the main prop of his hypothesis I might re-produce here the whole *Varṇa-mālā* given at the end of this valuable manuscript, which is believed to have been in existence during the second half of the sixth century of the Christian era, so that scholars may see if palæography goes against Dr. H. Śāstrī at all.

VARṆA-MĀLĀ GIVEN IN THE JAPANESE MS.



Let Dr. Mazumdar write the Nālandā inscription in this *Varṇa-mālā* and see for himself how far he is right. He lays great stress on

1 One gentleman of Dacca has also criticised it in the September (1931) issue of the *Modern Review*, but the tone he has adopted in his note precludes the possibility of his being taken seriously. Healthy criticism is always welcome but not the invectives, such as this gentleman has indulged in, which might satisfy one's 'spite' but will not help in the investigation of scientific truth.

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the form of the letters *n*, *bh*, *y*, *h*, and *s*. The fourth palæographic table of Bühler will show that these forms were current at the time which Dr. Śāstrī has assigned to this *praśasti*. The Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman may also be seen. Further, it is not safe to depend *exclusively* on the shape of a few *akṣaras* in order to ascertain the age of a document. Bühler, Fleet, Cunningham and other scholars recognised long ago that antique forms of letters occur in inscriptions which are decidedly late. The Madhuvan copper-plate inscription came into existence 128 years prior to Dr. Bhagavanlal's No. 15 and still showed forms, which according to Bühler and other scholars who like him hold that the epigraphic documents give a clear view of the gradual development of the Indian alphabets, should be treated as late.

In order to account for the difference that is to be seen in the forms of the *akṣaras* met with in the inscriptions which were written at one and the same time I would suggest that in the case of the Nāgarī script the *varṇa-mālā* was, in all probability, fixed some time about the 6th century (A. C.), if not earlier, and the fixed form of the *Siddha-mātṛkā* letters began to be used side by side with the *roma-lipi*. I think it was because of this fixed form that the whole *varṇa-mālā* had to be appended to the above-mentioned manuscript and it is for this reason that very little difference is discernible in the documents written in the Nāgarī *varṇa-mālā* although they belong to far distant dates. The Nāgarī *varṇa-mālā* remains practically the same even to the present day but the Gupta-*lipi* passed through various changes or developments as it went to different localities and gave rise to the several alphabets we know of. Though the Nāgarī alphabet was fixed it could not replace the Gupta or the derivative scripts. That an ancient alphabet can continue to exist side by side with the later one is still seen in the Maṇḍi State of the Punjab where the Mahājans are found writing their accounts, letters, etc., in the old Gupta-script, a fact which Cunningham noticed long ago.

As to the name of the sovereign ruler, I am to say that the late Dr. Fleet had noticed the inappropriateness of the appellation Yaśodharma and was inclined to take it as Yaśovarmadeva. Besides, *yaśas* is not a *dharma* and the designation Yaśōvarmadeva looks much more reasonable than Yaśodharmadeva and, in all probablity, was the real name of the monarch. It may be added here that such mistakes are found in the case of other names also, *e.g.*, in Puṣya-bhūti for Puṣpabhūti and Puṣpamitra for Puṣyamitra.

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In this connection I might add that the use of *liṭ* does not go against Dr. Sāstrī, for it is quite in accordance with the aphorisms of Pāṇini as interpreted by Patañjali and other commentators. Bālāditya was not present when the *praśasti* under notice was written. Taking it for granted that the *liṭ* (*śaśāsa*) indicates the *bhūta-kāla* only and that Bālāditya could not have been alive when these stanzas about him were written or when Mālāda made the benefactions mentioned in the inscription, his hypothesis will remain unshaken for this *lakāra* is allowed to be used in the case of such events also as took place only one or two days before a statement is made. Patañjali is quite lucid here. Says he while commenting on परोक्षे लिट् (III. 2. 115):

कथं जातीयकं पुनः परोक्षं नाम।
केचित्तावदाहुः वर्षशतवृत्तं परोक्षमिति।
अपर आहुः वर्षसहस्रवृत्तं परोक्षमिति।
अपर आहुः कुड्यकटान्तरितं परोक्षमिति।
अपर आहुः द्व्यहवृत्तं त्र्यहवृत्तं चेति॥

The *Vārtika* 'अत्यन्तापह्नवे च लिट्वक्तव्यः,' given in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Kāśikā* and elsewhere, as well as, the examples like 'ह्यः पपाच' (see Kaiyyaṭa on this '*bhāṣya*') will, I think, support Dr. Śāstrī.

A. K. MRITHYUNJAYAN

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. x, pt. ii

H. LÜDERS.—*Das Zeichen für 70 in den Inschriften von Mathurā aus der Śaka und Kuṣana-Zeit.* (The figure for 70 in the inscriptions of Mathurā of Kushana times). Prof. Lüders maintains his own reading 70 as against the reading 40 of Prof. Rapson. He adduces fresh evidences for same from the mss. from Eastern Turkestan now in the collection of the Berlin Academy.

W. CALAND.—*A note on the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa.* It has been pointed out in this note that the five chapters of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* at the beginning of the XIIIth Book contains a double treatment of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. It has also been shown that the description given in the first three adhyāyas (XIII, 1-3) agrees in a general way with the account of the sacrifice found in the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*, while the description given in the next two adhyāyas (XIII, 4 and 5) equally agrees with the details of the sacrifice given in the *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra.* Arguments have been adduced to show that the author of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* was acquainted with the accounts of the sacrifice found in the *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* as well as the *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra.* It has been argued also that a comparison of the portions of the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* and the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* dealing with the Aśvamedha sacrifice points to the Brāhmaṇa portion being earlier than the Saṃhitā portion.

T. A. RAMACHANDRAN.—*An Inscribed Pillar Carving from Amarāvatī.* A sculpture on the base of a mutilated octagonal pillar at Amarāvatī has been described here in detail. Out of the eight sides of the pillar, only two have survived with the sculptures on them. The date of the sculpture is surmised to be about 200 B.C. The carvings on one side depict two scenes from the life of Buddha—one representing the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* and the other an incident associated with the river Nairañjanā. The latter scene is inferred to be a representation of either the incident "Bodhisattva washing the hempen-garment", or, "Sujātā offering food to the Bodhisattva", or, "the temptation of Bodhisattva by Māra and his daughters." The fragmentary carving on the adjoining side of the pillar seems to point to the representation of an event from Buddha's life when he lived in the city as a prince. The scene depicts, it has been

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conjectured, "a competition with the sword as to who could strike the heaviest blow."

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. xiii, pt. ii

ASHUTOSH VISWAS.—*Society and Culture in the Brāhmaṇa Period.* Some passages from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* have been collected to prove the following facts: The remnants of various animals killed in a sacrifice were partaken of by the priests and the sacrificer, and the caste system was still in a state of fluidity. It was customary for the daughters-in-law to hide themselves from the gaze of the fathers-in-law. Incest was condemnable, and a widowed sister occupied a very subordinate position in the family. The scientific significance of the rising and the setting of the sun was understood and the sea-going vessels were known.

ATUL K. SUR.—*Beginnings of Liṅga Cult in India.* According to the writer, the Liṅga worship in India is of non-Aryan origin and it was at the time of the *Ṛg.-veda* a non-Aryan cult, fused later, in the epic period, with the cult of Śiva.

K. B. PATHAK.—*On the Uṇādisūtras of Jaina Śākaṭāyana.* By a reference to the statement of the *Amoghavṛtti* it has been attemped to prove that the view that the Jaina Śākaṭāyana composed the *Uṇādisūtras* given in the Kṛdanta portion of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* and was older than Yāska and Pāṇini is erroneous.

A. N. UPADHYE—*Dr. Pathak's View on Anantavīrya's Date.* Dr. K. B. Pathak's view that Anantavīrya, the commentator of the *Parīkṣāmukha* of Māṇikyanandin wrote a commentary on the *Nyāyaviniścaya* of Akalaṅkadeva and belonged to the close of the tenth century A.C., has been opposed here on the strength of the fact that Anantavīrya who commented upon the *Nyāyaviniścaya* is different from the author of the same name who wrote a commentary on the *Parīkṣāmukha.* The first is believed to have flourished in the first quarter of the eighth century, and the second towards the close of the eleventh century.

.—*A Note on Trivikrama's Date.* Trivikrama, the Prakrit grammarian, is assigned to the latter half of the 12th century.

R. MANKAD.—*Ādibharata.* The note describes a manuscript called the *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* which is deposited in the Govt. Manuscripts Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

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The colophons and the introductory statement in the Ms. suggest that it contains the *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*, which is a commentary by Rāmānanda Yogirāja on the *Ādibhārata*. On a scrutiny of the work, however, the author of the Note comes to the conclusion that one portion of the Ms. repressents the *Nāṭyasarvasva* and the other the *Dīpikā* or a commentary thereon, these portions having no apparent connection with the *Ādibhārata*.

P. K. GODE.—A Manuscript of *Saṅgītarāgakalpadruma and its probable Date.* The *Saṅgītarāgakalpadruma* of Kṛṣṇānandavedavyāsa-rāgasāgara is assigned to a period between 1750 and 1800 A.C.

.—*Rasavilāsa of Bhūdeva Śukla and its probable Date about A.D. 1550.*

.—*A commentary on the Kumārasambhava, by Haricaraṇadāsa, called Devasenā and its probable Date between 1630 and 1680 A.D.*

.—*Exact Date of Naukā of Gaṅgarāma Jaḍī* (com. on the Rasataraṅgiṇī of Bhānudatta)—*1742 A. D.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

Vol 51, no. 4 (December, 1931)

CLEARANCE H. HAMILTON.—*Hsüan Chuang and the Wei Shih Philosophy.* According to the writer, Hsüan Chuang "studied and lectured on Asaṅga's comprehensive treatise on the Mahāyāna before leaving China." He visited India between 629 and 645 A.D. and studied Yogaśāstra. His special interest was in the advanced phase of Mahāyānist philosophy.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—*The Divinity of Kings.* The evolution of the idea of the divinity of kings is shown here. The king was a demi god in the *Ṛg-veda*, an incarnation of eight gods in Manu and of five gods in the epics (where one god's incarnation theory is also found). It is not probable that the theory of the divinity of kings was borrowed from Persia.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,

vol. VI, pt. ii (October, 1931)

R. SUBBA RAO.—*The History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.* This instalment of the article contains an account of the early Gaṅgas from the beginning of the 6th to the end of the 7th century A.D. The account includes the reigns of eight kings, the copper-plate

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inscriptions of the time being specially laid under contribution for the history.

LANKA SUNDARAM.—*The Revenue Administrations of the Northern Sarkars (1759-1786).*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (March, 1932)

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda.* The Indian tradition that *Opaśa* and *Kaparda* (Ṛg-veda, X, 85, 8 ; and X, 114, 3) meant types of head-dresses, specially for females, has been "borne out by archæological discoveries,.....in the remains of a prehistoric civilization in the Gangetic valley at Buxar." An accompanying plate reproduces some of the terra-cotta head-dresses excavated by the writer at Buxar. They have been kept at the Patna Museum.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Girdharpur Pillar Inscription.* This inscription is dated in the 28th year of Kaniṣka's era. Therefore according to the inscriptions already found, it is "a document of Huviṣka's first year.' The inscription is important, as the writer reads a certain date, traces the coin-name *purāṇa*, and the official title *Tikana* (Tikina of the Nālandā plate).

.—*Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems.* (i) According to the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, the city of the Saraganus was a lawful market at the time of the elder Saraganus 'but since it came into the possession of Sandanes, the port is much obstructed' (*Schoff's translation*). The first reference is to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who defeated Nahapāna and took the coast land from Bombay to Kathiawad (58 B.C.). Kuntala or Viṣamaśīla Śātakarṇi, the conqueror of the Śakas is the later Saraganus. The writer thinks that Sandanes in the *Periplus* (§ 52) refers to Sundara or Sunandana (83-84 A.D.) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and not to Sundara (Śātakarṇi Sātavāhana) of the Purāṇas as some scholars have suggested. (ii) *Mambarus* (§ 41) corrected by some scholars as *Nambarus* does not refer to *Nahapāna* but probably to Mahendra Sātavāhana who reigned between Kuntala Śātakaraṇi (75 A.D.-83 A.D.) and Sunandana-Sundara. (iii) The writer finds corroboration in Alberuni (II, 6) for his contention that the battle of 78 A.D. was fought by the Hindus against the Śakas whom Viṣama-śila

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Vikramāditya or Vikramāditya II defeated at Karūr (Karor or Karorh, 20 miles north-east of Bhawalpur) in Gujarat. Alberuni's description of Śaka tyranny tallies with that in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*. On the strength of the tradition current at the time of Alberuni and such other data, the writer identifies the defeated Śaka king as Wema Kadphises at the end of whose reign the the Kuṣāṇa power was disrupted. (iv) This identification is further supported by a source earlier than Alberuni. This Arab translator "had before him some historical sketch in Sanskrit on the history of Sindh." According to this authority, the history of Sindh is divided into four periods viz. (a) under Bhārata dynasty ; (b) under the Sunāgh or Śiśunāga dynasty and the Persian rule ; (c) under Hāla or Sātavāhana dynasty and Kafand i.e. Kadphises and his son Ayand (Uvam) ; and (d) under Vikramāditya (Gupta).

.—*Candra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor.* By the discovery of two fragments of a lost drama named *Devī-Candragupta*, it has been possible to make the presumption that Samudra-Gupta's immediate successor was not Candra-Gupta II, but Rāma-Gupta. Four independent evidences of different dates ranging from 800 to 1000 A.D. viz. a verse from the Sanjan plate, and passages from the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara, from the *history of Rawwāl* and *Barkamāris* and from Bāṇa prove the truth of this presumption. The Gupta inscriptions do not invalidate the theory but rather support it. Choice of Candra-Gupta by Samudra-Gupta as his successor was not liked by his Councils of Ministers, but the events 'proved.....that the late Emperor was right.' Rāma-Gupta, when besieged in the Himalaya (the Doab of Jullundhar between the Beas and Jhelum) agreed to send his wife Dhruvā Devī to the Śaka-pati, *shāhā-shāhānushāhi, Rāsal*, son of Ayand, (*Uvima W'ma* or *Wema*) as demanded. Candra-Gupta however saved the kingdom and the honour of Dhruvā Devī, and utterly crushed the Śakas. The war with the Śakas is dated about 375-380 A.D. Rāma-Gupta reigned for about two years, but how he did is not known. His murder by Candra-Gupta is improbable. Candra-Gupta married Dhruvā-Devi, his brother's wife, a custom sanctioned in those days. It is further stated that the real name of Candra-Gupta was Candra, Gupta being his title. The Miharauli Iron Pillar of Delhi records an inscription which refers to him.

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.—*The Book on Political Science by Śikhara, Prime Minister of Candra-Gupta* II. The *Kāmandakīya Nīti* is inferred to have been the production of one Śikhara at the time of Candra Gupta II for the following reasons: (a) In the opening verse, Śikhara the aged Prime Minister calls the king "Deva" which was really the name of Candra-Gupta; (b) the author says he is giving *instructions to the king* and is attempting to revive the traditions of Candra-Gupta the Maurya; (c) the last verse defends Candra-Gupta for killing the Śakas by stratagem. Kāmandaka may be the family title of Śikhara, as Kauṭilya was of Viṣṇugupta.

D. C. GANGULY.—*The Paramāras of Bhinmal.*

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—*Choṭa-Nāgpur, the Chūtiyās and the Bhūiyās* (being the Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31).

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Candra-Gupta Maurya as 'vīr Varshal'.*

JADUNATH SARKAR.—*A correct Chronology of Delhi History* 1739-1754.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*A note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. X, pt. iii (December 1913)

W. H. MORELAND.—*Pieter van den Brocke at Surat* (1620-29). Portions of the unpublished diary of Pieter van den Brocke who was an outstanding figure in the early history of the Dutch East India Company have been translated here with annotations.

SURENDRA NATH SEN.—*Half a Century of the Maratha Navy.* This portion of the continued article narrates the history of the formation of the Maratha navy at the time of Shivaji, and its activities under Kanhoji Angria (1698-1729).

KALI KINKAR DUTTA.—*Policy and Character of Mir Casim.* It has been shown that inspite of his many good qualities as a ruler, his measures for the economic improvement of the State and the introduction of military reforms, Mir Casim was not free from the vices of his age, such as cruelty and suspicion.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*The Madras Council and its Relations with Golkonda Administration under Madanna and Akkanna* (1672-1686).

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. i
(January-March, 1932)

S. SUNDARACHAR.—*Humour in the Kumārasambhava unveiled.* The writer draws our attention to the humour in the poetry of the

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Kumārasambhava of Kalidāsa, specially, in the eighth canto where Śiva plays the rôle of a son in-law after his marriage with Pārvatī.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*A Problem of Dravidic Phonology. Tamil Medial -y-, -ś- and Kannada -s-.*

R. VASUDEVA SARMA.—*The story of Nābhānediṣṭha and its Jurisprudential Bearings.* The story in the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* and the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* runs as follows: Manu's estate was divided during his life time amongst his sons but one of them called Nābhānediṣṭha, who was then pursuing his studies in the preceptor's house, was left out. When Nābhānediṣṭha returned home, Manu requested him not to press his claim to the share and advised him to go to the sacrificial hall of the Aṅgirasas who would offer him a thousand heads of cattle as reward if he taught them verses that would help them to reach heaven. In view of this prospect of gain, Nābhānediṣṭha acquiesced in the partition already made and relinquished his share. He approached the Aṅgirasas and got the reward. While trying to have the cattle which constituted the entire property of the Aṅgirasas he was restrained by Rudra then in possession of the sacrificial ground as the *Saṃsrava homa* of the sacrifice was yet to be performed. Nābhānediṣṭha had taken all the effects of the Aṅgirasas and stood in the position of a 'universal donee' and was therefore liable to meet the donor's obligation in full. The claim of Rudra could be discharged only by the performance of the *Saṃsrava* oblation, and it had to be performed before the donee could take possession of the property given to him.

The story has the following jurisprudential bearings: an estate could be divided among the sons during their fathers' life time, each son being entitled by mere birth to share in the estate. A coparcener could reopen a partition effected during his absence. The Rudra episode shows further that a 'universal donee' was to meet all the obligations of the donor.

P. S SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit.*

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Concept of Lakṣaṇa in Bharata.* While explaining the nature of the 36 Lakṣaṇas mentioned in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the writer has discussed and criticised the different views on the subject as recorded in the works of poetics. Like Alaṅkāra Lakṣaṇa is, according to Bharata, a factor contributing to the

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beauty of Kāvya. It is a feature of Kāvya in general and not of drama in particular as many writers on dramaturgy have supposed. Two classes of Lakṣaṇas are distinguished. Some are mere terms of expression while others are actions resulting from certain Bhāvas.

S. K. GOVINDASWAMI.—*Administration of Justice in Cola Times as seen in the Periyapurāṇam.*

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.—*The Madurai Chronicles and the Tamil Academies.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (January, 1932)

BISHESWAR NATH RAU.—*The Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj.* It contains a list of eight successive kings who were called Gāhaḍavālas owing to their sway over Gādhipur i.e. Kanauj. The reign of these kings covered a period more than 150 years from circa 1065 A.D. to circa 1223 A.D. Details about some of the important rulers of the dynasty, e.g., Candradeva, Madanapāla, Govindacandra, Vijayacandra, Jayaccandra, have been collected in the article. These details include an account of the coins and copper-plate grants issued by those rulers.

Indian Antiquary, January, 1932

KALIPADA MITRA.—*The Gāyḍāṇṛ Festival.* In this third instalment of the article, the writer says that the belief that the sacrifice of pigs benefits the cattle and the corn in a mysterious way is confined not to India alone, but is also prevalent in some parts of Europe; and that the original victim was the human animal, pig being a later substitute.

W. H. MORELAND.—*Notes on Indian Maunds.* The data about Indian maunds given in Jāhangir's *Memoirs* are critically analyzed in this instalment.

Ibid., February, 1932

L. A. CAMMIADE.—*Ancient Soak-pits at Chetput, Madras.* This is an account of a few fragments of a pottery of urn-burial types "found over an area of 10 acres, scattered at the bottom of the clay pits at a depth of about 15 to 20 feet below the present ground level."

W. H. MORELAND.—*Notes on Indian Maunds.* The first part of

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this instalment describes Bengal and Bihar maunds, while the second part gives a summary of official maunds.

C. E. A. W. O.—*Recent Discoveries of Edicts of Aśoka.* The fact that this is the seventh site (newly discovered) within a circle of less than fifty miles in radius gives a special importance to this region (Kopbal).

Ibid., March, 1932

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Indian Studies No. 3. The Nāgar Brāhmaṇs and the Bengal Kāyasthas.* In this portion of the continued article, the writer maintains that the Bengal Kāyasthas were originally the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat, and tries to establish his theory by references to *Smṛtis, Kāmasūtra, Rājataraṅgiṇī, Kathāsaritsāgara* and inscriptions. According to the writer, the Brāhmaṇa settlement in the easternmost part of Bengal may be traced as early as 500 A.D. (Nidhanpur Ins.). Thence, the Brāhmaṇas migrated as far as Orissa by the end of the 8th century A.D. Incidentally he states that the Kāyasthas were not Kṣatriyas originally but district officers in charge of revenue up till the twelfth century, and that the *bārabhuiñar muluk* refers to the twelve semi-independent Kāyastha chiefs of Bengal.

Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, vol. xxxviii

HARAPRASAD SASTRI.—*Ratnākara Śānti.* It contains an account of the great Buddhist scholar of the ninth century named Ratnākara Śānti who was a polymath having written on logic, Tantra and prosody.

AMULYADHAN MUKHERJI.—*Basic Principles of Bengali Metre* (First Part).

S. K. DE.—*Rāmanārāyaṇa Tarkaratna and his dramatic works.* Dr. De gives a detailed account of the literary activities of Rāmanārāyaṇa (1822-1885), one of the oldest writers of dramatic works in modern Bengali.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTTI.—*Dhanurveda.* It refers to the literature, ancient and modern, on the art of warfare in Ancient India,

HARAPRASAD SASTRI.—*Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa.* This paper recounts the various literary activities of Rāyamukuṭa who flourished during the reign of Rājā Gāṇeśa of Bengal.

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YOGESH CHANDRA RAY—*Śūnya Purāṇa.* This is a fairly comprehensive study of the well-known old work of Bengal—the *Śunya Purāṇa* of Rāmāi Paṇḍit and of the cult of Dharma.

HARAPRASAD SASTRI.—*Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra.* It contains an account of the life of Bāṇeśvara who was one of the eleven who at the instance of Warren Hastings compiled the *Vivādārṇavasetu*, a digest of Hindu Law. This was translated into Persian and through it into English by Halhed as the *Code of Gentoo Law* (1776).

SUKUMAR SEN.—*Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya of Mālādhar Vasu.* Mr. Sen makes a study of the authorship, date, contents and language of the *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya*, an old Bengali work dealing with the story of Kṛṣṇa.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.—*An account of the Newspapers of Bengal* (1816-35). It gives an account of the newspapers of Bengal—principally those in Bengali (in two instalments).

AMULYADHAN MUKERJEE.—*Principles of Bengali Metres.*

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTTI.—*Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat.* This is a short descriptive subject catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat numbering about two thousand. Descriptions of some hitherto unknown manuscripts are found.—(C. C.)

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ASPECTS OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM
AND
ITS RELATION TO HĪNAYĀNA

By

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Premchand Roychand Scholar
FORMERLY PROFESSOR, JUDSON COLLEGE, RANGOON;
LECTURER, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

WITH A FOREWORD BY

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NARENDRA NATH LAW

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THE

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Mahāparinibbāna-sutta and Cullavagga

The Cullavagga (henceforth abbreviated as Cv.) of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* consists of two parts differing vastly in length, matter and form: the first part (chaps. I-X) being a code of disciplinary regulations, and the second (chaps. XI-XII) a history of the two councils, one of which assembled at Rājagaha directly after the Parinibbāna of Buddha, and the other at Vesālī, a century later. No link, no transition connects the two parts together. While chap. X (leaving aside the usual mnemonic summary) closes with a rule concerning the bath of the nuns, chap. XI opens abruptly with the words: "Then the venerable Mahā-Kassapa said to the Bhikkhus: 'Once I was travelling along the road from Pāvā to Kusinārā. . .". Where, when, and under what circumstances was this discourse held, who were the bhikkhus thus addressed, nobody knows. The record has no historical introduction (nidāna), thus lacking a regular feature of the Buddhist canonical texts; also, if its first word "then" (*atha*) implies that it is the sequel of something else, we have just seen that it could not be the sequel of chap. X. Here are two anomalies bound to strike the reader, and we must acknowledge that, as they now stand preserved in chaps. XI-XII, these *Acta Conciliorum* appear as a be-headed trunk, the head of which has to be sought elsewhere.

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It has been observed long ago by several scholars[1] that the events contained in Cv. XI follow chronologically those which form the subject-matter of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (henceforth abbreviated as MPS.), a remark from which none apparently seems to have drawn its most natural conclusion, viz., that MPS. and Cv. XI-XII were originally parts of a whole. Such an inference, reasonable in itself, is further strengthened by the fact that, besides the unbroken sequence of the events which they relate, the two sections share a peculiar character suggestive of a common origin, that is their historical, annalistic garb. Indeed, MPS. looks in the *Sutta-piṭaka* quite as strange and heterogeneous as Cv. XI-XII in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, whilst if removed from their respective surroundings and joined together, the two give a perfectly coherent "Chronicle" of the last journey of the Buddha, of his death, his obsequies, and of the first two councils.

The existence of such a work being provisionally admitted, it ensues that the present place in the Canon of those historical records must be the result of some later interference. As to their former setting, we are driven to mere conjectures; yet the sacred books of other schools may offer us some helpful analogies: for instance, the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins contains, under the title of *Saṃyukta-vastu* (Nanjio, No. 1121), an account of both Parinirvāṇa and Councils, which answers exactly to the kind of "Chronicle" presupposed by our hypothesis. Why should not the Theravādins have had among their sacred books an historical record of the same description?

What was then the motive which induced the Diaskeuasts to dismember that work? Many explanations to such a step might be found. Let us proffer here one which seems plausible enough. Since it extended over a long time after the death of the Tathāgata, the subject-matter of the "Chronicle" could not be styled as the Word of the Buddha (*Buddha-vacanam*); it was necessarily *extra-canonical*. Still, it preserved utterances of the Master which were not only most beautiful and pathetic, but highly important for the doctrine, and which the com-

1 E.g. Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, I, xxvi: "The tradition of the councils takes up the thread of the story where the accounts of the life and work of Buddha, given in the *Suttapiṭaka*, end". Id., *Buddhistische Studien*, in *ZDMG.*, xxii, 615 "Die Erzählung des Cullavagga, die sich genau an die des MPS., anschliesst..."

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pilers of the Canon would have been loath to discard. It was therefore perfectly natural that they should wish to introduce them into the Basket of Discourses, a thing easily achieved by setting apart the section relative to Parinibbāna and inserting it into the *Sutta-piṭaka*. As to the remnant being chiefly concerned with disciplinary questions, it occurred to them that it might be conveniently annexed to the *Vinaya-piṭaka* as a kind of Appendix or Pariśiṣṭa.

Here we are confronted with the so-called discrepancy, which Oldenberg thought that he detected between MPS. and Cv. XI, with the consequence that, in his opinion, the First Council, so fully narrated in the latter, was totally ignored by the former.

The alleged contradiction is supposed to lie in the way in which the Subhadda incident is related by both. In MPS., Mahā-Kassapa, on hearing the subversive prattle of that bad monk, confines himself to several banal remarks on Impermanence; while in Cv. XI, he reacts earnestly by proposing the convocation of a council to crush the growing heretical tendencies. This would lead the reader to infer that the two accounts could not have proceeded from the same hand.

Such a conclusion would however be founded on a misapprehension of the facts: the two accounts do not stand on the same plane. In MPS., Mahā-Kassapa and his disciples, while on their way from Pāvā to Kusinārā, hear the tidings of the Master's decease, whereupon Subhadda hails cynically the future freedom of the monks. At that moment, Mahā-Kassapa says nothing about an eventual council: very properly too, his only companions, his pupils, not having the least qualification to consider such an important scheme, much less to decide upon it. On the contrary, the Cv. introduces Mahā-Kassapa *relating* the Subhadda incident in presence of the general Saṃgha, headed by the great theras Ānanda, Anuruddha, etc. Speaking before the leading authorities of the Buddhist Church, fully competent to take any necessary measure for the maintenance of the Dhammavinaya, he seizes quite naturally the proffered opportunity to suggest the calling of a general meeting. Personally, we cannot detect in that the shadow of a discrepancy.

This fictitious difficulty being removed, it seems that nothing really withstands the working hypothesis of a later redistribution of the texts

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as stated above. We even thus get rid of several perplexing singularities, such as, for example, those connected with the question of lesser and minor precepts.

According to the tradition of the Theravādins, the First Council begins with the expounding of the Vinaya by Upāli and its rehearsal by the whole Assembly. One of the rules so recited (Pācittiya, 72) runs as follows:

> "Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when the Pātimokkha is being recited, shall speak thus: 'What comes of these lesser and minor precepts being here recited, save only that they tend to misgiving, and worry, and perplexity?', there is Pācittiya in thus throwing contempt on the precepts."

The rule is admitted without any reservation, Ānanda silently assenting. But when the said Ānanda, having in his turn taken the chair to settle the question of the wording of the Suttas, proceeds to recite the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, he quotes the following words of the Buddha (MPS., VI, 3.):

> "When I am gone, Ānanda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts."

Now this amounts to no less than allowing the removal of those very regulations which, as it had just been recalled, it was strictly forbidden even to criticise. Nor is it all. The rehearsal of the Dhamma being completed, Ānanda goes on and says:

> "The Blessed One, Sirs, at the time of his passing away, spake thus to me: 'When I am gone, Ānanda, let the Saṃgha, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts'",

thus seeming to impart to the Saṃgha, as a fresh piece of news, an information which he had already given them before. In its present state the text is manifestly incoherent: our suggestion that what is now known to us as the MPS. on one hand, and the Cv. XI-XII on the other, primitively united in one work, was later on arbitrarily divided and awkwardly thrown into the *Piṭakas* without hardly any attempt at making it fit with its new setting, would account for such inconsistencies in the result.

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A closer examination of the text even brought us to the conclusion that the lost or at least the dismembered work must have been a good deal older than the recension of the Canon into which it was inserted. Anyhow what has come over to us in its present mutilated form still bears witness to a previous state of the Dhamma as well as of the language. The episode of Channa's punishment and that of Yasa's quarrel with the bhikkhus of Vesālī will serve to illustrate our point.

Before passing away, the Buddha ordered that the *brahmadaṇḍa* penalty be inflicted upon the bhikkhu Channa. Ānanda who, curiously enough, ignores what the *brahmadaṇḍa* is, asks for a definition, which is given to him. As this penalty is not mentioned anywhere, except in the two parallel passages of the MPS., VI, 4, and Cv. XI, 1, 12-15, one can hardly escape from coming to the conclusion that the rule concerning the *brahmadaṇḍa* belonged to an older stage of the Buddhist Vinaya.

The twelfth and last chapter of the Cullavagga has also given rise to manifold discussions. It is, however, practically certain that the sharp dissension which arose, a century after the Parinibbāna, between Western and Eastern monks, who advocated respectively a more or less rigid discipline, takes us back to a period when the monastic rule were not yet so strictly defined as in the existing *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

The case opens with a dispute between the thera Yasa and the bhikkhus of Vesālī about the latter's practice of accepting gold and silver from lay disciples. Such a contest is hardly conceivable in face of the rule Nissaggiya XVIII: "Whatsoever bhikkhu shall receive gold or silver.....that is a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture." Yet the bhikkhus indulging in that lax habit deem themselves justified, not only in persisting in it, but even in censuring their censor. Yasa is called upon to defend his point of view before the laymen, a thing which he does by quoting three texts: (a) a sutta of a general character, upon the four *upakkilesa*, A., II, 53; (b) a sutta—not to be found in the *Sutta-piṭaka*—in which the Buddha, speaking to Maṇicūḷaka, confirms the interdiction of receiving either gold or silver; (c) finally, the only pertinent and decisive text, viz., *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on Nissaggiya XVIII; yet, while the first two are quoted *in extenso*, the last one is merely referred to, which makes it look like a posterior addition.

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The contested point on the acceptation of gold and silver is but one of the ten indulgences claimed by the monks of Vesālī and which were condemned by the Council held in order to consider their case. It has been shown[2] that the list of the Ten Points was primitively drawn up in a Prākrit no longer perfectly understood at the time of the redaction of the Second Council, the bulk of which is still preserved in Cullavagga XII, and enlarged with some additions, such as the minutes of the session, composed evidently after the same pattern as those of the First Council.

In short, the several data gathered above entitle us to suppose that the account of the councils of Rājagaha and Vesālī once formed the latter part of a larger historical work, which, at the time of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka, was severed into two sections, the former being converted into the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta and the latter annexed as *capitula extravagantia* to the tenth Khandhaka of the Cullavagga.

LOUIS FINOT

2 Sylvain Lévi, *Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme*, (*JA.*, Nov.-Dec. 1912, p. 508).

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Tāranātha's History of Buddhism

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner)

X

EVENTS OF THE TIME OF THE VENERABLE MAHĀLOMA AND OTHERS

Soon after the time when the Venerable Mahāloma and Nandin were in charge of the teaching, king Vīrasena died and his son Nanda inherited the rulership which he carried on for 29 years. As the king had invoked the Piśāca Pīlu, his hand was filled with precious stones whenever he clutched at the sky.[1] There lived at that time in the land of Svarṇa-prastha (Gold-Droṇa),[2] the Brāhmaṇa Kuśala who gathered together all the bhikṣus of the four regions and entertained them for seven years. Thereafter, the king himself entertained the bhikṣus with food through many years in Kāśī-Vārāṇasī. At that time the learned bhikṣu Nāga began to speak highly of the five propositions (*pañcavastu*)[3] again and again and the division among the clergy became wider, giving rise to four schools. The Venerable Dharmaśreṣṭha then attained Arhathood and he left the company of quarreling clergymen with a group of very peaceful bhikṣus and betook himself to the region of the North.

One of king Nanda's companions was the Brāhmaṇa Pāṇini, who

1 The *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*, leaf 323 mentions this invocation. Cf. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 611 :—

तस्याप्यनन्तरो राजा नन्दनामा भविष्यति ।

... ...

तेनापि साधितो मन्त्र पिशाचःपीलुनामतः

तस्य मन्त्रप्रभावं तु महाभोगे भविष्यति ।—Tr.

2 gSer. bre, perhaps Hemavaddroṇī, shortened to Hemadroṇī, see Böhtlingk-Roth, sv. Droṇa.

Svarṇaprastha is the name of an upadvīpa of Jambūdvīpa—Tr.

3 Evidently it refers to the well known five points of Mahādeva which brought about the division in the Buddhist Church. For the five points, see *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 416. Dutt, *Early History* etc., p. 229.

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was born in the west at Bhīrukavana. Once he asked a palmist whether he would learn all the teachings of the world and he was answered in the negative; so he made a line on the palm of his hand with a sharp knife; he approached all the teachers living at that time on the earth, and learnt everything from them. But as he was not still satisfied,[4] he invoked, through concentration (of mind),[5] his protecting deity. As the latter showed his face and uttered *a*, *i*, *u*, he acquired all the words (*syraḥi gnas*=*śabdapada*—Tr.) to be found in the three worlds. The heterodox people (lit. outsiders= *phyi-pa-rnams*—Tr.) maintain that the deity was Īśvara, but have no special ground therefor, while the orthodox (lit. insiders—Tr.) hold that it was Avalokiteśvara, and have for their ground the following prophecy in the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* (leaf 323): Brāhmaṇa's son Pāṇini will surely obtain *Śrāvakabodhi* (Tib. *ñes-par-ñan-thos-byaṅ-chub-tu*—Tr.) according to my prophecy, and invoke the majesty of the lord of the worlds through his magical charms.[6] This Pāṇini compiled the grammatical sūtra known as the *Pāṇini-Vyākaraṇa* which contained two thousand ślokas, one thousand ślokas being devoted to etymology and the other thousand to explanation. This is, as it were, the root of all grammars. Before him there was no written śāstra on etymology. As there did not exist any system which brought the facts under observation, the individual linguists who set about forming combinations of one and all separate words,[7] were reckoned as specially learned. Although it is said in Tibet that *Indravyākaraṇa* is older, it will be seen as stated below, that it pro-

4 Tib. legs. par. bslabs. śin. śes. kyaṅ. da. duṅ. ma. tshim. ste.—Tr.

5 Tib. rtse. gcig. tu.—Tr.

6 Cf. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 613:

तस्य (नन्दस्य) अप्यन्यतमः सखा पानिर्नाम मानवः ॥
नियतं श्रावकत्वेन व्याकृतो मे भविष्यति ।
सोऽपि सिद्धमन्त्रस्तु लोकीशस्य महात्मनः ॥
साधयेत् प्रज्ञाकामस्तु क्रोधं हालहलं द्विजः ।

The word लोकीश in the above verse is, I think, the point of contention referred to by Tāranātha.—Tr.

7 Tib. re-re-gñis-gñis=one and all, one with another, indiscriminately. Schiefner writes: wenn jene von zwei bis zwei Verbindungen anfangend einzelnes zusammenbrachten.—Tr.

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bably existed earlier in the divine regions but not in Āryadeśa. Although paṇḍitas maintain that in Tibetan translation the *Candra-vyākaraṇa* agrees with Pāṇini and the *Kalāpavyākaraṇa* with *Indra-vyākaraṇa*, it may be stated generally that the *Pāṇinivyākaraṇa* in particular on account of its extraordinary minuteness of explanations and its full and systematic observations, is something very exceptional.[8] The tenth section, the events of the time of the Venerable Mahāloma and others.

XI.

EVENTS OF THE TIME OF KING MAHĀPADMA

In the north, in the borderland Vanāyu (nags. kyi. sa) there lived a king Agnidatta who for more than thirty years supported three thousand monks with the Arhant Dharmaśreṣṭha at their head. The venerable Mahātyāga (gtoṅ-ba-chen-po = *mahādātā*) guarded the teaching in Madhyadeśa, and Mahāpadma, son of the king Nanda, maintained the whole saṅgha in Kusumapura. Bhikṣu Sthiramati, a follower of Sthavira Nāga proclaimed again the *Pañcavastu* and thereby increased the discord and the four schools began gradually to split up into eighteen. The friends of king Mahāpadma, the Brāhmaṇa Bhadra and the Brāhmaṇa Vararuci both showed great veneration to the clergy. The Brāhmaṇa Bhadra betook himself through the skill of his magical charm to different regions, and wherever he came he took away all the riches of the non-human beings (i.e. yakṣas, etc.) and served 1800 brāhmaṇas, 2000 bhikṣus, and other wandering monks and beggars, 10,000 in all, daily with all requisites. Vararuci, however, had a pair of boots of tree-leaves which he had obtained through the power of his magical charm; when he put them on, he could procure excellent things

8 The only grammatical work existing in Tibetan translation in Tanjur, see Schiefner's essay "on the logical and grammatical works in Tanjur." *Bullet. histor.-philol.*, vol. IV, 18, 19.

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from the dwelling-places of gods and nāgas and with these he satisfied many beggars. Once when he lost his friendship (mi. mdsaḥ. bar. gyur—Tr.) with the king, and the latter thinking that he might apply evil charms against himself, sent a messenger to kill him, he put on his boots and escaped to the city of Ujjaini. At length he was outwitted by the king, because, when a woman stole his boots and he could no more fly, he was killed by the hangman. To atone for the guilt of murdering a Brāhmin, the king erected 24 vihāras and established by their side fully equipped religious halls (chos. kyi. gshi—Tr.). Some say that the third collection of Buddha's teaching took place at that time, but evidently there is little possibility for it. This Vararuci wrote many explanatory works (*vibhāṣā*) and distributed them among the preachers of the Dharma. Books containing the words of Buddha existed already at the time when the Teacher lived, but this was the beginning of the explanatory śāstras put in book-form. The meaning of *vibhāṣā* is detailed explanation; in accordance with the text as delivered by the Teacher himself and the instruction imparted by him, the sense of the words has been given in it. The *vibhāṣā-śāstras* are not special śāstras, these are easier to understand than the sūtras, but they were composed later in the interest of beings living in the future. Some think that at the time of Upagupta they were composed by the Arhants in universal agreement; others maintain that this had been done by Yaśa, Sarvakāma and several others. It is evident that on account of the mixture of both these earlier opinions, the Tibetans have taken them to have been composed by Sarvakāma, Kubjita[1] and five hundred other Arhants living in Naṭa-Bhaṭika vihāra on the Vindhyā mountain in the north. Whatever that may be, it was through these Arhants that the words have been put together, and having been transmitted from ear to ear by the sthaviras, they were afterwards put in writing. According to the opinion of the Vaibhāṣikas, the seven Abhidharma sūtras should be held as Buddha's words, and the Vibhāṣā be regarded as the beginning of the explanatory sūtras. According to the view of the Sautrāntikas, the seven Abhidharma sūtras, which the

1 Sgur. po: it occurs in Kandjur, vol. XI, l. 328, and corresponds to Kujjitasobhito (=Pali: Khujja-sobhita) of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 19.

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Vaibhāṣikas look upon as being handed down from earlier times, were composed by the imperfect śrāvakas[2] and were wrongly given out as Buddha's words collected by Śāriputra and others and counted as the beginning of the explanatory śāstras. Some ācāryas assert that the seven sūtras might have been the words of Buddha himself, but the compositions of imperfect śrāvakas were interpolated into it, as was the case with the sūtras of different schools. According to this view one must look upon those parts which are not in agreement with the three pramāṇas and diverge from them as later interpolations. One may say that, as in Mahāyāna the Abhidharma forms a separate piṭaka so also it must be among the Śrāvakas; and although it is true that the contents of the Piṭakas are connected with one another, as there are separate books for the two other Piṭakas, there is no reason why it should not be the case with the Abhidharma. Although this last assumption is very proper, we have in the meantime followed the other tradition inasmuch as Ācārya Vasubandhu seems to have agreed with the opinion of the Sautrāntikas. The view that it is not the word of Buddha because so many mistakes are found, but that it was a composition of Śāriputra and others, is very stupid. If one of the ideal pair had already died before the Teacher, so, in the life-time of the Teacher there could not be any explanatory śāstra of his words. And if the teacher himself were still living, it would be too much to say that wrong exposition of the sense of his words had already appeared. Let us accept that as the commentaries were on the basis of the approved teaching of Buddha, the difference between Buddha's words and the commentaries was merely in name though the words had appeared when the Teacher himself was living, and the commentaries after he had passed away from existence. If, however, the ideal pair and others had wrongly explained the Śāstras, and all the contemporary men (who could be taken) as witnesses, had died, and if it is not reasonably possible to ascertain the persons who were contemporaries (and so be regarded as) witnesses, and if the Arhants did not know the truth (*de ñid*), then it follows that in the school of the Śrāvakas nobody could realise the

2 Tib. ñan. thos. so. so. skye. bo=śravakas who are pṛthagjanas, i.e., not yet srotāpannas. The German translation "einfachen Śrāvakas" is not accurate.

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Truth.[3] If the great Arhants, who arose through the transformation of the Teacher, were, willingly in the wrong, it was due to the demons. Shortly after the time of king Mahāpadma, there lived in the land of Oḍivisa, King Candragupta to whose house the venerable Mañjuśrī came in the shape of a bhikṣu and delivered the different Mahāyāna teachings and even left behind a book. The Sautrāntikas maintain that it was the *Prajñāpāramitā* of eight thousand ślokas but the Tantra School maintains that it was the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.[4] Whatever may be the case, I think, without wishing to contradict anything, that the first view is proper. This is the beginning of the appearance of Mahāyāna among men after the passing away of the Teacher. The eleventh section, the events at the time of king Mahāpadma.

3 As there is much ambiguity in both the Tibetan text and the German translation, a free translation has been given here—Tr.

4 In Tanjur vol. *ḥe* occur the *Sūtras* called the *Tattvasaṅgrahakārikā* by Śāntigupta and *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā* by Kamalaśrī.

Recently both the text (Karika) and its commentary (Pañjikā) have been published in the Gækwad Oriental Series. The opinion of the Tantra School is evidently wrong—Tr.

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Interpolations in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa

The unity of composition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has attracted the notice of scholars. Dr. Winternitz[1] and Mr. C. V. Vaidya[2] have observed that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* appears on the whole to have been the work of one hand. Indeed, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is possibly the only other Purāṇic work which can claim this distinction. This unity of composition, however, does not exclude the possibility of interpolations having crept in. As a matter of fact, the *Padma Purāṇa* mentions the *Bhāgavata* to have been a work of 332 chapters, while Śrīdhara has commented on 335. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, possibly following the *Padma Purāṇa* account, also assigns 332 chapters to the work. An attempt is made here to identify the three interpolated chapters.[3]

Chapter 3, Bk. 1 and Chapter 7, Bk. II, of the *Bhāgavata*, give two different accounts of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu, while, Chapter 8, Bk. VI, in describing how the Avatāras are to be meditated on, names them somewhat differently and in a different order, from either of these two accounts. Why the number of Avatāras, their names, and their order of succession should vary, if all the three chapters were the work of one author, cannot be understood. There is a summary of the substance of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, book by book, in the *Nāradīya Purāṇa*[4]. It does not deal with each chapter of a book; it simply mentions the important topics of each book. This summary assigns an account of the līlāvatāras to the second book only. There is no reason why the other two accounts should have gone unnoticed if they were in the work when the *Nāradīya Purāṇa* summary was written.

We may take it, therefore, that the account of 24 Avatāras in II.7 was in the *Bhāgavata* when it was composed. Let us see if we can find

1 *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I (English Translation), p. 556.

2 Vide paper on 'The Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa' in *JBRAS.*, vol. I, 1925.

3 I have used the edition of the *Bhāgavata*, in Bengali characters, published by the Baṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta.

4 Chapter 96, 4th pāda, Pūrvabhāga of the *Bṛhadupākhyāna*, quoted in the Supplement to the "*Śabdakalpadruma*", sv. 'purāṇam'.

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any reason for the interpolation of the two other accounts. The number of Avatāras in I.3, is 21, and in VI. 8, 23, as far as I could make out, and these two chapters appear to have been put in at different times by different persons. One reason for the variations in the accounts must have been the unwillingness of the two later writers to accept in full the account given by the author in II.7; while the writer of VI. 8 appears, in his turn, to have found it necessary to improve upon the earlier interpolation in I.3. But the main reason for the variations appears to me to have been the following one. In II.7, Rāmakṛṣṇa is described as one Avatāra, and is apparently held to be a *Kalā* or part of Viṣṇu, though Śrīdhara explains the word "Kalayā" to mean "with Balarāma." This interpretation cannot be accepted as the two are already distinctly mentioned in the word 'Sitakṛṣṇakeśaḥ." The interpretation is due to the fact that before Śrīdhara's time Kṛṣṇa had come to be looked upon as the Supreme God. But Kṛṣṇa is described as aṃśa of Viṣṇu or the Virāṭ Puruṣa in numerous passages of the *Bhāgavata*.[5] This is in harmony with the *Mahābhārata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* accounts of Kṛṣṇa. In some of the *Bhāgavata* passages, the word 'aṃśa or 'aṃśena' might be strained to mean 'Balarāma' or 'with Balarāma', but such interpretation is impossible in some cases, e.g. in the following passages:—

> "diṣṭyāmba te kukṣigataḥ paraḥ pumān aṃśena sākṣād Bhagavān bhavāya naḥ." X. 2.41.
>
> "manye Nārāyaṇasyāṃśaṃ Kṛṣṇamakliṣṭakāriṇam." X. 26.23.

In course of time Kṛṣṇa came to be held in higher esteem than the other Avatāras, and it was found necessary to make the *Bhāgavata* an authority for this distinction. We accordingly find the first line of verse 28, chapter 3, Bk. I, marking out Kṛṣṇa from the rest of the Avatāras thus:—

> "ete cāṃśakalāḥ puṃsaḥ Kṛṣṇas tu Bhagavān svayam."

5 Vide X 1.25, X. 2.18, X. 10.35, X. 33.26, X. 88.46, 1.7.2., IV. 1.58., X. 70.28.

There is no reason why, if by the word 'aṃśena' the author meant 'Rāmeṇa' he should not have avoided ambiguity by using the latter word. In some of the

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But even this evidently failed to satisfy the writer of VI. 8, who takes Kṛṣṇa out of the list of Avatāras leaving Rāma in the place of Rāma-kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa henceforward coming to be regarded as the Supreme God. It would appear that the original *Bhāgavata* contained no description of the Nārāyaṇa-Kavaca, and the interpolator, under the pretext of supplying an apparent omission, gave his own version of Avatāras, and completed the task of isolating Śrī Kṛṣṇa begun by the interpolator of I.3[6], and so I.3 and VI. 8 appear to me to be clear interpolations.[7]

It is very easy to identify the third interpolated chapter. It is XII. 1, being the account of future dynasties. The *Nāradīya Purāṇa* summary of Bk. IX mentions accounts of past dynasties, but the summary of Book XII does not refer to any account of future dynasties; it begins by referring to 'bhaviṣya kalinirdeśaḥ' as the first important thing described in that book, and we know that the description of Kali begins from the second chapter. Besides, this account of future dynasties appears to have been the work of quite a simpleton, who was certainly not the great author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[8]

The chapter starts with the question of Parīkṣit, "Who ruled after Śrī Kṛṣṇa had departed from the world?". The question is stupid enough, for Parīkṣit has just been told that Vajra was installed on the throne of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, while Parīkṣit knows that he himself has succeeded Yudhiṣṭhira to the Emperorship of India. But the answer of Śuka is no less stupid for in answer to a question about the past he sets about

hymns of the *Bhāgavata* Kṛṣṇa is called the Supreme God and so on, but such expressions are merely laudatory (arthavāda); one speaks of his guru in such terms even today.

6 In X. 40 it will be found that no distinction is made between Kṛṣṇa and some of the other Avatāras.

7 The last verse of I.2 has evidently been interpolated with a view to introduce the next chapter.

8 Attention might be drawn to the similarity of the verses introducing Bk. V of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, and Bk, X of the *Bhāgavata*. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* begins the Kṛṣṇa stories after having done with past and future dynasties in Bk. IV. The author of the *Bhāgavata* had the opportunity of narrating future dynasties in Bk. IX along with past dynasties, but that appears to have been deliberately passed over.

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immediately narrating future dynasties.[9] The narration begins with unaccountable abruptness. There is nothing with which the account could be connected. It appears that something is left unsaid which should have been said. Any careful reader must observe that this account has been abridged from a fuller account or account in one or more Purāṇas, and, in doing so, the writer is guilty of omissions and also of upsetting the order of narration. The reader is requested to compare it with the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* account.

To this carelessness is due the text corruption in the line

"anugaṅgam āprayāgaṃ guptāṃ bhokṣyati medinīm"

for

"anugaṅgamāprayāgaṃ Guptā bhokṣyanti medinīm."

The mistake was the result of tearing off the line from its context and tagging it on to something else. This and similar mistakes could not have been the work of a scribe who would have disturbed the versification in omitting things. The whole chapter is the inartistic work of an interpolator who thought that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* must have an account of future dynasties. He lived after the Turkish invasion of India which fact accounts for the substitution of the word 'Turaṣkakāḥ for 'Tuṣārāḥ' or 'Tukhārāḥ' as found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* account. In a separate essay I shall prove that the *Bhāgavata* was a much earlier work than is usually supposed and that it was composed about the middle of the sixth century.

I leave the task of tracing interpolations of stray verses to younger persons capable of putting in harder work. Besides I have not before me the manuscript and printed materials necessary for the execution of this task.

AMARNATH RAY

9 Some editions of the *Bhāgavata* omit the question evidently to avoid the inconsistency between the question and the answer.

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Kuntaka's Conception of Guṇas

Although Kuntaka treats of *guṇas* at length devoting not less than twenty-five pages of his book, yet he does not mention the word *guṇa* in his definition of poetry, nor does he consider *guṇas* as lying at the root of the soul of poetry, as Mammaṭa has done.[1] According to him poetry is that union of word and sense,[2] which resides in a composition endowed with the *vakra-kavi-vyāpāra*[3] and which gives rise to joy in the minds of people who understand poetry.

This union of word and sense is to be found where[4] the strikingness and the charming *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras* exist in a condition of vying with one another. This union should be like that of two friends and should tend to impart beauty to word and sense both.[5] It is that charming co-existence of both where neither is in an inappropriate quantity.[6] Kuntaka's *sāhitya* very aptly conveys the idea of what is literature. For, it is that indescribable and excellent construction of sentences wherein word and sense both, each vying with the other, display all the resources of their beauty in a way so as to give rise to joy in the hearts of the men of taste.[7]

This union or *sāhitya* should contain the *guṇas* viz. *mādhurya*, etc.,

1 तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि । 1.4.

2 शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।
बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥ 1.7.

3 It is explained by the author as: शास्त्रादिप्रसिद्धशब्दार्थोपनिबन्धव्यतिरेकी—(p. 14) i.e. different from the well known usage of word and sense as found in scriptures etc.

4 कीदृशम् ? वक्रता-विचित्र-गुणालङ्कारसम्पदां परस्परस्पर्धाधिरोहः । p. 10.

5 समसर्वगुणौ सन्तौ सुहृदाविव सङ्गतौ ।
परस्परस्य शोभायै शब्दार्थौ भवतो यथा ॥ p. 1.

6 साहित्यमनयोः शोभाशालितां प्रति काप्यसौ ।
अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थितिः ॥ 1.17.

7 तस्मादेतयोः शब्दार्थयोर्यथास्वं यस्यां स्वसम्पत्सामग्रीसमुदायः सहृदयाह्लादकारी परस्परस्पर्धया परिस्फुरति, सा काचिदेव वाक्यविन्याससम्पत् साहित्यव्यपदेशभाग् भवति । p. 27.

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befitting the different *mārgas* or styles.[8] These *mārgas* or styles,[9] which correspond to the *rītis* of Vāmana and Daṇḍin,[10] are the essential parts of poetry. The number of these *mārgas* differs with the different writers, Vāmana recognising three,[11] and Daṇḍin treating of two only out of many.[12] But Kuntaka recognises three *mārgas*. Unlike the *vaidarbhī*, *gauḍī*, *pāñcālī*, etc., the very names of which indicate a geographical origin, Kuntaka names his styles as *sukumāra*, *vicitra* and *madhyama*.[13] He very pertinently criticises the views of the old writers, some of whom ordain three *rītis*, viz., *vaidarbhī* etc.,[14] while others two *mārgas*, viz., *vaidarbha* and *gauḍīya*.[15] He shows that both these views are wrong. For, *rītis* or *mārgas* cannot depend upon the different countries of their origin; because in that case there should be as many *mārgas* as the countries. Moreover, as in the case of marrying a daughter of the maternal uncle (a custom prevalent in the South of India), it cannot be laid down as a rule that a particular kind of style shall be adopted by a particular country.[16] Again to designate these *rītis* as *uttamā*, *adhamā* and *madhyamā* is still more unjustifiable.[17] For, when a writer is defining *uttamā*, which imparts pleasure to men of taste, it is of no use formulating the *adhamā* and *madhyamā* styles, which are devoid of the qualities possessed by the *uttamā* viz., the *vaidarbhī*. Nor can their mention be justified on the ground that it is meant for their ex-

8 मार्गानुगुणयसुभगो माधुर्यादिगुणोदयः। p. 28.

9 काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति। १।२।६

10 काव्यादर्श। १।४०

11 काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति। १।२।९

12 तरुण-वाचस्पति on काव्यादर्श, १।४०, quotes the following verses enumerating six rītis—

वैदर्भी साथ पाञ्चाली गौडीयावन्तिका तथा।
लाटीया मागधी चेति षोढा रीतिर्हि गद्यते॥

13 १।२४

14 काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति, १.२, ९,—१३

15 काव्यादर्श, १, ४२

16 न च विशिष्टरीतियुक्तत्वेन काव्यकरणं मातुलेयभगिनीविवाहवत् देशधर्मतया व्यवस्थापयितुं शक्यम्। p. 45.

17 cf. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति, १।२, १४—१५ तासां पूर्वा ग्राह्या गुणसाकल्यात्। न पुनरितरे स्तोकगुणत्वात्।

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clusion, for their exclusion can more easily be done by not mentioning them at all. Therefore, it is the poet's nature, temperament and ability which determine his style. A *sukumāra* poet has the natural ability for *saukumārya* or delicacy, and his style will be *sukumāra*.[18] Similarly a poet of *vicitra* (lit. variegated) nature adopts the *vicitra* style and a poet of mixed nature employs the *madhyama* style. But as the nature and temperament of poets are many, it is impossible to enumerate and define them all. Therefore, Kuntaka selects only three types. One may here observe that Kuntaka's opinion is open to the same objection which he put forth against the geographical division of *rītis* into three kinds.

It has been pointed above that these *mārgas* contain the qualities *mādhurya* etc. In fact, what constitutes the specific individuality of these three *mārgas*, is the difference in the *guṇas* which reside in them. Kuntaka first of all gives a general description of these *mārgas* and then points out the four *guṇas* which reside in all these *mārgas*, but which are different from one another in every *mārga*.

Sukumāra style is pleasing to heart; word and its sense used in it should be able to please the *sahṛdayas*. They both spring up spontaneously and do not require any exertion on the part of a poet. The *alaṅkāras* are few but charming and are not brought into play by a poet with any special exertion.[19] The erudition (*āhārya-kauśala*)[20] of the poet is hidden behind his ingenious handling of the subject-matter. The description is full of inner charm and it agrees with the inner experiences of the *sahṛdayas*. In short whatever charm it possesses, is derived from the genius of the poet and is not due to his exertion.[21] This is the pet style of Kālidāsa.

18 The term सुकुमार is difficult to translate. It may be expressed by 'noble', 'delicate' or 'graceful'. सौकुमार्य may be translated by 'delicacy of expression'. It is the सहजाशक्ति (natural or inborn capacity, the same as नैसर्गिकी प्रतिभा of Daṇḍin ; see काव्यादर्श १, १०३) and stands in contrast with वैदग्ध्य (aquired ability, equivalent to व्युत्पत्ति)

19 अयत्नविहितस्त्वल्पमनोहारिविभूषणाः । १, २५ ।

20 Explained as व्युत्पत्तिविहितम् कौशलम् । p. 50.

21 तत्सर्वमलङ्कारादि प्रतिभोद्भवं कविशक्तिसमुल्लसितमेव, न पुनराहार्यं यथाकथञ्चित् प्रयत्नेन निष्पाद्यम् ।

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The *guṇas* of the *sukumāra* style are:

(1) *mādhurya*, which consists in those words which are free from compounds and which are pleasing in sound as well as in sense and which are arranged in a sentence beautifully (*saṃniveśa-vaicitryam*).[22]

(2) *prasāda* is that which makes the words convey their sense at sight. Its province are the *rasas* and the *vakrokti* which is common to all the *alaṅkāras*. It should be noted that Kuntaka's idea of *prasāda* tallies with that of Dhvanyāloka where it is *sarva-rasa-sādhāraṇaḥ sarva-saṅghaṭanā-sādhāraṇaśca*.[23] Here also there should be no compounds; the words should be used in their well-known meanings. Of course, this characteristic *prasiddhābhidhānatvam* is the same as the *prasiddhārthatva* of Daṇḍin.[24] The relation of words to one another should be direct and not obscured by insertion of other words in between them. The compounds, if at all they are used, should be easily comprehensible.

(3) *lāvaṇya* is the beauty of the arrangement of sentences in a piece of composition. The letters should be so arranged as to enhance the beauty of the words they make and of the sentences which the words make in their turn. This, of course, should be done with a sort of lightness and not pertinacity. That is, *lāvaṇya* is that excellence of composition which is brought about by the charm and grace of word and sense.

It seems that Kuntaka himself has not been able to make this point clear, for he says that the beauty of arrangement cannot be described but can only be experienced by the *sahṛdayas*.[25]

(4) *ābhijātya* is that which is characterised by the pleasantness of sounds, which softly touches the heart and which possesses a spontaneous charm of blandness or sweetness.

The thing which stands out clearly in these definitions and descriptions of the *guṇas* is that they are either vague or overlapping. The

22 Cf the असमासा संघटना of ध्वन्यालोक, pp. 133 ff.

23 p. 140. Cf. also—प्रसादस्तु सर्वेषु रसेषु सर्वासु रचनासु च साधारणः। रसगङ्गाधर, p. 54. (निर्णयसागर edn.).

24 प्रसादवत् प्रसिद्धार्थम्। काव्यादर्श १, ४५।

25 अत्र सन्निवेशसौन्दर्यमहिमा सहृदयसंवेद्यो न व्यपदेष्टुं पार्यते। p. 54.

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asamasta-padatva of the quality *mādhurya* is the same as the *padānām asamastatvaṃ* of *prasāda*. The *manohāritva* of *mādhurya*, which is explained as due to *śruti-ramyatva* and *artha-ramyatva*, does not differ from the *śruti-peśalatā-śālitva* of *ābhijātya*. Again the *viṃnyāsa* of *mādhurya*, which is explained as *saṃniveśa-vaicitrya* is the same as the *saṃniveśa-mahimā* of *lāvaṇya*. It may be argued that in *mādhurya*, the *viṃnyāsa* (arrangement) is that of the *padas* (words), while as in *lāvaṇya* it is that of the *varṇas* (letters). But the *varṇa-viṃnyāsa* of *lāvaṇya* also leads to the *saṃpad* of *pada-sandhāna* which is ultimately the same as the *pada-saṃniveśa*. Again, the epithets employed are only high sounding words without any clear cut logical connotation. For, the word *saukumārya* is at one place explained as *ābhijātya* (page 48). But *saukumārya* is also the term which comprehends all the *guṇas* of the *sukumāra* style, and *ābhijātya* is one of the four *guṇas* that constitute the *sukumāra* style.

Kuntaka enters into the discussion of the question as to how *lāvaṇya* and *ābhijātya*, the qualities residing in an extraordinarily handsome lady, can be considered as the qualities of poetry. In reply he says, that if such an objection is raised then the definitions of *mādhurya* and *prasāda* by the old writers will also be faulty. *Mādhurya* is ascribed to poetry on account of producing pleasure similar to that produced by sweet things like molasses in which it really resides. In the same way *prasāda* is ascribed to that poetry which possesses the quality of clearness and perspicuity in common with clear water or marble, for which it really stands. Similarly the beauty of composition which is brought about by the charm produced by a poet through his skill, cannot be better expressed by another term than by *lāvaṇya*. And accordingly the naturally bland and sweet grace in poetry is expressed by the term *ābhijātya*.

But the term *lāvaṇya* has been used by some writers[26] to denote the idea of suggested sense. Is it not a fault to call the beauty of

26 ध्वन्यालोक, १, ४। The verse is quoted by Kuntaka; it may be translated—Suggested sense is something else (i.e. quite different from the expressed sense) in the writings of great poets. It appears as something apart from its well known parts, as the लावण्य of a lady (Jacobi's schönheit) is different from her limbs.

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composition alone by that name? Kuntaka says that the verse of *Dhvanyaloka*:—*pratīyamānam* etc., (1.4) establishes the existence of *dhvani* only and not that of *lāvaṇya*. But as the suggested sense and *lāvaṇya* are both *prasiddhāvayavātirikta* (different from the well-known limbs) a comparison is drawn between the two. There is no intention on the part of *Dhvanikāra* to establish a very close similarity between them. For, *lāvaṇya* of a lady is a thing which can be recognised by all people with their eyes. But the suggested sense cannot be grasped by all men. It can be comprehended by *sahṛdayas* alone, and therefore it corresponds to a *saubhāgya* (pleasantness or agreeableness) in a lady. *Saubhāgya* is something which is subtler and finer than *lāvaṇya*. The former is within the grasp of specially qualified people. Therefore, beauty of composition alone should be designated as *lāvaṇya*.

Now coming to the second kind of *mārga*, viz., *vicitra*, the first characteristic of importance is *vakratā* or *bhaṇiti-vicchitti*, i.e., the charming way of speech. A charm, which is not produced with an effort by a poet, is visible in word and sense both.[27] As for example in the verses:

कोऽयं भाति प्रकारस्तव पवन पदं लोकपादाहतीनां
तेजस्विव्रातसेव्ये नभसि नयसि यत्पांसुपूरं प्रतिष्ठाम् ।
यस्मिन्नुत्थाप्यमाने जननयनपथोपद्रवस्तावदास्तां
केनोपायेन सह्यो वपुषि कलुषतादोष एष त्वयैव ॥ (p. 58)

the second sense which is suggested is on the same level as the expressed. That is, in this *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* the charm of word and sense lies in the fact that the suggested sense is known simultaneously with the expressed sense.

The next characteristic is that an *alaṅkāra* is made the subject of another *alaṅkāra*. That is the two figures in a verse stand in the relation of *upakāryopakāraka* (one supporting the other). This case is quite different from *saṅkara* (combination of dependent figures), because both the figures are separate and distinct. It is also different from *saṃsṛṣṭi* (where both the figures are independent), because here one figure is subordinate to another.

27 कवि-प्रयत्न-निरपेक्षयोरेव शब्दार्थयोः । p. 58, cf. n. 21.

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The figures should by themselves be so charming and dazzlingly beautiful that the real sense has its beauty enhanced, as the dazzlingly beautiful ornaments enhance the beauty of a lady's body. Such figures are: *vyājastuti, paryāyokta* etc., e.g. *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* in *katamaḥ pravijṛmbhita-viraha-vyathaḥ śūnyatāṃ nīto deśaḥ*. A poet should make a happy choice of words so that an ordinary thing appears to be extra-ordinary. An old idea is garbed in new epithets. Not only this but a poet must be able to give a beautiful shape to an ugly thing also. The poet should strive to produce suggested sense by means of words capable of it. The nature of all the objects[28] should be described as full of charming and implied sense, for which he should employ his extra-ordinary skill.[29]

It is evident that according to Kuntaka this *mārga* is dependent upon the skill of the poet in contrast with the *sukumāra-mārga* which is an outcome of the latter's inborn nature.[30]

(1) *mādhurya* stands for the avoidance of looseness in structure.

(2) *prasāda* or perspicuity, according to Kuntaka, is the same as with the old writers, but with this difference that it has a touch of *ojas* also.

According to old writers *prasāda* is the quality of perspicuity,[31] but Kuntaka seems to mean by it *asamasta-pada-nyāsa* (absence of compounded words). *Ojas* or vigour has abundance of compounds.[32] Kuntaka's definition of *prasāda* then amounts to—employing of words

28 भाव-शब्देनात्र सर्वपदार्थोऽभिधीयते, न रत्यादिरेव। p. 65.

29 वैदग्ध्येनोत्तेजितः p. 65

30 Cf. S. K. De's Introduction, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv

31 अथानुक्तो बुधैर्यत्र शब्दादर्थः प्रतीयते।
सुख-शब्दार्थ-संयोगात् प्रसादः परिकीर्त्यते। नाट्यशास्त्र, xvi, 95
प्रसादवत् प्रसिद्धार्थम्। काव्यादर्श १, ४५।
शैथिल्यं प्रसादः। काव्यालङ्कार सूत्रवृत्ति, iii, 1-6.

32 समासवद्भिर्विविधैर्विचित्रैश्च पदैर्युतम्, सा (?) तु स्वरैः (सानुरागैः, according to अभिनवभारती) उदारैश्च तदोजः परिकीर्त्यते।—नाट्यशास्त्र, XVI, 99.
ओजः समास-भूयस्त्वम्।—काव्यादर्श १, ८०
गाढबन्धत्वम् ओजः।—काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृति, III, 1. 5.

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devoid of compounds, but slightly using compounds—, a queer definition indeed. Kuntaka's definition reminds one of *Vāmana's* discussion on *prasāda guṇa*.[33]

Kuntaka gives one more definition of this *guṇa*, according to which several sentences go to produce the sense of a particular sentence. That is, the sense of a particular sentence is suggested or brought into light by purpose. Kuntaka uses the term *gamaka* and explains it by *samarpaka*, a term which is used by *Ānandavardhana*[34] in his definition of *prasāda*.

(3) *lāvaṇya* makes the words appear as juxtaposed because they do not drop their *visargas* and have short vowels lengthened by the following conjunct consonants. In *sukumāra* style this quality is the *saṃniveśa-mahimā*, beauty of skilful arrangement of words and letters.

(4) *ābhijātya* is a quality which a poet produces by his skill and erudition. It consists of avoiding too much of softness or hardness in the composition.

Kuntaka remarks that the difference between the *guṇas* of this and the *sukumāra* style is that in the former these *guṇas* acquire a kind of pre-eminence on account of poetical skill.[35]

Following is the comparative table:

सुकुमार	विचित्र
१। माधुर्य्य	(घ) समास-सद्भावेऽपि गमकसमास-युक्तता
(क) समस्त-पद-प्राचुर्य्याभाव	३। लावण्य
(ख) मनोहारित्व	(क) शब्दार्थ-सौकुमार्य्य-सुभगः सन्निवेश-महिमा
२। प्रसाद	४। आभिजात्य
(क) पदानामसमस्तत्वम्	(क) स्वभाव-मसृण-च्छायत्वम्
(ख) प्रसिद्धाभिधानत्वम्	
(ग) अव्यवहित-सम्बन्धत्वम्	

33 Cf. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति, III, 1, 5-9 and also the remarks of Hemacandra in his own commentary on काव्यानुशासन, p. 196, ll. 4-12 (निर्णयसागर edn.)

34 ध्वन्यालोक, II, II. Abhinavagupta's commentary on this runs—
समर्पकत्वम् सम्यग् अर्पकत्वम् हृदयसंवादेन प्रतिपत्तॄन् प्रति स्वात्मावेशेन व्यापकत्वम्..... उपचारात् तु तथाविधे व्यङ्ग्येऽर्थे यच्छब्दार्थयोः समर्पकत्वम् तदपि प्रसादः ।

35 आभिजात्यप्रभृतयः पूर्वमार्गोदिता गुणाः ।
अत्रातिशयमायान्ति जनिताहार्यसम्पदः ॥ p. 69.

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सुकुमार	विचित्र
१। माधुर्य्य	३। लावण्य
(क) शैथिल्याभाव	(क) अलुप्तविसर्गत्वम्
२। प्रसाद	(ख) संयोगपूर्व्वह्रस्व letters
(क) असमस्त-पदत्वम् with a touch of ओजस्	४। आभिजात्य
(ख) गमक-वाक्य-प्रयोग	(क) नातिकोमलच्छायत्वम्
	(ख) नातिकठिनच्छायत्वम्

From the table given above it is evident that *mādhurya* of *vicitra* style has a kind of compactness which is not very essential in *sukumāra* style. In *prasāda* of *sukumāra* style there are either no compounds or easy compounds, while as in *vicitra* style there is a mixture and also the employment of sentences which bring the sense of a particular sentence into prominence. *Lāvaṇya* of *sukumāra* style is the beautiful arrangement of words and sense, but in *vicitra* it is the juxtaposition of words which is made specific by retaining the *visargas* and by the employment of short vowels lengthened by the following conjunct consonants. *Ābhijātya* of *sukumāra* style has a natural softness which is tampered by harshness in the *vicitra* style.

The chief characteristics of the *madhyama* style are that it appeals to men of *sukumāra* and *vicitra* temperament both. Herein the qualities of both the styles reside in a harmony, as if vying with one another. The natural ability and the skill of the poet blend together to produce charm in this style. It is the province of those poets who are *arocakins* by nature,[36] that is, who are discriminate and are fond of beautiful things.

Kuntaka now proceeds to classify the poets according to different *mārgas*. Mātṛgupta, Māyurāja, Mañjīra etc., are the followers of the *madhyama* style because we find an admixture of the first two styles. The writings of Kālidāsa, Sarvasena etc., breathing of natural delicacy fall within *sukumāra* style. *Vicitra-vakratva* is to be found

36 Cf, काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति, 1, 2, 1—अरोचकिनः सतृणाभ्यवहारिणश्च कवयः। Vāmana explains अरोचकिनः as विवेकिनः। Kuntaka, however, explains it कमनीयवस्तुव्यसनिनः। p. 71.

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in the *Harṣa-carita* of Bāṇa and also in the *muktakas* (detached verses or simple prose)[37] of Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara.

Kuntaka, unlike some of the rhetoricians, does not regard these *guṇas* as restricted to word or sense, but considers them pervading the composition as a whole.[38]

Kuntaka now proceeds to treat of the *guṇas*: *aucitya* and *saubhāgya* which are common to all the styles.

(1) *aucitya* is that quality which establishes and develops the greatness of anything (i.e. the excellence of any particular object), by propriety and appropriateness with which all the excellences are attributed to a particular thing.[39] The sense of words should be befitting the nature of the speaker, listener or observer.

(2) The quality *saubhāgya* or pleasant charm requires the husbanding of all the resources of poetry . It is not only the genius but all the powers of poet which give rise to this *guṇa*. It is not brought about by the excellence of word, sense, termination, case-ending, temperament, gestures etc. singly, but by all put together. Both these qualities pervade all the three styles by existing in word, sense and composition.[40] Their absence spoils the charm of poetry.

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37 काव्यादर्श । I, 13.

38 मार्गेषु गुणानां समुदायधर्म्मता । p. 71

39 Cf. अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसभङ्गस्य कारणम् ।
प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत् परा ॥—ध्वन्यालोक p. 145.

Kuppusvāmin sums up the views of all the schools of poetry in this verse :

औचितीमनुधावन्ति सर्वे ध्वनिरसोन्नयाः ।
गुणालंकृतिरीतीनां नयाश्चानृजुवाङ्मयाः ॥

Cf. also Kṣemendra who has written a book on this topic.

उचितं प्राहुराचार्य्यः सदृशं किल यस्य यत् ।
उचितस्य च यो भावस्तदौचित्यं प्रचक्षते ॥—औचित्यविचारचर्चा, 7.

40 औचित्यविचारचर्चा, ८-१० ; ध्वन्यालोक, III, 6-14.

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Fire-Arms in Ancient India*

II

(5) *The Secret Weapons*

The exact nature of the āgneya astras would have remained a mystery had not Kauṭilya divulged the secret. He gives recipes for fire composition as also for poisonous smokes. For fire-composition he gives three recipes and a description of *agni-bāṇa* (xiii. 4):

The first is called *agni-dhāraṇa* (that which keeps up fire). It consists of "small balls made of the dung of the ass, camel, goat, and sheep mixed with the wood of Sarala (*Pinus longifolia*), Devadāru (*Cedrus deodar*) cut into splinters, the leaf of Pūtitṛṇa (the lemon-grass, *Andropogon schœranthus*), Guggula (*Olibanum*), Śrīveṣṭaka (the resin of the Śāla tree, *Shorea robusta*), and lac." It will be seen that the ingredients are resinous and highly inflammable, the dung serving as matrix. The *agni-gula* or fire-balls of this composition when ignited cannot be easily extinguished.

The second is *Kṣepya agni-yoga* (fire missile). It was composed of "the dung of the horse, ass, camel or cattle mixed with Priyāla-curṇa (powdered resinous bark or oily kernel of *Buchanania latifolia*), Avalguja (seed of *Vernonia anthelmintica*), lamp-black and bees' wax." This composition is not so inflammable as the preceding but would perhaps keep the fire longer.

The third *agni-yoga* is called *Viśvāsa-ghātī* (treacherous). It consisted of "the powder of all metals made red-hot or of lead and tin with Kumbhī (*Olibanum*), or with the flower of Pāribhadraka (*Erythrina indica*) and Palāśa (*Butea frondosa*), hair, lamp-black, bees' wax and oleo-resin of the pine." It will be seen that these balls contained easily fusible metals. When they were ignited and thrown into the enemy line, the red-hot metals would prove more dangerons than simple fire-balls. Hence they were described as treacherous.

* Continued from vol. VII, p. 708.

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Agni-bāṇa was an arrow, the head of which had a coating of the preceding composition containing lead and tin, the whole being packed and tied with the fibre of Śaṇa (*Crotolaria Juncea*). Evidently the composition was ignited before the arrow was discharged and the pellets of lead and tin made more than red-hot were shot at the enemy. At short range, they were likely to be as effective as gun-shot and could be thrown against particular persons, the difference being in the strength of the propelling force.

Here we have descriptions of fire-balls and fiery arms of which we read in the Epics and Purāṇas. The *Viśvāsaghātī agniyoga* was virtually a bomb which burst and the fragments of metals were scattered in all directions. The *agni-bāṇa* was the fore-runner of gun-shot. The shaft of the arrows must have been made of metal as in *nārāca*. This together with the weight of the fire-composition would make the *bāṇa* too heavy for ordinary bows and strength of the arms. The *agni-bāṇas* would then be not so useful. There were, however, *Mahā-yantra*, called *Jāmadagnya* by Kauṭilya and worked by a large number of men for shooting heavy arrows, and also Cakra-yantra or wheel for hurling stone and also bombs. These were usually fixed on the tops of the walls of forts. There were portable *yantras* which were carried on wheels to battle fields. Sometimes, as in Brahmaśira, the charge used to be fixed on an ordinary arrow, fired and discharged (*Mbh.*, Sauptika, 13). Sometimes the metallic head of the arrow was made red-hot by charcoal fire, and the hot arrow would prove more dangerous than the cool. The aboriginal tribes of Kols and Santals of Bengal and Bihar shoot bear with red-hot arrows which, they say, kill the beasts while cool arrows prove ineffective. It is to be noted that among the war materials collected in the battle-field of Kurukṣetra charcoal was one.

(6) *Some Supposed Guns*

Before we proceed further in our enquiry it is necessary to examine the claims of certain weapons of old which like the *āgneya-astra*, have been taken as guns. In every case the identification has proceeded on insufficient data, either on the presence of fire, or fire and tube, or bullets, or report or the power to kill many people at one time. The test should be the presence of gun-powder, which, as will be seen

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presently, was unknown, at least, up to the time of Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.).

We do not know when fire-balls, bombs and fiery arrows were first brought into use. The throwing of fire-balls on the heads of the enemy in battle array would suggest itself to primitive men, and we can trace the employment of fire in the *Ṛg-veda* which has often praised fire for killing an enemy. But the composition and the method of preparation must be a result of long experience. Kauṭilya's composition was a great advance upon that of the *Mahābhārata* account. In the *Atharva-veda* (1.16.4) there is the mention of an enemy having been threatened with *śīsa* (lead). It may, therefore, be concluded that *agni-bāṇa* with lead-shot was known to the priests of the *Atharva-veda*. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (1.4.8) an arrow is described as having fire at its point. The use of āgneya-astra is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*. Kauṭilya was, therefore, not the inventor of bombs and *agni-bāṇas*. The stage had long passed when they were known as *divya-astras*.

It has been supposed that *surmi* of the *Ṛg-veda* (1.5.) was of the nature of a gun. For it was a tube with handles which shone like fire. But Sāyaṇa took it to be like the *surmi* of *Manusaṃhitā* (XI), which is a hollow metallic image made red-hot for death penalty of a particular class of criminals. A cylindrical vessel with handles might very well be used as an oven containing glowing charcoal from the surface of which would rise currents of heated air like waves, the literal meaning of *surmi* being wave. But it is not sufficient to prove the existence of guns and gun-powder at the time of the *Ṛg-veda* when fire had to be produced by friction of dry wood.

The names of *ayaḥ-kaṇapa* and *tulā-guḍa*, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, have been supposed by the commentator, Nīlakaṇṭha, to have been guns. He lived in the sixteenth century when guns had become familiar. The names occur in the *Mahābhārata* only once. Śrīkṛṣṇa and Arjuna were guarding the forest of Khāṇḍava when it was set on fire, in order to prevent the escape of animals of the forest from destruction with *ayaḥ-kaṇapa*, *cakra*, *aśman* and *bhusuṇḍi* in their hands (Ādi., 227). According to Nīlakaṇṭha *cakra* was a wheel for hurling stone, and *bhusuṇḍi* a sling consisting of two lengths of string with a small piece of leather between for throwing stone, and *aśman* is stone,

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Ayaḥ-kaṇapa is likely to have been a weapon of the same class. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (150) we read *cakra* (a disc), *kuṇapa*, *prāsa* (a dart), *bhusuṇḍi*, *paṭṭiśa* (an iron spear with sharp edge), etc. In *Daśa-kumāra-carita* we have the same three names, *kaṇapa*, *prāsa*, and *paṭṭiśa*. There is hardly any doubt of *kaṇapa* and *kuṇapa* being the same and denoting a spear made entirely of iron. *Vaijayantī Koṣa* (XIIth cent.) reads *kaṇaya* and gives the same meaning.

It is, however, difficult to make out what was *tulā-guḍa* (Vana, 42). *Nīlakaṇṭha* explains it as *Bhāṇḍagolaka*, called *bandukh* in the Mleccha language (Persian). He was evidently led to think of a gun from the description of its action. Indra sent his chariot to take Arjuna to heaven. In it there were many weapons, such as sword, *śakti* (a lance), mace, dart, *vidyut* (lightning, a long narrow sword?), *aśani* (thunder-bolt, an iron mace), and *tulā-guḍa* on wheels. The last weapon is said to produce a thundering sound and was considered deadly. There were also *nāga* (noose with ends looking like the head of a snake) shining like fire and pieces of white stone (quartz) The weapons, of course, belonged to Indra, the warrior king of heaven, and the poet had an opportunity of indulging in hyperbole. But *tulā-guḍa* was never claimed by any god and we must understand it as a weapon fit for mortals. The word *tulā* denotes a balance, the beam of a balance and also a bracket for support of the rafter of a house. The word *guḍa* is the same as *gula*, a ball, and *tulā-guḍa* therefore would mean a (very heavy) ball to be projected by a lever. This conjecture appears to be correct, since there is no reference to smoke or fire in this description. Moreover it is difficult to understand why Indra should have sharp pointed stone in his chariot had he possessed a cannon. The *Mahābhārata* (Vana., 15) and *Matsya-Purāṇa*, 153) mention *ayo-guḍa* which liteally means a bullet of iron. The context supports this sense. But we are not told how it was discharged. It is probable that it belongs to the same class as *tulā-guḍa*, a ball projected by a machine consisting of a lever, or a sling. The word *ayo-guḍa* occurs in the *Caraka* in the sense of iron pills.

We have already seen that *bhusuṇḍi* was a sling for throwing stone. But the name was more commonly used to denote a heavy club, perhaps curved like the trunk of the elephant. *Vaijayantī* understands it as a wooden club with iron knob. The weapon appears to have been very

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common and is mentioned in the accounts of battles. (*Rāmā.*, I. 60; *Mbh.*, Droṇa, 177; *Mātsya Purāṇa*, 150, 151 etc.).

Next we come to *śataghna* or *śataghnī* which literally means one that can kill a hundred. The name was at first applied to columns of stone or timber having innumerable iron spikes fixed on the surface. These were usually placed on the ramparts of forts. The capital fortresses of Ayodhyā and Laṅkā, and Indraprastha of the Pāṇḍavas were provided with *śataghnī*. Kauṭilya also had them. Sometimes they were carried on wheels to battle-fields, and from the *Harivaṃśa* we understand there were smaller forms of them carried by the hand. The name was transferred to cannon when these were invented.

The name *nālika* also underwent change in meaning. A *nārāca*, as we have seen, was an arrow wholly made of iron. It was necessarily too heavy for long range action. A tubular arrow was therefore made which was stiff but light. The word *nālika* means a tube, but in military language meant a tubular arrow. The two names, *nārāca* and *nālika*, often occur together (*Rāmā.*, Ayo., 25; *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma., 106) as they were two types of metallic arrows. In the *Harivaṃśa* we meet with *nārāca* but not *nālika*. Those arrows that had barbed head were called *karṇī*, and also *vikarṇī*, having two ears on the two sides. The *nālikas* were often barbed. They were certainly astras, missiles, and by a curious history to be told later on, meant instruments for throwing missiles, and in later times implied guns.

The last name requiring explanation is *aurvāgni*, which has been taken to mean 'gun-powder.' The word, however, means fire of Aurva, for gun-powder is not fire. It means also volcanic fire as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kiṣ., 44) and *Śakuntalā* (III. 3). It is otherwise known as *bāḍavānala*, 'the fire of the mare.' The *Mahābhārata* mentions a *bāḍava*, a volcano which was probably situated near Cutch (Vana., 82). *Aurvāgni* was thus sub-terranean fire (from Urvī, the earth) and might mean fire concealed in trenches in the battle-fields. There was a Ṛṣi of the name of Aurva who is reputed to have taught the use of this *āgneya-astra*.

(*To be continued*)

JOGESH CHANDRA RAY

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The Twin Gods Aśvinau

In his *Vedic Mythology* (p. 49) Macdonnell says, "Though they (Aśvinau) hold a distinct position among the deities of light and their appellation is Indian, their connection with any definite phenomena of light is so obscure that their original nature is a puzzle to the Vedic interpreters from the earliest times." A similar view has been expressed by Cox, Shamashastry and other scholars.

Regarding the identification of the Aśvins, we are giving below in a tabular form the opinions of various scholars:

Scholars	Their opinions
Bollensen, Oldenberg and Manhardt	The morning or the evening star.
Macdonnell	Twilight or morning star.
Bloomfield	Morning and evening stars.
Yāska	Twilight before dawn, half dark and half light.
Goldstücker, Myrianthus, and Hopkins	Twilight before dawn and half dark. Transition from darkness to light.
Aurṇavābha	Light rays.
Bergaigne	Fire of heaven and of the altar.
Aitihāsikāḥ	Two pious kings.
E. N. Ghosh	Two stars of Aśvinī (Aries).
Weber	Twin constellation of Gemini.
Roth	Indra and the Sun.
Ludwig, Hillebrandt, Hardy and Shamashastry	The Sun and the Moon.
Vodekov	Rain-giving and dew-giving deities.
Geldner	Succouring Indian saints of purely Indian origin.
Brünhofer	Morning and evening wind.
Max Müller	Personification of morning and evening.

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Dr. Shamashastry very recently remarked that by the Aśvins the Vedic poets meant no other celestial bodies than the Sun and the Moon (*Mythic Society's Quarterly Journal*, Bangalore, vol. XX, no. 2, pp. 80-88).

The well-known polar phenomena, with which it is possible to identify the Dual Deities, the Aśvinau, is known in astronomy by the terms: The Zodiacal Light and the Gegenschein—a twin phenomenon observed only in the Polar Regions.

Before proceeding to the Vedic texts let us see what the two astronomical phenomena actually denote:—

The Zodiacal Light

The Zodiacal Light "is a soft hazy wedge of light stretching up from the horizon along the ecliptic just as the twilight is ending (in the evening) or as the dawn is beginning (at night departure). Its base is 20° to 30° wide and it generally can be followed under favourable conditions to 90° from the Sun and sometimes in a narrow faint band 3° to 4° wide entirely around the sky. It is very difficult to decide precisely what its limits are, for it shades very gradually from an illumination perhaps a little brighter than the milky way into the dark sky. It cannot be seen in full moon-light."

The Gegenschein (counter-glow)

The Gegenschein "is a very faint patch of light on the ecliptic precisely opposite to the Sun. It appears like an enlargement of the Zodiacal band at this point. It is oval in shape being longest along the ecliptic and according to Barnard and Douglas generally 10° to 20° long and half as wide.

"Both the Zodiacal light and the Gegenschein can be seen only with the unaided eye; for the field of the telescope is so small that it does not enable one to contrast them with the darker sky." (Moulton: *Introduction to Astronomy*, 1906, pp. 312-313).

The legends about the Aśvins

Both the storm theory and the vernal theory fail to account satisfactorily for the different features of the legends about Aśvins.

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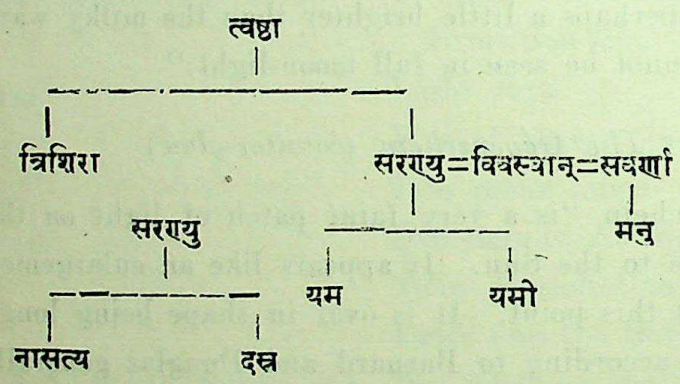
Such legends are to be found amongst the achievments of the Aśvins, the physicians of the gods. (See *Ṛv.*, I, 112, 116, 117, 118).

The legends about Aśvins indicate or suggest the Arctic conditions of climate or calendar as they are one of the deities who are said to traverse or measure the whole universe like Viṣṇu, Agni and Savitar. Each has three stations, *viz.*, one in ocean (*samudra*) one in heaven (*divi*) and one in waters (*apsu*). "The third step of Viṣṇu and the third or the hidden abode of Agni are identical in character. Similarly one of the three wheels of the chariot of Aśvins is represented as deposited in a cave of a secret place, like the third step of Viṣṇu which is beyond the ken of mortals (Vide *Ṛv.*, X, 85.14, 15, 16).

This coincidence between the third stations of the three world-traversing gods cannot be said to be accidental. The combined effect of all the passages regarding this coincidence will be clearly seen to point to the conclusion that the third or hidden dwelling place in each case must be sought for in the nether world, the world of the *Pitṛs*, of *Yama*, of waters and darkness." (Tilak—*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp.332-334).

The genealogy of the Aśvins



Note that

(i) त्रिशिरा and सरण्यु
(ii) यम and यमी
(iii) नासत्य and दस्र

} are all twins

From the genealogy given above it is clear that their father is Vivasvān and their mother is Saraṇyu in the form of a mare or the Sindhu. As ushering in the healthful light of the sun, they are healers and physicians and their power of restoring the aged to youth reappears in Sūryā, the daughter of the sun.

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The sphere of the Aśvins.

Yāska says that their sphere is heaven. Vedic scholars also agree that the Aśvins belong to the celestial class of the Vedic gods:

(1) They appear at early dawn when darkness still stands among the ruddy cows (*Ṛv.*, X, 61-4).

(2) At the yoking of their car *Uṣas* is born (*Ṛv.*, X, 39. 12). (*Ṛv.*, I. 34.10).

(4) Thus the appearance of the Aśvins, the kindling of the sacrificial fire, the break of dawn are synchronous with the first appearance of the sun's rays or more correctly the appearance of the light on the earth reflected from an immense number of meteors circulating around the sun in or near the ecliptic and extending out somewhat beyond the orbit of the earth. Such meteors are more numerous precisely opposite to the sun and they cause the correlative and complementary phenomena of the reflection, both thus giving rise to the elaborate celestial phenomena connoted by the Vedic Deities, the Aśvinau. (*Ṛv.*, I, 157. 1 and VII, 72.4).

The car of the Aśvins

The three-wheeled car of the Aśvins is mentioned in the *Ṛg-veda* as drawn by Horses (I, 117.2); Birds (VI, 63.6; X, 143-5); Bird-steeds (IV, 63.7); Swans (IV, 54.4); Eagles (I, 118-4); Eagle-steeds (VIII, 5.7); Buffalo or Buffaloes (V, 53.7; I, 184.3); Ass (I, 34.9; I, 116.2; VIII, 74.7); and Asses (*A.Br.*, IV, 7-9). The names of birds and animals must be supposed to be the names given to the groups of stars near, or in the midst of, which the triangular car of the Aśvins made its first appearance in the several epochs of the ancient ages. *Ṛv.*, I, 46.7 says that the Aśvins possess not only a golden chariot but have a double equipment in the boat. The Aśvins are described in the *Ṛg-veda* as saving their protégés in boats (*Ṛv.*, I, 116.3 I, 182.6). "The boats of Aśvins unlike those of Pūṣan are not described as golden." In *Ṛv.*, I, 30-18 their chariot is said to be *Samāna yojana* or traversing without distinction both the heavenly and watery regions.

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At the end of the night, their triangular wedge-like chariot comes up from the ocean (*samudra*). Their chariot makes a great circling round the heaven (*Ṛv.*, I, 157.3, 5). They are described as going round the heaven (*parijman*) like the deities Vāta, Agni and Sūrya. Their car traverses the heaven and the earth in a single day or 24 hours' period as that of the sun, and that of Uṣas (*Ṛv.*, III. 58.8; I, 115.3 and IV, 51.5 respectively). "They came riding on fleet horses and soon vanished followed by the first faint blushes of the Dawn who changed her dark complexion into bright (*Ṛv.*, I, 123.9) and soon became full blown or refulgent like a beautiful heavenly maiden in the glory of her eternal youth." (A. C. Das, *Ṛg Vedic Culture*, p. 454).

The home of the Aśvins

The home of the Aśvins is variously described in the *Ṛg-veda*. They came from afar (VIII, 5-30); heaven (VIII, 8.7); and earth (I, 44.5); heaven and air (VIII, 8.4; 9.2); air (VIII, 8.3); air far and near (V, 73.1); earth, heaven and ocean (VIII, 10.1); behind, before, below and above (VII, 72.5). Sometimes their locality is inquired about (V, 74.2, 3; VI, 63.1; VIII, 62.4) as if unknown. (See Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 50). The above details about the home of the Aśvins agree with those of Zodiacal light and the correlative phenomena of Gegenschein (counter-glow) particularly in the polar and the circum-polar regions.

The path of the Aśvins

About the course of the Aśvins, which is frequently mentioned in the Vedas, we find that the course of their rays is vertical and the word *vartiḥ* with one exception is applicable to them only.

The path of the Aśvins is the *Devayāna* or the portion of the Zadiacal belt visible in the Polar regions. The remainder is called the *Pitṛyāna*. Varuṇa is said to have constructed a broad path (*Ṛv.*, I, 24.8; IV, 53.4) for the sun. It evidently refers to the Zodiacal belt. The path of Ṛta (*Ṛv.*, I, 41.4) which is mentioned several times in the *Ṛg-Veda* where the Ādityas are said to have been placed (*Ṛv.*, X, 85.1) and wherein Saramā discovered the cows of Indra (*Ṛv.*, V, 45.7, 8) refers to the same broad belt of the Zodiac which the luminaries, as observed

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by the Vedic bards, never transgress. Thus *ṛtasya panthā* means the right path, the circle of which exists for ever or rather exists (*varvarti*) in the vault of the heavens (Ṛv., I, 164.11)." (Vide Tilak's *Orion or the Researches into the Antiquity* of the Vedas, p. 185).

Their time of appearance

In *Ṛv.*, X, 39.12 it is stated that at the yoking of their car by the Aśvins, Uṣas is born. Thus their time may be taken to be between dawn and the actual appearance of the sun's disc above the horizon. It has been stated above that just next to the Aśvins appear the dawns. Their connection with the dawn and their appearance in the interval between dawn and sun-rise are thus taken to be clearly established; and whatever theory we may adopt to explain the character of the Aśvins on a physical basis, we cannot lose sight of the fact that they are matutinal deities bringing on the dawn or the light of the morning with them. The two epithets of Indra, viz., Vṛtrahan and Śatakratu are applied to them (*Ṛv.*, VIII, 8.22; I, 112.23) and in I, 182.2, they are expressly said to possess the qualities of Indra (*Indratamā*) and of the Maruts (*Marutamā*) the associates of Indra in his struggle with Vṛtra (Vide Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 300). "It is," says the same authority, "the struggle between the powers of light and darkness and the Aśvins in their character of divine physicians were naturally the first to help the gods in their afflictions. It is true that Indra was the principal actor or hero in the fight, but the Aśvins appear to have stood by him rendering help whenever necessary, and leading the van in the march of the matutinal deities after the conquest.....The arctic theory alone can satisfactorily interpret the facts stated above; and when they are interpreted in this way, it is easy to perceive how the Aśvins are described as having rejuvenated, cured or rescued a number of decripit, blind and lame or distressed protégés of theirs in the various legends ascribed to them" (*ibid.*, p. 301). We have stated above that the ancient Vedic bards divided the period between the yoking of horses to their car by the Aśvins and the actual appearance of the solar disc into five divisions or five separate phenomena viz., (i) Aśvinau, a dual phenomenon, (ii) Dawns (*Uṣas*), (iii) Sūryā, (iv) Vṛṣākapāyi, (v) Saraṇyu, and (vi) Savītā, the solar orb. This five-fold phenomenon of

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the total duration of the twilight either before the appearance of the solar orb on the horizon of the polar regions or the sun's disappearance below the same must have extended from 47 days to about two months in the polar regions. With our present knowledge of the atmospheric and meteorological conditions in ancient Vedic times we cannot precisely determine the exact duration of the appearance of one or other of the Aśvins as distinguished from the first *Uṣas* or the Dawn. But to our mind the duration must have been about ten days in the maximum. A verse from *Ṛv.* gives us an exactly similar view (vide *Ṛv.*, 1, 157.4).

That "the Aśvinau cannot be identified with the Sun and the Moon" is already shown above by direct evidence from the several verses of the *Ṛg-veda*. An additional and very clear support to this view is found in *Ṛv.*, 1, 112-12 where it is said that they (Aśvinau) urged to victory the car without the horse (Aśva i.e. the Sun); while in the next verse it is stated that they in their car are said to go round the Sun in the distant region.

A second very important piece of evidence showing that the Aśvinau and the dawn are not the evanescent phenomena of the tropics in the *Ṛg-veda*, is furnished by the time taken to recite the *Āśvina Śastra* by the *Hotṛ* priest before commencing the *Gavāmayana* sacrifice. "It is not to be recited until darkness of the night is relieved by light; so between the first appearance of light and the rising of the sun, there must have been, in ancient days, time enough to recite the long laudatory song of not less than a thousand verses. If the recitation ended long before sun-rise, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* has added that all the ten maṇḍalas of the *Ṛg-veda* may be recited, if necessary. (Vide Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 82-84).

We do not propose to enter here into the question about the long duration of the Vedic Dawn but it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Vedic Dawn admitted of a five-fold division in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and of a three-fold one in the *Ṛg-veda* thus giving us a clear latitude to infer that the twin phenomenon of the Aśvins must have occupied a sufficiently long period of time and impressed the minds of Vedic *Ṛsis* with its grandeur and divine inspiration.

V. H. VADER

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The Nature of the Mughal Conquest

The Mughal conquest of India is a unique episode in Indian history—unique in the sense that it was not merely a physical conquest, but also a conquest of the heart. While driving the people to a stubborn resistance, it eventually evoked the greatest loyalty from them. The power of the sword which characterized the first phases of the conquest gave place to the more enduring triumphs of diplomacy and winning of the heart. In fact these characteristics mark at once the weakness and strength of the Mughal conquest. Its weakness was due to the military character, and its strength to the winning of the heart and cordial co-operation of the conquered. Nevertheless, it strikes a new note in the history of Muhammadan conquest of India. That such was the imperative need of the situation in which the Mughals found themselves in India, there is no doubt; for in history, as in other human sciences, no phenomenon could be adequately explained without reference to its environment. The situation was not an easy one and for that matter was the most perplexing that ever confronted a conqueror of India.

To understand the situation it is not necessary to give a detailed survey of the political condition of India on the eve of Babar's invasion, for the simple reason that the conditions obtaining at that time did not determine the nature of the Mughal conquest of India. The Mughal conquest of India is a long process, and Babar's invasion was one of its many important events. He is certainly not "an empire-builder of the sixteenth century," if thereby we understand that he was the builder of the Mughal empire in India. He was one of the many, who "must be considered to have laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire,"[1] and that "as a conqueror and not as an administrator." Such conquerors there have been many, viz., Amir Taimur in 1398, Humayun in 1555, and Akbar in 1556. Before these conquerors there was a host of invaders, belonging to the same race raiding Hindustan right from the middle of the 13th century, and paving the way for the

1 *An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 163.

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more illustrious conquerors. Thus a survey of the situation would mean a description of the political condition of India obtaining from century to century, between the 13th and the 16th centuries, or at least between 1398 and 1556, if we want to exclude the raiders from our account. But it has been customary to consider the Mughal conquest of India to have started with the conquest of Babar, and that is because he was the first of the Mughals to attempt the systematic conquest of Hindustan by remaining in Hindustan, which his predecessors did not. So did Humayun and Akbar, the latter being the most illustrious as he was the real conqueror of Hindustan and founder of the Mughal empire in India. A proper understanding of the situation would mean a scrutiny of the political condtions obtaining in Hindustan in the whole of the 16th century. The scope of this essay forbids a detailed study of the situation and we have to remain content with scanning its chief features.

In the first place, the Hindus, that is, the Rajputs were not the only ruling power in Hindustan in the sixteenth century, as in previous centuries when Mahmud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghori and Qutbuddin Aibak started their conquests. Had it been so, the Mughal conquest and rule of Hindustan would have lost some of its most distinctive marks, and perhaps the conquest of the country would have been much easier. For, their superiority in military skill and organization would have received an impetus from their religious zeal, and it would have appealed to them as a holy war against the infidels. But as it was, the Mughals met not the infidels alone in the field, but the Muslims like themselves. In fact, they had to fight out issues with the Muslims first and Hindus later. This fact alone was calculated to affect adversely the vigour of the Mughal invasion, for the obvious reason that an unprovoked attack of a Muslim king upon another is against the injunctions of the *Quran*, and Babar's was an unprovoked attack actuated purely by motives of conquest. Whether it did so affect or not, it certainly did not facilitate the task.

The second feature of the situation was that supremacy in Hindustan had been divided between the Rajputs and the Afghans, and they were the two rival powers. They had built up power by great tact and steadiness, and their glory filled the whole of the 15th century. As a result of their long tenure of power, they were firmly rooted in the

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soil. To sway the sceptre of Hindustan, the Mughals had to wrest it from the Afghans and the Rajputs, one after another, and they were no mean enemies. The Afghans were as brave as they were wily, and having won power, were not prepared to part with it easily, and many a field had to be won and lost before they submitted to the Mughals. Theirs was the most stubborn, and at the same time sustained resistance offered to the Mughals But if the Afghan was brave and wily, the Rajput was the bravest of the brave and generous to a fault. His generosity commended itself to the Mughal as his bravery inspired awe. A combination of the two powers—the Afghan and the Rajput would have been fatal to the Mughals; but that was never to be. The Afghans and the Rajputs could not unite against their common enemy. Neither could each, as a people, present a united front against the foreign foe. Their tribal organization, and their separatist tendencies gave a handle to the Mughals to conquer them piece-meal. Even so, they did not venture to join issues with the Afghans and Rajputs at once. They had enough of tact to take advantage of the Rajputs' generosity after they had impressed the Rajputs by their mettle, and to win them over to their side. They made Rajputs their friends and supporters in their task of conquering the Afghans. The credit is entirely theirs—of those who finding Hindustan under the sway of two powerful peoples, drew one of them to their side in order that they might subjugate the other, and it is here that the real greatness of the Mughals lies. Though meeting with a situation far more perplexing than any that had confronted Mahmud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghori or Qutbuddin Aibak, they succeeded in handilng it admirably, and left a name that is at once good and great; and it was perplexing because (i) the Mughals had not merely to prove the validity of their attack on the Afghans who happened to be Muslims like themselves, (ii) they had also to destroy the political power of the Afghans and Rajputs in order that they might rear their own.

These features, therefore, the presence of a strong Rajput confederacy side by side with a disintegrating Muslim power, and, the resistance offered by the one, and willing co-operation offered by the other after the first repercussions of their impact with the Mughals had died away —these characterise the century that made the Mughal conquest of

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Hindustan an accomplished fact as between Babar and Akbar. But if the Mughal conquest of Hindustan was completed in the 16th century, all the pioneer work had been accomplished in the 13th and 14th centuries, that is, between the invasions of Hulaku Khan and Amir Taimur. The far-reaching effects that these invasions produced on the Sultanate of Delhi—on the home and foreign policy of a series of illustrious monarchs like Balban, Alauddin Khilji, Muhammad bin Tughlak etc. amply testify to the formidable nature of the Mughal menace constantly present beyond the north-western frontier. So long as the Delhi Sultans were strong enough to repel the attack of the Mughals, they remained the lords of Hindustan, but when Taimur attacked and carried everything before him, the Delhi empire ceased to exist. A large province of the Empire—the Punjab, was annexed by Taimur, and the rest fast disintegrated, giving rise to independent monarchies throughout the country. It was a rare piece of good-luck that no Mughal invasion occurred in the 15th century, and the independent monarchies found time to get strong and stable. In spite of the iternecine wars that filled this century, there was promise of a glorious future, when Babar started his first invasion of the Punjab in 1519. Elements of life and art that were slowly taking shape received a rude shock when the country was thrown into a welter of anarchy as a result of Babar's invasions culminating in the battles of Panipat and Kunwa. The decisive nature of these two battles distinguished Babar's achievements from those of his predecessors and encouraged him to stay in Hindustan and lay the foundation of the Mughal Empire there. It is only in this sense that his invasion of Hindustan is more than an episode in the Mughal conquest of India. What he started was completed by Akbar but not before the kingdom had once been lost to and recovered from the Afghans. The revival of the Afghan power, therefore, points at once to the die-hard nature of the Afghans and the political sagacity of the Mughals.

Now confining our attention to the 16th century that witnessed the completion of the Mughal conquest of Hindustan, we are brought face to face with this striking fact that the political sagacity of the Mughals was as great a factor in the success of their conquest as their military ability. That is noticed at the very commencement of their conquests. Babar does not start abruptly like Muhammad Ghori, when he, like

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the latter sets his heart to the possession of the Punjab. Neither is he dictatorial like Amir Taimur. He shapes his conduct with the punctilious care of a gentleman and proves the validity of his action, i.e. the conquest of the Punjab, to a nicety. He says "as it was always in my heart to possess Hindustan, and as these several countries had once been held by the Turks, I pictured them as my own, and was resolved to get them into my own hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat the hill-men well, this order was given: 'Do no hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of the people, nor even to their cotton-ends and broken needles.' "[2] Then in his message to the people of Bhīra he says: "The possession of this country by a Turk has come down from of old; beware not to bring ruin on its people by giving way to fear and anxiety; our eye is on this land and on this people; raid and rapine shall not be."[3] Then he sends a messenger by name Mulla Murshid to the court of Delhi to seek by peace the surrender of the districts of the Punjab he had overrun. That is the account of his first expedition into Hindustan undertaken in February 1519. He resorts to diplomacy rather than to force to achieve his object. Whether he had the scruples of conscience to satisfy when he was deliberately making an unprovoked attack on the kingdom of a Muslim king, it is very difficult to prove, but certain it is that he did try to prove the validity of his action to the people whom he came to conquer, by trying to impress on Ibrahim Lodi by peaceful negotiation that he claimed the countries by the right of conquest by the Turks and by the right of descent from Amir Taimur. It was the only justification of his aggrandizing activities, the only screen for his lust of conquest. And once it was established that he had a right to conquer the lost Indian provinces of his ancestor Taimur in the same way as he had a right to recover the lost Central Asian dominions, he felt no hesitation in setting aside the claims of everyone except himself to the possession of the Punjab, and to that end, even crossing swords with Ibrahim Lodi. This he did on the field of Panipat (1526), and Panipat secured his

2 *Babar's Memoirs* translated by A. S. Beveridge p. 380.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 381.

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claim not only to the Punjab but to the throne of Delhi, which meant the sovereignty of Hindustan.

But the sovereignty of Hindustan as secured on the field of Panipat was of a precarious nature. It greatly enhanced the prestige of Babar no doubt, but yet he had to do much hard fighting and prove his mettle before that sovereignty was his in the real sense of the word. There were powerful enemies around viz. the tribal military aristocracy of the Afghans, the powerful confederacy of the Rajputs under Rāṇā Saṅgrāma Singh. For, the fall of Ibrahim Lodi on the field of Panipat did not bring about the downfall of the Afghan power; and however superficially or substantially it might have affected the tenure and strength of Afghan power, it did not touch the fringe of Rajput confederacy. And for aught we know of the power and prestige of the Rajputs under Rāṇā Saṅga—his vast territories, his exalted reputation as a warrior, his diplomatic triumphs in Malwa, and his aspiration for dividing the empire of Ibrahim between himself and Babar, it will be no travesty of truth to say that Panipat could not carry Babar far in the process of empire-building in Hindustan. That was exactly what happened just before the battel of Kunwa. His dream of empire receded far into the shadows of despair, and he was disillusioned about the reality of his achievements so far. Thus there was plenty of strenuous fighting and exertion to be gone through before the empire of Hindustan became his. The Afghan military chiefs had to be crushed singly as well collectively, and the Rajput meance had to be removed for good before he could hold a firm sway over Hindustan.

The magnitude of Babar's task could be properly realised when we say that it actually began with Panipat. Panipat set his foot on the path of empire-building, and in this path the first great obstacle was the opposition of the Afghan tribes. It has been said before that the fall of Ibrahim Lodi did not mean the collapse of Afghan power. That was due to the fundamental nature of Afghan polity. It was not a centralized government, with authority concentrated in the hands of the king. There was no person or organisation to embody the supreme power of the society. The state was a loosely knit confederacy of a number of military chieftains, representing the various sections or clans of the Afghans. Each one of them regarded himself supreme in his

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domains or *jāgirs*, and conducted himself as such throughout his tenure of power. Whomsoever they elected to obey became their king, and this obedience or allegiance was tendered during the period of good behaviour of the person chosen as king. Thus authority had been diffused amongst the local magnates, and they formed, more or less, a powerful class, amongst whom the whole Empire had been distributed and who by virtue of their territorial possession controlled the allegiance of the community. This alienation of power and territory was due as much to the tribal traditions of the Afghans as to the peculiar nature of the Afghan conquest of Hindustan at the time of Bahlol Lodi. At any rate, the king was regarded by the Afghan nobles as the first among them, who was their equal to all practical purposes except that he received the voluntary allegiance of all the rest, and hence was their superior. He entirely depended upon his military aristocracy for power and prestige as much as for the defence of his kingdom, and could not have retained any, the moment he lost their sympathy. Hence, when Babar entered Hindustan as the destroyer of Ibrahim Lodi, the Afghan power had not been destroyed. Victory over the king was not victory over the kingdom. Since power and territory belonged to the Afghan nobles, the subjugation of the Afghan Empire involved the wresting of power and territory from them. Panipat had its own effects no doubt. It brought enormous gains to Babar; and his moral gains were even greater than the military and the material. Nevertheless, Panipat inaugurated an era of conquest, which was begun by Babar and was closed by his grandson Akbar. The first phase of this era (1526-30) was spent in the subjugation of the Afghan nobles and the Rajput confederacy under Rāṇā Saṅga. The second phase opened with the rule of Humayun, and the main interest centred round his abortive attempts at the subjugation of Malwa, Gujrat, and Bengal, and his expulsion from India by Sher Shah, whose rise meant the revival of Afghan power. The third and last phase begins with Humayun's reconquest of the Punjab and Delhi, and ends with the brilliant achievements of Akbar in the domains of conquest and diplomacy, in drawing in cordial co-operation the Rajputs on to his side, and thereby facilitating his task of counquest and consolidation. Thus the process of Mughal conquest extends nearly over the whole of the 16th century.

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Now as to the first phase: The tribal organization of the Afghans and the divisions of power and territory amongst these chiefs made the task of Empire-building doubly difficult for Babar. After killing Ibrahim, Babar could occupy only the whole of the Doab. North, South, and East of it, the whole country had been parcelled out between the Lohanis, Formulis, and Sarwanis, and they had elected one of them Darya Khan Lohani's son Bahar Khan as their king. The next thing to which Babar set himself was (i) to crush Bahar Khan with all his following, and (ii) all those nobles, who did not join Bahar Khan. This he did by a clever device. He distributed the unconquered parts of the Afghan Empire amongst his nobles and commissioned them to go and establish themselves by driving out the Afghan nobles from those parts. With limited resources he could not afford to waste them in the subjugation of the nobles, specially when he had yet to meet Rāṇā Saṅgrām Singh. He never minimised the power of this great adversary; nor was he inclined to think that the Rāṇā would keep aloof and leave him undisturbed to pursue his own ambition. That is why he had sent Humayun against Bahar Khan, and the nobles against other Afghan chiefs; and himself remained at Agra strengthening himeslf for further efforts and organizing his resources. Hardly had the task of subduing the Afghan cihefs been completed, when he heard that the Rāṇā was on the move. Babar was going to meet his equal, and on the field of Kunwa, the first expriences of his adversary's strength were most depressing. Amid gloom and despair, however, he stuck on to his guns, and by that dash and will which characterised Babar, he won a glorious victory over the Rajput leader. The Rajput confederacy was shattered and with it their reputation and self-confidence. For many years to come, they did not recover from this shock, and the Mughals were left free to pursue their schemes of conquest and consolidation. After the ruin of the Rajput power, the destruction of the petty Afghan chiefs was only a child's play for Babar. The strongest opposition that they could offer was in combination with the king of Bengal, at the battle of Gogra, and the utter rout that they had there took the sting out of them so long as Babar was living.

That, however, was not very long and Babar's death took place (Dec., 1530) only a year and a few months after. Babar during the four years

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spent in Hindustan had conquered the Punjab, the territories that we now call the United Provinces and North Bihar. Besides, Mewar as the leading Rajput State had formally submitted. That was all that he could do; and what he had left undone was of even greater importance. He had not been able to set up a centralized form of government with himself at the head wielding absolute authority over all; he had failed to build up a sound financial system which necessarily presupposed a comprehensive machinery of administration; and lastly, he had not created any remarkable public and philanthropic institutions to attract the loyalty of the people over whom he was to rule. These shortcomings of Babar were aggravated after his death by the irresolute and imbecile character of Humayun, and the die-hard nature of the Afghan power. The scattered elements of the latter needed only a personality to galvanize them into life, and that was supplied by Sher Shah. Humayun blundered from the beginning of his reign, and failed to comprehend the real magnitude of his task. He should have been a great diplomat and a great general to achieve successfully what his father had not, i.e., an adequate system of government to suit the ideal of absolutism and autocracy, and to crush ruthlessly all recrudescence of Afghan and Rajput pretensions to that end. Unfortunately, he was neither.

The second phase begins with his accession to the throne (Dec., 1530). He met enemies, on all sides, disguised and therefore the more dangerous. His own brothers were jealous of him. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was no secret enemy of his, and lastly, from the very start of his career, Sher Shah's ambition was sure to clash with his best interests. Yet Humayun did not take timely measures against them and allowed them to grow to endanger his interests and, as for the last, to drive him out of India. His chief folly seems to have been his incapacity to comprehend the relative values of the political factors obtaining at his time. His first great mistake was that he treated his brothers rather a bit too well, and they certainly did not deserve it. This he realized much later in life. The concealed intentions of Bahadur Shah behind his professions of good-will he did not understand, and foolishly allowed a vassal kingdom of his, viz. Mewar to be despoiled by him. Bahadur's religious claim made him blind to the obligation that a sovreign owes to

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his subjects. Consequently he forfeited Rajput sympathy. He never tried to understand its worth, and therefore never attracted the loyalty of the Rajputs. What a great opportunity he neglected, when he was requested by Rāṇī Karṇāvatī to come to her assistance against Bahadur Shah, can be judged in the light of the attitude of Akbar towards the Rajputs. His mad rush through Malwa and Gujrat, only to realize that it availed him nothing in the end has a tragic touch. Then his conflict with the Afghans, led by Sher Shah, who while gradually building up his power had been neglected by Humayun; his defeat at Chausa and Kanauj; his flight into the Punjab and thence to Sind; his invitation to, and retreat from, Jodhpur through a burning sea of sands—all these speak for themselves. He was expelled from India, not merely by the power of the Afghans, but because of his own folly, because of forfeiting the loyalty of the only race that would have been a match for them—the Rajputs. Humayun never suspected the potency of the Rajputs, and trying to fight the Afghans single-handed, he wrecked his empire, his dignity, and reputation. On these wrecks rose the glorious Afghan Empire of Sher Shah. Such is the story of the second phase.

The interval between the second and third phases forms one of the greatest epochs of Indian history. It is full of the brilliant achievements of Sher Shah. War, defence, diplomacy, government, public works, philanthropic institutions—all these inaugurate a new era in India. A highly centralized system of government crowned by a bureaucracy and characterized by full-blooded energy and efficiency mark a radical departure from the accepted methods of Afghan statecraft. New policies, pregnant with political wisdom, foreshadow far-reaching changes in the Muslim polity in India. All unwittingly he builds up a system, that was admirably suited to the political ideals of the Timurids, and this he bequeathed to Akbar, who alone of all the Great Mughals could make the best of it. But even the achievements of Sher Shah were not without a defect. His administrative machinery was not an organism, not a living institution, that could dispense with personality, and therefore it could not survive the shocks of anarchy and disorder that followed Islam Shah's death. Such was the end of the Afghan glory.

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That is where the third phase starts. Humayun recovered his lost throne of Delhi no doubt, but he did not live to recover his lost empire. Hardly had six months passed after his occupation of the throne when he was laid in the grave. He left behind a minor son, surrounded by a swarm of enemies ready to dispute his claim to the throne, a kingdom in Hindustan on which the Mughal hold was highly precarious, an empire which lacked cohesion, a body of nobles who were more ready to promote their own interests rather than their master's, a people whose loyalty he had done nothing to claim. Such was the heritage of Akbar. When he was enthroned at the garden of Kalanaur he actually possessed no kingdom. Kabul had been bestowed on Muhammad Hakim Mirza, then under regency; Punjab was the foot-hold of Sikandar Sur, who still disputed the claim of Akbar to the throne of Delhi; between Delhi and Chunar the country was claimed by Ibrahim Shah Sur, and Muhammad Shah Adil, the latter of whom acted through his capable general Himu and was the *de jure* sovereign of the Afghans. All these had as good a claim as Akbar to the throne of Delhi. He could not turn to Kabul for assistance in his conquest of Hindustan. Fortunately the able guidance of Bairam Khan and his firm loyalty helped to sweep off all these enemies, and Akbar was securely placed on the throne of Hindustan. The second battle of Panipat heralded the real foundation of the Mughal Empire in India. During the following four years of regency, he did accomplish much spade work, and when Akbar took up the reins of government a new era began in the history of Muslim rule in India. Gifted with constructive genius of a very high order, an all-comprehensive intellect, a soaring ambition and personal magnetism, he was a born ruler of men. He could easily grasp the needs of the situation, in which the Mughals in India found themselves. If he had to establish an empire, he realized, he could not adhere to the beaten track of Muslim state-craft in India. There were powerful enemies who were to be exterminated, and diverse peoples whose love and loyalty to be won. In short, he had not only to impose his rule on the peoples of India, but also to enlist their support. That was a very difficult task indeed; for on the one side there were the disgruntled Afghans burning to take revenge; on the other, there were the valiant Rajputs, proud of their past, and zealous of their independence. Sher

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Shah had to a great extent subdued their pride, and therefore left them sullen. They hated the Afghan, for he did not known how to deal best with them; he rubbed them on the wrong side. The unrelieved coercion that Shah Shah employed to curb them had rendered the very name of the Afghan hateful to the Rajputs. There lay the key to the situation, and Akbar spotted it at once. With the eye of a statesman he saw that the uncertainty of the Mughal tenure of power was due to the basic fact that they were foreigners, as against the Afghans, who were the 'children of the soil,' and so long as the Afghans remained to dispute the sovereignty of Hindustan, these Rajputs must be conciliated, and their co-operation must be ensured. Through them alone the Hindu populace could be best placated. Then only the Mughal rule could gain the moral support it lacked; then the Mughal Empire could only be firmly established. A co-ordination of the Mughal diplomacy, the Rajput vigour, and Hindu loyalty, would successfully combat and crush the Afghans, and so long as the latter survived, that co-ordination was an imperative need for the Mughals, for the Mughal position in Hindustan either at the time of Akbar's accession or at the time of Babar and Humayun was essentially weak. The credit of Akbar lies in this fact that he of all the Timurids understood it best, and therefore could devise the best remedy.

Hence towards the Rajputs, he was more than conciliating and their generous nature readily responded to his solicitations. His marriage with the Rajput princesses, his deferential treatment of the Rajputs, his concern to associate them in the administration, in short, his respect for their national susceptibilities opened out their heart to him, and they freely shed their blood for the cause of the Mughal Empire. Akbar's Rajput alliance was only a prelude to his attempts to secure Hindu sympathy and support. That is why we notice a series of regulations issued in reversion of the usual anti-Hindu policy of the Indo-Muslim state. Religious toleration and unstinted recognition of the merit formed the key-note of Akbar's State, and here it is that Akbar's greatness is revealed to the best advantage. But all these were only a means to an end. The funadmental weakness of the Timurid position in Hindustan, the die-hard nature of Afghan opposition, the proud indifference of the Rajputs, and the timid distrust of the Hindus—all

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these were hard realities of a situation, which could be best maintained by a free and full co-operation with the Rajputs and moral support of the bulk of the people, the Hindus. But the great utility of the means should not make us blind to the transcendental ability of the man, who devised the means. Akbar was the real moving spirit, and it was he who put the empire on a firm basis. His extensive conquests, his sound administrative measures, his methods of centralization of power, his institution of a Secretariat, his treatment of the diverse creeds and peoples of the empire—(though here he blundered into persecution of the Muslims)—all these testify to the real greatness of the man. It was he who conquered Malwa from its Afghan ruler; and after depriving the Afghans of all thtir provinces in Hindustan drove out and killed the last powerful Afghan king of Bengal,—Daud. And was it not that Man Singh played an important part in the conquest of Bengal and Orissa? It is indeed difficult to exaggerate the value of the Rajput alliance to the cause of Mughal Empire in India, and it was appreciated so long as there was the Afghan menace. Hence, Jahangir throughout his reign and Shah Jahan for some time followed the policy chalked out by Akbar. But by the time of Shah Jahan, the Afghans had been completely conquered. The last Afghan rebellion, that of Khan Jahan Lodi, was crushed in the second year of Shah Jahan's reign, and since the Mughals did not feel concerned about the Afghans any more, there came about imperceptibly a little stiffness in their relations with the Hindus. In reversion of the former policy Shah Jahan prohibited in 1632 the construction of any new Hindu temple in his empire, and if this was the beginning, Aurangzeb's was the conssummation. The pendulum had swung back; there was no need of co-operation and cajolery. The Hindus must be coerced and persecuted and thus curbed. Aurangzeb's attitude towards the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular was an elaboration of this policy, which was entirely undeserved, and created so great a commotion that at last it ruined the Mughal Empire. Such was the sequel of Akbar's legacies to the Great Mughals.

As it has been hinted at the outset, the greatness of the Mughal rule was due to the winning of the heart of the subjects. That it was so, till the first few years of Shah Jahan's reign, can be safely asserted.

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The Empire was fast expanding, peace and prosperity reigned supreme in the kingdom; liberal patronage of the Emperors fostered the growth of art and literature, trade and industry; religious toleration evoked a spirit of friendship and good-will between the two militant creeds in the empire; and as a cumulative effect of all these, the epoch was marked by the best forms of national self-expression in all the fields of human activities. The moment, however, the real leaven of all this many-sided development began to fail, the greatness and glory of the Mughals began to decline. Perhaps it was not felt during the reign of Shah Jahan, though the losses on the frontier i.e. of Qandahar and Balkh, ultimately proved to be harmful to the best interests of the empire. The real effect was felt during the reign of Aurangzeb, whose offensive anti-Hindu policy and deliberate insult to the Rajputs undermined the strength of the empire. How short-sighted he or his predecessor was in initiating an anti-Hindu policy could be best judged from this single fact that both of them thought that with the extermination of the Afghans and the establishment of the Mughal Empire, all the vexed problems of the Mughal state-craft could be set at rest. They could afford to neglect the Hindus and antagonise the Rajputs, instead of placating the former and allying with the latter. They failed to see that at a time when the empire was rapidly extending, there might arise ever new problems, and they had to be successfully tackled. They forgot to realize that Akbar had introduced a new field for Mughal activities—the conquest of the Deccan, and it was likely to tax the empire and its resources. It was as arduous a task as the conquest of Hindustan. They had to come into conflict with new peoples and new States, and that called for plenty of political sagacity. But unfortunately, the Mughals were blundering in this direction; they were sacrificing the Rajput co-operation and Hindu loyalty to their religious bigotry. Hence in his attempts to conquer the Deccan, Aurangzeb failed. Hindustan was already ablaze when he wanted to conquer the Deccan, and in such a predicament, failure on all sides was only a foregone conclusion. The Mughal Empire was on the verge of disruption, because it failed to find a solution for the problems that were ever arising during the course of its rapid extension. It had outgrown its usefulness when it antagonised

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those, on whose co-operation and sympathy it had rested so far. Its fall was inevitable.

In conclusion, the Mughal conquest of Hindustan was possible because the Mughals enlisted the co-operation of its peoples against their adversaries, the Afghans. When the conquest of Hindustan was complete and they wanted to conqeur India, they did not realize that the co-operation of the peoples of India was also necessary. Indeed, it was necessary in a still greater degree. The Marathas and the Shiah States in the South presented an insuperable barrier to the Mughal ambition because the brave and cunning Marathas inspired by a religious zeal and national spirit were more than a match for the Mughals, and the Muslim Shiah States though comparatively weak, were implacable in their enmity to the Mughals. Aurangzeb had already alienated the friends of the Empire, the Rajputs, and had goaded the Hindus, the Jats and the Sikhs to resist the Mughal authority by his impolitic measures. With Hindustan up in arms, he wanted to conquer the Deccan and determined to accomplish an impossible task. If the Rajput alliance and Hindu loyalty had helped the Mughals to conquer Hindustan, the Maratha co-operation and the Shiah sympathy should have helped them to conquer the Deccan. It would not have been impossible if the Mughals had possessed sufficient political sagacity. But since they did not, they failed to conquer the Deccan, and to conquer India as a whole.

H. N. Sinha

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The Rise of Vijayanagara

One of the many points still left untouched in the history of Southern India is the question of the change in the administration in the Karṇāṭaka in the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The reason, perhaps, is that it is like many a topic of its nature taken for granted, and that, therefore, it needs no further comment. In this paper I intend to discuss the question of the time of the transference of power from one great Hindu royal house to another rising family, in other words, the date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire which received the hegemony over the South from the Hoysalas. The opinion of scholars till now has been in almost all instances to accept without reservation 1336 A.D. or thereabouts as the traditional date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. Thus Sewell remarks, "The City of Vijayanagara is, as already stated, generally supposed to have been founded in the year 1336, and that this date is not far from truth may be gathered from two facts. Firstly, there is extant an inscription of the earliest king Harihara I, or Hariappa, the Haraib of Ibn Batuta, in A.D. 1340. Secondly, the account given by that writer of a raid by Muhammad Tughlaq tallies at all points with the story given at the beginning of the Chronicle of Nuniz, and this raid took place in 1334."[1]

Mr. Lewis Rice, while dealing with the Śṛṅgerī maṭh, writes—"The celebrated scholar Mādhava or Vidyāraṇya (forest of learning), author of the Veda-bhāṣya, who was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagara Empire in 1336, was the head of the establishment at that time. By his aid and advice, Hakka and Bukka, the first and third sons of Saṅgama, succeeded in establishing the new state; and Hakka, the first king assumed the name Harihara. His capital, which occupied a very ancient historical site on the Tuṅgabhadrā, was named Vidyānagara

1 Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 16 (1900 Ed.).

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(City of Learning), after the ministers, but in course of time came to be called Vijayanagara (City of Victory).[2]

The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, whose scholarly articles on the Vijayanagara governors in the *Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India*[3] have proved the basis of investigations for many a scholar, wrote in the first of the series thus:—

"The Hoysala kingdom, which had extended over almost the whole of Southern India about the end of the 13th century, received a severe blow from the invasions of Malik Kafur in A.D. 1310. Ballāla III the then reigning king, was first captured and subsequently released. But in A.D. 1327 Muhammad Tughlaq appears to have made another attempt to annex the Hoysala dominions. The Hoysala power in consequence became much enfeebled, and practically came to a close with the demolition of the capital Dorasamudra by the Muhammadans in that year.[4] Ballāla III is, however, known to have ruled till A.D. 1342-43. In the latter part of his reign, Ballāla changed his capital to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot District. His son, Ballāla IV is known to us from one or two stray records in the Mysore State. It is doubtful if he ever ruled as an independent sovereign. Perhaps the change of capital by Ballāla from Dorasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was due not only to the fear of the Muhammadans, but also to the rising power of his feudatory chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I. It is not ascertained as yet from epigraphical records what definite position these two chiefs held under the Hoysalas; but that they were powerful enough to exercise much influence in the Hoysala kingdom long before they could declare their independence is proved by certain known facts. Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1333 to 1342) speaks of a Muhammadan chief of Honore (Honnavara) on the Western Coast who was subject to 'Haraib' or 'Harīb,' i.e., Hariappa (Harihara I). The fort of the Bādāmi was built by a subordinate of Harihara I in A.D. 1340.[5] Mr.

2 Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (henceforth abbreviated as *EC.*), VI, Intro., p. 23.

3 *Annual Report of Archæology*, 1907-8, p. 235 *seq.*

4 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 509-10.

5 *Indian Antiquary*, X, p. 63.

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Sturrock in his *South Canara Manual*[6] says that by A.D. 1336 the traditional date of the foundation of Vijayanagara the Bhairasu Woḍeyars of the West Coast had been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara, and that a fort had been built at Bārakūru by Harihara. In an inscription assigned by Mr. Rice to about the same period, (Vīra) Bukkaṇṇa Voḍeya (or his son) is represented as attacking a town in the Shimoga district which was within the Hoysala country. The fact that Siṅgeya Daṇḍanāyaka, one of the Hoysala feudatories at Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai, acknowledges the suzerainty of Bakāḷa III in A.D. 1340, but figures as a semi-independent ruler in A.D. 1346-47 also shows that the Hoysala power had declined by that time, and was passing into other hands in the interval. Subsequent to the destruction of Dorasamudra by the Muhammadans, Harihara I and Bukka I, perhaps, began slowly to grow in power, and about A.D. 1340, they had acquired sufficient importance to build forts and attract the notice of foreign travellers, though they were not still in a position to assume the titles of independent sovereignty. In fact, there is strong reason to believe that prior to A.D. 1346 by which time Ballāla had died, there was no attempt made by Harihara and his brothers to declare their independence.[7]

In arguing thus about the political condition in the Karṇāṭaka, Mr. Sastri has arrived at a correct conclusion; but he has brought forward a number of 'facts,' not one of which proves the contention of the learned epigraphist.

Rev. Henry Heras in his *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History* examines the whole question of the famous legend of the Hare, the Hermit, and Harihara. I shall cite the opinion of the Rev. Father in the course of this article.

Before we take up for examination the facts from the epigraphical records which Mr. Sastri has utilised in his survey of the political situation, it is better to note that almost all writers on South Indian history

6 Sturrock, *South Canara Manual* (Madras District Gazetteer Series), I, p. 55.

7 *ASR.*, 1907-8, p. 235 *sq.*

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have confused two things—the building up of the great city called Vijayanagara and the Empire that went by that name.

Mr. Sastri's explanation seems to point to indicate,

(i) that Hoysala Ballāla III's son and successor, Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāla, also known as Ballāla IV did not reign;

(ii) that owing to the Muhammadan invasions, there was confusion in the country resulting in the two chiefs, Harihara I rising to power;

(iii) that these two chiefs 'began slowly to grow in power, and attract the notice of foreign travellers';

(iv) that all the activities of Harihara I tend to prove that during the Hoysala times, in the days of Ballāla III himself, that chieftain had already made clear his intention of setting up his own standard;

(v) but that Harihara and Bukka did not assume the titles of independent rulers till the year 1346 A.D.[8]

Reduced to the minimum, the proposition stands thus:—That in the life-time of Ballāla III and certainly in that of his son, Ballāla IV, Harihara and Bukka had laid the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

The Rev. Heras, however, is of opinion[9] that the evidence of Ibn Batuta or the fact of the forts having been built at Bārakūru and Bādāmi by Harihara, cannot be taken as conclusive in proving the rise of the new power in the days of the last two Hoysala rulers. He comments on the facts which Mr. Sastri has understood to mean the anti-Hoysala activities of Harihara, thus—'These isolated instances of the activities of Harihara prove that the unity in ideals and plans that existed between Harihara and his paramount lord was the defence of the northern frontier against the Muhammadans.'[10]

But in maintaining this, the Rev. Heras has based his remarks

8 Dr. Venkata Ramanayya has brought forward another set of arguments to reach the same conclusion. *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 32-33 *passim*. These have been examined by me in a separate connection.

9 *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

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on the supposition that 'it was most likely at this time, in the period running from 1330 to 1340—the traditional date of the foundation of Vijayanagara, 1335-6 being between these two dates that Harihara I was enthroned at Vijayanagara by the old Hoysala monarch as his own Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in the north.'[11] The assumption implied herein is that there was Vijayanagara between 1330 and 1340 A.D. This is, however, modified at the end of the book where it is stated that 'Bukka is the real founder of Vijayanagara, south of the Tuṅgabhadrā.'[12]

The question may be resolved in the following two parts:—

(1) There was no city of Vijayanagara between 1336 and 1340 A.D., and

(2) that Harihara I did not assume independence before the year 1346 A.D.

The first part has been dealt with in the *Beginnings*, and, therefore, will not be treated here. In the same work the Rev. Heras has shown that we cannot countenance the belief of Mr. Sastri that between the years 1336 and 1340 A.D. Harihara was engaged in activities to the detriment of the Hoysala kings, Ballāla III and Ballāla IV.[13] I am concerned with the second part, viz., the date of the independent rule of Harihara. Since the above points reject the accepted theory of the traditional foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A.D. by Harihara, it is imperative that we should examine carefully the evidence before us which has been most unfortunately interpreted in all quarters in a strange light. This will, of course, make us cover the same ground which Mr. Sastri traversed, and review once again the whole situation.

The assumption that Ballāla IV did not rule is incorrect. This is proved by the following inscription recording a grant that is signed by the King's own hands' (Ā devarugaḷa sahastada oppa):

"(The usual titles) Pratāpa Cakravartti, Hoyisaṇa Bhujaballa Śrī Vīra Ballāḷa-Devarasara Kumāra Śrī Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāḷa Devarasaru Śrīmanu Mahā-pradhānaṃ Pāḍiya Somaya Doṇṇāyakara-makkaḷu Ballapa Daṇṇāyakaru yī Kaliyugada 1265 varusa Śvabhānu

11 *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 67.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 90 *passim*.

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Saṃvatsarada Śrāvaṇa-ba 5 Śukravārad andu Śrī Hoṛavale nāḍiṅge-mukhyar appa Halasubāḷa-gavuḍaya Bommagauḍana maga Javani-gauḍan aḷiya Bomma-gauḍara maga Chikka-Bomma-Gauḍa Muda-gauḍana-maga Naga-gauḍa Bocha-gauḍana maga Būva-gauḍa Baire-gauḍanamaga Bomma-gauḍan-oḷagāda Halli-Hiriyūra gavuḍu-gaḷige Śri Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāla Devarasaru (?) ā-Ballappa-Daṇṇāyakaru Śrī-Vīra-Virupākṣa-Ballāla-Devaravarige paṭṭavādalli ā-Devarugala Karu-nisi ā Halasu-bāḷa-halli-Hire-ura-gauḍa-gaḷige Koṭṭa-śāsanada Krama-vent-endaḍe," etc. (here follow details of the grant).[14]

The grant records that when "Ballappa Daṇṇāyaka (on the date specified: August 11th, A.D. 1343?)[15] on Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāla Deva obtaining the crown, by the favour of the king, a śāsana was granted to the farmers (many named) of Halli-Hiriyuru in Halasubāḷa, belonging to Horavala-nāḍu as follows:—for those farmers there is no(?) forcible seizure, and no (?) tax on livelihood, to continue to children's children, and children of slaves, as long as the earth and the moon endure. Usual imprecations. Signed by the King's own hand Śrī Vajreśvara-Devaru written by Gopācārya."

The following observations may be made on this grant:—Firstly, that it is not a royal grant in the sense that it has not at its end the usual signature of the Hoysalas. The name "Śrī Vajreśvara-devaru is in itself sufficient to disprove that Ballāla IV reigned, since it is not equivalent to the Hoysala sign-manual "Maleparol-gaṇḍa."[16] Secondly, this inscription is defective because "Kaliyugada" has been wrongly substituted for "Śaka-varusada."[17]

Admitting such defects in the inscriptions, nevertheless there remains the fact that the coronation of the king is definitely mentioned in it; and that consequently on the death of Ballāla III in the battle of Trichinopoly in 1324 A.D.,[18] Vīra Virupākṣa Ballāla I, whose

14 *EC.*, VI, Cm. 105., p. 49-50, (Trans.); p. 202, (Text).

15 The week-day does not correspond. Swami Kannu Pillai, *The Indian Ephemeris*, IV, p. 289.

16 But it may be that the Hoysalas till the very end were under the influence of the Śaiva teachers. Vajreśvara and Somanātha were the gods in whose presence Narasiṃha in Ś. 1148 made grants. 280 of 1925.

17 Rice, *EC.*, VI, p. 202, note 4.

18 Which Rice seems to have read as battle of Beribi, *EC.*, VI, Intro. p. 18

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"Yuvarājābhiṣeka' ceremony Ballāla III himself had performed in 1340 A.D.,[19] became king over Hoysala nāḍu in 1342-3 A.D. The fact of his having ruled is evident from another inscription which runs thus:—

"Vyaya-saṃvatsarada Vaiśākha-Su. Betyavāradalu Śrīmatu Jiñjaṇṇa-nāyakara-makkalu Jakkaṇṇa-nāyakaravaru Ballāla-rāyana Kala dalli Kāṭṭu-nāyakaravara Jadda pura vanu Pātāḷa bhoji-Voḍeyara-makalu Siddayāji-voḍeya rige Kāṭṭa-mallikārjuna-rāyapurakke saluva chatus-sīme-voḷitāgi Koṭṭarn yī purakka ārū-valipidaru Gaṅgeya tīra-dalli Kappuleya Konda-pāpakke hoharu etc."[20]

The Ballāla referred to in the above inscription can only be Ballāla IV, since the engraver would, if it belonged to the reign of Ballāla III, have used the well-known "Vīra Ballāla," the popular name of the last but one Hoysala ruler. The inscription is to be understood, not as a proof of Ballāla IV reigning as a monarch in the cyclic year *Vyaya* in which it is dated, but as an evidence of his recent death. This can be inferred from the phrases used in connection with the king and the different persons in the inscription. The king is spoken of in the singular "Ā Ballāla-rāyana Kāladalli"; while the different persons are given in the plural "Jakkaṇṇa-nāyakaravaru," "Kāṭṭu-nāyakaravara," "Siddaya-jī-voḍeyarige." It is highly doubtful if the Karṇāṭaka people, amongst whom the difference between the modes of address used in connection with persons of rank and the others is so marked, would, had Ballāla IV been alive when the grant was made, have given the singular only for the king and the plural for the rest. It is not denied that the plural is used in one instance in connection with the sons of Jiṅgaṇṇa; but it may be remembered that the Nāyaka himself is spoken of in the most respectful terms. Further, it is not denied too that the singular form for the king and the plural for the donee were not used in Vijayanagara times. Thus we have the famous reconciliation between the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas in 1368 A.D., when the king is styled—"Śrī Vīra-Bukka-rāyanu pṛthvi-rājyava-māḍuva-

but which, as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar rightly suggests, should be Tiruchchirapally. *QJMS.*, XI, p. 22, note.

19 *EC.*, IX. Bn. 111, p. 40.

20 *EC.*, IX. Bn. 120, p. 44.

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kāladalli."[21] This may be explained by saying that in 1368 A.D. the question of reconciliation between two powerful sections of the Hindu community was more important for the well-being of the Hindu kingdom, which had then recently come into power, than the mentioning of the king in the usual high sounding though appropriate terms. But what concerns us is that whereas in 1343 A.D. Ballāla IV was given the proper status of a king in the words "Śrī Virupākṣa Ballāla-Devarasaru," and Śrī Vīra- Virupākṣa Ballāla-Devarige",[22] the same monarch, had he been living when the grant was made by Jiṅgaṇṇa's sons, would not have been called merely "Ballāla rāyanu." Moreover, the surmise gathered from the above inscription about the death of Ballāla IV, whose reign, as we said, commenced in A.D. 1343, agrees very well with an important announcement by the next ruler Harihara,—in other words, with the date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

(*To be continued*)

B. A. SALETORE

21 *EC.*, II, no. 344, p. 145 (2nd ed.).
22 *EC.*, IV, Gm. 105, *loc. cit.*

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The Earliest Extant Account of Sher Shah

In the bibliography appended at the end of his critical study of the life of Shēr Shah, Mr. Kalikaranjan Qanungo divides the writers on Sher Shah's reign into two classes, the Afghan and the non-Afghan, and includes within the latter the Mughal and European writers on the subject. The Hindi and Rājasthānī writers thus seem to have been either totally neglected, or so scantily used as not to deserve any mention in the course of the narrative, or the bibliography. But had the learned writer gone to the Hindi writings on the subject, he would have found there an account much earlier than that of Abbās Sarwānī (the earliest writer on the reign of Sher Shah known to Mr. Qanungo who wrote his book the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* 40 years after Sher Shah's death). Mālik Muhammad Jāyasī, to whose account I refer, was a contemporary of Sher Shah, and began writing the *Padmāvat*, in 947 Hijri year, that is, about 1540 A.D. when Sher Shah was ruling at Delhi. His description of the Sur emperor, though over-laudatory, is strikingly true in certain particulars, and is corroborated by the evidence of well-known historians like Abbās and Nizāmuddīn who at times repeat the exact sense of some of the statements made by the Hindi pact. As the record is of some value as the earliest account of Sher Shah by one who was not a courtier or court-poet cringing for royal favours, but a saintly *faqir* living far away from the court and recording his honest impressions, I give below a translation of that portion of the *Padmāvat*, which deals with Sher Shah.

Transl. Sher Shah is the Sultan of Delhi. Like the sun he pervades four quarters with his glory. The umbrella and the throne add to his majesty. All kings bow down their heads on the ground before him. He is a Śur by caste, and so is he *śūra* (brave) in using the sword. He is wise and endowed with all good qualities. He made the warriors of the nine regions pay homage to himself.

The seven isles and all the world submitted to him. With his sword he conquered as much territory as was done by Alexander, the Conqueror of the east and the west. In his hand is the ring of Solomon, (hence) he has been profuse in his charities to the world. Bringing

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the earth to an equipoise with his weight (greatness), this great and powerful king takes care of all the creation.[1]

Muhammad gives the blessing, 'May you rule for many *yugas*. You are the emperor of the world, and the world stands indebted to you.'

I give a description of the Sur King, the lord of the land, the weight of whose paraphernalia cannot be borne by the earth. When his cavalry, infantry and elephants march filling the world, mountains are reduced to sands and fly into air; assuming the form of night, the sands envelope the sun, and human beings and birds return home to have rest; the earth flying into the sky gives it a muddy colour; the world and the Universe get broken into pieces; the sky quakes, Indra trembles with fear, and Vāsuki going to the nether world clings to it; Meru sinks down into the ground, the sea is dried, and woods crumble into dust; men in the front divide water among themselves, and those left behind cannot have even mud.

When Sher Shah, the foremost warrior of the world, marches against some one, the forts which never submitted to any one are turned into powder the very moment he begins his march.

As regards his justice on this earth, I say that none gives pain even to a creeping ant. Even Nausherwan who has been described as a great judge could not equal Sher Shah in giving right decisions. When he dispenses justice like Umar, all the world looks up with admiration and praises him. None has the courage to touch even a nose-ring lying (without its mistress); people scatter gold along the road,[2] the cow and the lion move by one path, and the two drink water at one place.

In his *darbar* he distinguishes between water and milk, and separates the one from the other. His justice is in accordance with law, his statements are true, and the weak and the strong are given equal

1 औ अति गरु भूमिपति भारी, टेकि भूमि सब सिहिटि सम्भारी ॥

A comparison seems to have been drawn between an avatāra of Viṣṇu, Varāha, Kacchapa, or Kṛṣṇa and Sher Shah.

2 Cf. the following extract from *Nizāmuddīn's Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* quoted by Mr. Qanungo "Such was the state of safety of highways that if any one carried a purse full of gold (pieces) and slept in the desert (i.e. deserted place) for nights, there was no need for keeping watch."

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consideration by him.[3] Folding its hands, all the world bows down to the ground, and prays that the emperor may live as long as there is water in the Ganges and the Jamuna.

Folding its hands, all the world bows down to the ground, and prays that the emperor may live as long as there is water in the Ganges and the Jamuna.

Again how am I to describe the beauty of his form. When he goes out, all the world gazes at his face. Even the moon of the 14th lunar day created by God is surpassed in splendour by his beauty. On seeing him, sin departs, and the bowing world showers blessings on him. Like the sun he sheds his lustre over the world, and overpowers the beauty of everything else. So glorious is this Sur king that his glory is ten times that of *sūra* (the sun). One cannot look him full in he face. Those who do that are obliged to bow down their heads. Day by day he increases in beauty. God had made him far more handsome than the rest of the world.

He has a shining jewel on his forehead. The moon is inferior, and he superior. The world eager to see him stands on one side and sings his praises.

Further, God has made him extremely liberal. None has given so much in charity as he.[4] Bali and Vikrama have been said to be very charitable, and Hatim and Karṇa were very generous. But even these could not satisfy the suitors to the same extent as Sher Shah who has Meru and the ocean as his treasures. In the *darbar* is sounded the drum of his charity, and the fame thereof goes across the seas. Coming into contact with Sher Shah, the world has been transformed into gold,[5] and poverty fleeing thence has gone to other countries. One who went and asked for even one boon was never without food or clothes throughout one's life. Even a performer of ten *aśvamedha* sacrifices did not equal him in merit and liberality.

Such a great giver of gifts is Sher Shah born in this world that there neither was, nor will one be like him, nor does any one now equal him in dispensing charity.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

3 Cf. "He always ascertained the exact truth regarding the oppressed and the suitors for justice; and he never favoured the oppressors, although they might be his near relations, his dear sons, his renowned nobles, or of his own tribe."

Abbās in *Elliot*, iv, 411, quoted by Mr. Qanungo in *Sher Shah*, iv. 408.

4 Cf. 'He fixed a daily payment of 500 *tolchas* of gold upon the poor-house, and night and day he was considerate to the needy. He settled allowances upon the helpless of every place, village and city.'

The Waqiāt-i-Mushtaqī, *Elliot*, iv, 549. Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, p. 407.

5 i.e., becomes rich.

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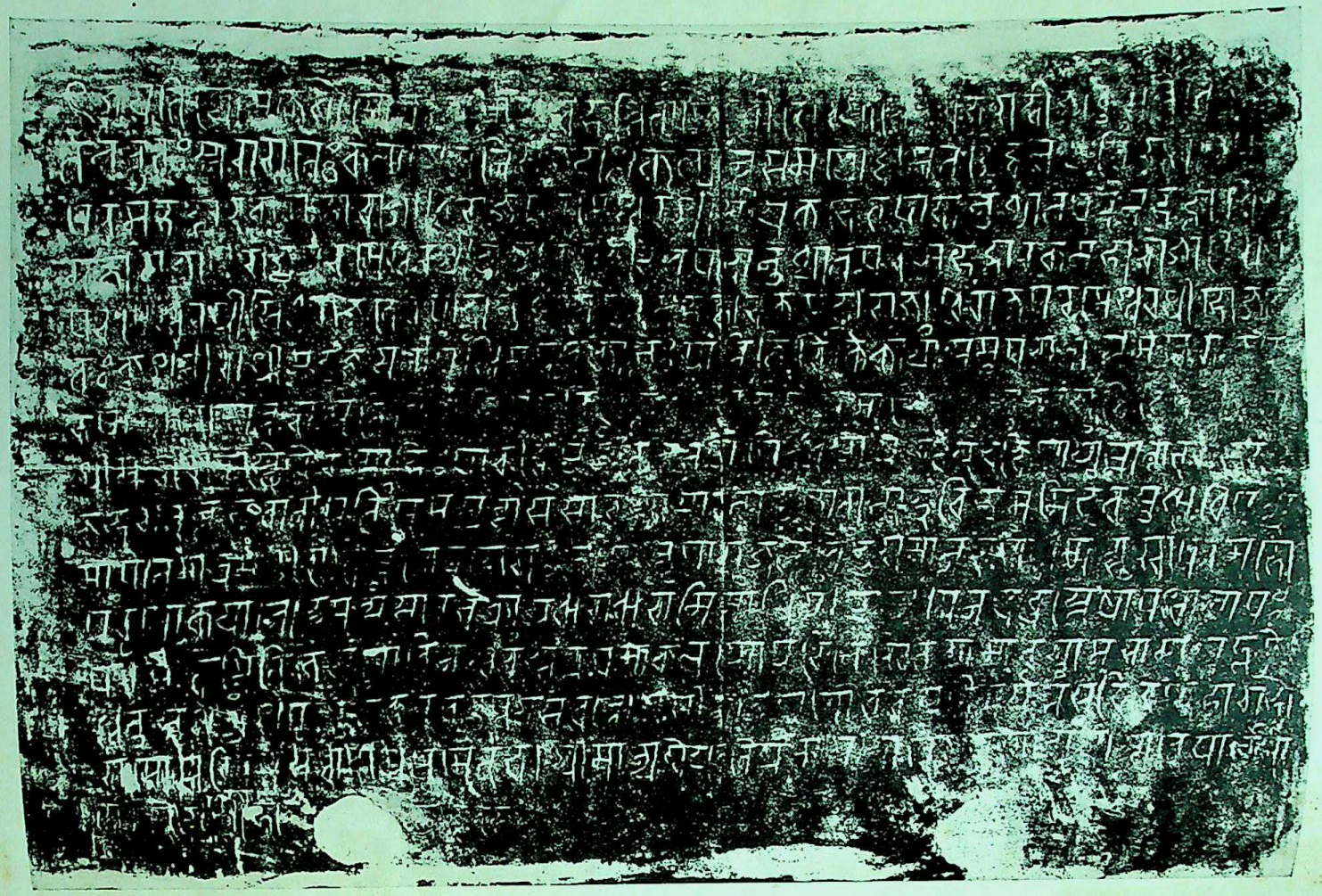
INDORE MUSEUM PLATES OF BHOJADEVA—FIRST PLATE



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New Plates of king Bhoja in the Indore Museum [Vikrama] Saṃvat 1079

The name of the celebrated Paramāra king Bhoja of Dhārā is very popular not only in Mālwā but throughout India. His liberal patronage of art and letters is well known to scholars and laymen alike. While describing the munificent gifts of this king a Sanskrit poet has remarked that copper had become rare in his kingdom on account of its extensive use for royal charters[1] (inscribed on copper-plates). Though the statement is an exaggeration, it goes to prove that the number of title deeds on copper-plates issued during the reign of Bhojadeva I[2] must have been pretty large. But the epigraphist's experience has been contrary to his expectation. So far only three grants of this king have been discovered. Several years ago a copper plate of V.S. 1078[3] (Caitra, Śudi. 14) was discovered at Ujjain and another of V.S. 1076[4] (Māgha, Śudi. 5) at Bānswārā (Bānswārā State, Rajputana). The latter grant is now in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. About seven years ago a third copper-plate grant of this king dated V.S. 1076[5] (Bhādrapada, Śudi. 15) was unearthed by a peasant while ploughing his field near Beṭmā, a village in the Depālpur Parganā of the Indore State, Central India. These plates are now preserved in the Indore Museum. The copper-plate grant dealt with in the following lines is thus the fourth[6] known record of Bhoja's reign.

1 अस्य श्रीभोजराजस्य द्वयमेव सुदुर्लभम्।
शत्रूणां शृंखलैर्लोहं ताम्रं शासनपत्रकैः॥

Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra (sixth edition), p. 121.

2 For the history of the reign of Bhojadeva, *vide* Luard: *The Dhar State Gazetteer*, pp. 140-54.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 53.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 201; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 320-25.

6 The Tilakvada plates of V.S. 1103, published by the late Mr. Kudalkar (*Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona*, vol. II, pp. 319-26) also belong to the reign of Bhojadeva I. They record much praise of king Bhoja, but we are to note that this grant was issued not by Bhojadeva himself, but one Surāditya, son of Yaśorāja, who was probably a feudatory of this Bhoja. Some years ago a grant of Yaśovarman, a subordinate of Bhoja, was discovered from Kalyan in the Nasik district. Referring to Bhoja it records that

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On the 23rd March, 1931 I had been on tour to Depālpur, twenty-four miles to the north-west of Indore and situated at 22° 51′ N. latitude and 75° 37′ E. longitude. This ancient town[7] was founded by the Paramāra king Devapāla (1216-40 A.D.), whose name is associated with a very large lake there, known as Depālasāgara. In view of the antiquity of this town I expected some old records of the Paramāras there. Accordingly on enquiry I was informed that Kishore Singh Kanungo of the place had in his possession an old copper-plate inscription which could not be deciphered by any one in the village as also by certain State officials who had previously examined it. The statement convinced me of the antiquity of the charter. On examination I found that it was the fourth copper-plate grant of the reign of the illustrious Rājā Bhoja. This grant has subsequently been purchased from the owner for the Indore Museum.

The grant is incised on two plates of copper held together by two copper rings each 3/8″ thick and 2¼″ in diameter. The plates measure 13″ by 9″ and weigh 7¼ pounds. The size of letters varies from $\frac{5}{16}$ to ½″. The characters of the second plate are more neatly and carefully incised than those of the first which is partly worn out; yet its letters can be deciphered with effort. There is a margin of about an inch to the left of the inscribed portion. The left corner in the lower half of the second plate bears within a rectangular border a flying figure of Garuḍa which is usually met with in the grants of the Paramāras. The sign manual of Bhojadeva is affixed at the end of either plate. The characters of the sign manual, in ll. 15 and 30 differ slightly from those of the body of the grant. We are to take note of the fact that none of the known plates of this king gives the name of the writer of the grant as also the messenger (*dūta*) who carried the royal charter to the town or village where the land was granted.

he conquered Karṇāṭ, Lāṭa, Gurjarāṭ, Cedi and Koṅkaṇa. Though the date of the inscription is not furnished by the plates, according to the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, it might have fallen before 1056 A.D. (*Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1921-22, pp. 118-19). Besides the plates referred to above, another record of the illustrious Rājā Bhoja dated saṃvat 1091 (1034-35 A.D.) is engraved on an image of Sarasvatī which has found its way to the British Museum, London.

7 For the antiquarian remains at Depālpur *vide The Indore State Gazetteer* (revised and enlarged, 1931), Vol. II, p. 13.

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This grant is composed in Sanskrit prose and poetry; but at some places we come across corrupt forms used in local pronunciation, e.g. जस for यश and शाशन for शासन in जसोभिवृद्धये (l. 17), ०जसस्कराणि (l. 22) and शाशनेनोदक०[8] (l. 18). The alphabet is Nāgarī of the 11th century A.D. prevalent in Mālwā, as known to us from the other records of this period e.g., the Bānswārā and Beṭmā (now Indore Museum) grants of the same king. In calligraphy the grants of Bhojadeva do not compare favourably with the excellent writing of other Paramāra inscriptions. As compared to the Beṭmā plates this grant bears somewhat crude and careless writing.

Orthographically we are to note that the consonant व is expressed by व throughout, e.g., in वुध्वा (ll. 20, 28), सलिलवुद्वुद० (l. 24), ०दलावुविंदु० (l. 27), etc. In some places स is wrongly replaced by श and *vice versa*, viz., शाशनेनो० (l. 18), सिरसा (l. 1), ०मनिसं (l. 2), परयसः (l. 24) etc. Similarly य is substituted by ज in पुण्यजसो० (l. 17) and ०जसस्कराणि (l. 22). A consonant following र् is generally doubled e.g., in सग्गाय (l. 1), धर्म्म० (ll. 10, 20, 22 and 26), आत्रेयार्च्चना० (l. 14), समभ्यच्च्र्य (l. 9), चंद्रार्क्कार्ण्णव० (l. 17), निर्म्माल्यवान्ति० (l. 22) etc. Redundant use of *anusvāra* and *visarga* is met with in दृष्ट्वां (l. 9) and भूमेःश्च (l. 12-13) respectively. The writer prefers *anusvāra* to म्, as we find it used even at the end of a verse or a sentence e.g., in जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिं (l. 1) समुपनेतव्यं (l. 19) and फलं (l. 21).

The *pṛṣṭhamātṛkīs* have been used indiscriminately. The letter कृ is written imperfectly e.g., in जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिं (l. 1) and ०फलमंगीकृत्य (l. 17). In conjunct ग्ग the second letter is indicated by a stroke turned to the left of the line with

8 At present too we find the word जस often used for यश in names like जसवंतसिंह जसवंतराव etc. In Rajputana शासन is corruptly pronounced as शाशन, शाशण and सासण. In the following old couplet in praise of the munificent gifts of Maharana Jagatsiṃha I (V.S. 1685-1709) of Mewar we notice the use of सासण:—

सिंधुर दीधा सातसै, हयवर पाँच हजार।
एकावन सासण दिया, जगपत जगदातार॥

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a loop or without it. To a layman it would naturally appear to be ग्न or ग्र. But in such forms we are to take the stroke to the left coupled with the portion of the vertical line below it as representing the consonant ग, which bears close resemblance to the Brāhmī ग of very ancient inscriptions.[9] सग्गाय (l. 1) is an example of it. In fact there is no distinction in the shape of व, ब and ध (e.g., वुध्वा, ll. 20, 28). In the ligature भ्र the second member is expressed by the full letter added below the first consonant and not by a stroke to the left as we generally find, e.g., in वाताभ्रविभ्रम० (l. 9).

Among the numeral signs used for the Saṃvat (1079) in l. 29, all agree with the modern Devanāgarī numerals except the figure 7, which would be misconstrued for 3 of Nāgarī on account of the close resemblance between the two. That the third figure in the Saṃvat represents 7 and not 3 is proved by the use of an exactly similar form for 7 in the Kūrmaśataka of king Bhoja.[10] For chronological reasons too it must be taken to represent 7, otherwise the date of the grant would be V.S. 1039, which is quite impossible, as Bhojadeva actually ascended the throne about twenty-eight years hence, a fact which goes against the possibility of the issue of this grant by him.

The genealogical portion of the grant teaches us nothing new, as it agrees literally with the text of the Ujjain, Bānswārā and Beṭmā plates. The only noteworthy difference is in regard to the occasion of making the grant. Herein we do not find mention of any *parvan* (as in other plates of Bhojadeva)[11] or some other special occasion for granting the land. We are simply informed that property in land was granted to a certain Brāhmaṇa by Bhojadeva after he "had taken his bath in the expiation-fee (in the form of a river) for the

9 For details on this point see *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* (Hindi), new series, vol. XII, pp. 9-10, where I have discussed it in editing a long Sanskrit inscription in the Indore Museum.

10 Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha's *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā* (second edition), pl. lxxvi.

11 खावुदगयनपर्व्वणि—Ujjain plates, l. 9.

कोंकणविजयपर्व्वणि—Bānswāra plates, l. 10..

कोंकणग्रहणविजयपर्व्वणि—Beṭmā (now Indore Museum) plates, l. 15.

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slaughter of animals for the purpose of feeding the learned *vipras*". The use of स्नात्वा after पारद्वि(गवि)प्रभृतिकृतप्राणिवधप्रायश्चित्तदक्षिणायां positively suggests the existence of a certain river, after bathing in the holy water of which, Bhojadeva granted the piece of land specified in the plates. The identity of that river can be ascertained only after a close perusal of the literal sense of "परद्वि...दक्षिणायां" referred to above. I find in this phrase there is an indirect reference to the river Chambal (Skt. Carmaṇvatī), the legend of the origin of which concurs with the reference herein made. In very ancient times king Rantideva of lunar race was, according to the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, very famous for his charitable acts and munificent gifts. In the Mahābhārata it is stated that two hundred thousand cooks were employed in his royal kitchen where innumerable animals were slaughtered every day in order to distribute doles to Brāhmaṇas, guests and mendicants. In course of time a river of blood from the skins of slaughtered animals flowed from his kitchen; and it thereby came to be known as Carmaṇvatī,[12] a name which was later on corrupted into the modern Chambal. It appears that the scholar who drew up this title deed was anxious to display his pedantic skill by alluding to the Chambal through a round about reference to the origin of this sacred river. A similar attempt at an indirect reference to the same river has been made in a more explicit manner by the celebrated Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* wherein the Yakṣa at Rāmagiri, while addressing the cloud messenger, points out to the latter the way to Alakā in the course of which he should, on proceeding beyond Devagiri (in Mālwā), "rest awhile to do honour to the glory of Rantideva sprung from his slaughter of daughters of Surabhi

12 सांकृतिं रन्तिदेवं च मृतं सृंजय शुश्रुम।
यस्य द्विशतसाहस्रा आसन्सूदा महात्मनः ॥ १ ॥
गृहानभ्यागतान्विप्रानतिथीन्परिवेषकाः।
पक्वापक्वं दिवारात्रं वरान्नममृतोपमम् ॥ २ ॥
उपस्थिताश्च पशवः स्वयं यं शंसितव्रतम्।
बहवः स्वर्गमिच्छंतो विधिवत्सत्रयाजिनम् ॥ ४ ॥
नदी महानसाद्यस्य प्रवृत्ता चर्मराशितः :
तस्माच्चर्मण्वती पूर्वमग्निहोत्रेऽभवत्पुरा ॥ ५ ॥

Mbh., Droṇaparvan, chapter 67.

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(e.g., cows) and appearing on earth in the form of a river".[13] In this connection we should also take note of the fact that the village of Kirikaikā (modern Karkī in the Depālpur Parganā, Indore State), where the land was granted, is situated on the Chambal. Thus it evidently confirms the view that king Bhoja granted the land in Karkī only on the occasion of taking his bath in the waters of the Chambal. This river of ancient fame is regarded very sacred in Mālwā down to the present day.

The grantee in the present inscription is a Brāhmaṇa, rich with Vedic studies, named Vacchala, son of Bhaṭṭa Sośvara of the Ātreya-*gotra* with the three *pravaras* Ātreya, Ārcanānasa and S(Ś)yāvāśva and of the Bahvṛca-śākhā. He hailed from Mānyakheṭa.

The property granted to the Brāhmaṇa consisted of thirty-four *aṃśas*[14] of level ground from the ordinary land near Kirikaikā, a village in the western district of Ujjain.

In respect of the identification of the localities mentioned in the grant it may be said that Dhārā is undoubtedly the famous capital of Rājā Bhoja which is identical with the modern Dhār (22° 36′ N. latitude and 75° 19′ E. longitude), the capital of the Dhār State in Central India. Ujjaya(yi)nī is no doubt the Ujjain of modern times in the Gwalior State. Kirikaikā, as stated above, is the village of Karkī (Depālpur Parganā) on the Chambal about six miles from the town of Depālpur. It is nearly forty miles to the south-west of Ujjain. We may, therefore, assume that during the reign of Bhoja-deva this village was included in the western district of the province of Ujjayinī. Mānyakheṭa is identical with the modern Mālkheḍ in the Nizam's dominions.

The inscription is dated the 14th day of the bright half of the month of Caitra in the (Vikrama) year 1079 corresponding to the 19th March 1022 A.D. according to the Caitrādi reckoning. It is thus the latest of the extant plates of Bhojadeva.

13 व्यालंवेथाः सुरभितनयालम्भजां मानयिष्यन्।
स्रोतोमूर्त्या भुवि परिणतां रन्तिदेवस्य कीर्तिम्॥

Meghadūta, Pūrvamegha, 47.

14 In ancient copper-plate inscriptions, we notice the use of अंश and वंटक as synonyms (अंशभागौ तु वंटके *Amarakośa*, II, v. 39) to denote 'share'. It appears that the proceeds of the village were divided into a number of shares of which thirty-four could be obtained by the grantee from the produce of the land granted to him. For वंटक vide *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 106.

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TEXT[15]

FIRST PLATE

1 ओं[16] [॥] जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गाय विभर्त्ति[17] तां ।
एंदवीं सिरसा[18] लेखां [19]जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिं[20] ॥ [१॥]

2 तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिसं[21] जटाः ।
कल्पांतसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगला ॥ [२॥]

3 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानु-
ध्यातपरमभट्टारक-

4 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पति[22]राजदेवपादानुध्यात-
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

5 परमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदे-

6 वः कुशली ॥ श्रीमदुज्जय[23]नीपश्चिमपथकान्तःपातिकिरि-
कैकायां समुपगतान्समस्तराजपु-

7 रुषान्ब्राह्मणे[24]त्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्ट[25]किलजनपदादींश्च समा-
दिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं ॥ यथा

8 श्रीमद्धारावस्थितैरस्माभिः पारद्वि[26]प्रभृतिकृतप्राणिवधप्राय-
श्चित्तदक्षिणायां स्नात्वा चराचरगु-

15 From the original plates.

16 Expressed by a symbol.

17 Read बिभर्ति .

18 Read शिरसा .

19 Read जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिम् .

20 *Anuṣṭubh* metre. in vv. 1-2.

21 Read ०मनिशं .

22 The left hand portion of the letter *ka* is expressed here only by a point separated from the body of the letter. *Cf.* similar forms in ll. 5 and 4 of the Bānswārā and Beṭmā grants respectively.

23 Read ०दुज्जयिनी .

24 Read ०ब्राह्मणोत्तरा०.

25 The modern word *patel* is evidently a corrupted form of Skt. *pattakila*, which, in accordance with 'कगचजतदपयवां प्रायोलोपः' of Prakrit grammar (Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, chapter II, *sūtra* 2) पट्टइल which is further changed to पट्टेल (which has been reduced to the simple form of पटेल) by आद्गुणः (6/1/87) of Pāṇini's grammar.

26 I would like to read it पारगविप्र० which gives the proper meaning.

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9 रुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्च्य संसारस्यासारतां
दृष्टां[27] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्य-
10 मापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः [।] प्राणारस्तृणाग्र-
जलविंदु[28]समा नराणां धर्म्मस्सखा परमहो
11 परलोकयाने[29] । [।३ ।।] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां[30] श्रियं ।
प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः
12 परं फलमि (म् ।। ४ ।।इ)ति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमा-
कलय्योपरिलिखितग्रामात् ग्रामसामान्यभूमेः-[31]
13 श्चतुस्तृं[32]शत्यंशप्र[33][स्थ]कं हलचतुष्टयसंवत्तो[34] स्वसीमातृण-
गोचरयूतिपर्यन्तं सहिरण्यभागभो-
14 गं सोपरिकरं सर्व्वादायसमेतं च । श्रीमान्यखेटविनि-
र्गताय । आत्रेयसगोत्राय । आत्रेयार्च्चना-
15 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [।]

SECOND PLATE

16 नस[35]स्यावाश्वेतित्रिःप्रवराय ।[36] वह्वृचशाखाय ।[37] भट्टसोश्वर-
सुतब्राह्मण[38]वच्छलाय । श्रुताध्यय-
17 नसंपन्नाय ।। (।) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यजसोभिवृद्धये[39]
अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य [40]चद्रार्क्कार्णवक्षिति-
18 समकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शाशनेनोदकपूर्व्वं[41] प्रतिपादि-
तमिति मत्वा यथा दीयमानभागभोगक-
19 रहिरण्यादिकं देव[42]ब्राह्मणभुक्तिवर्ज्जमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा

27 Read दृष्टा .
28 Read ०बिंदुसमा .
29 Metre *Vasantatilakā.*
30 Metre *Anuṣṭubh.*
31 *Visarga* should be omitted.
32 Read श्चतुस्त्रिंशत्यंश० .
33 *Prastha* denotes a measure (of land also in rare cases), but here it would be better to take it as signifying level ground.
34 Read ०संवृत्तं.
35 Read ०श्यावाश्वेति०.
36 Read ०त्रिप्रवराय .
37 Read बह्वृच.०
38 Read ०ब्राह्मण०.
39 Read पुण्ययशो०.
40 Read चंद्रार्क्का०.
41 Read शासनेनो०.
42 Read ०ब्राह्मण०.

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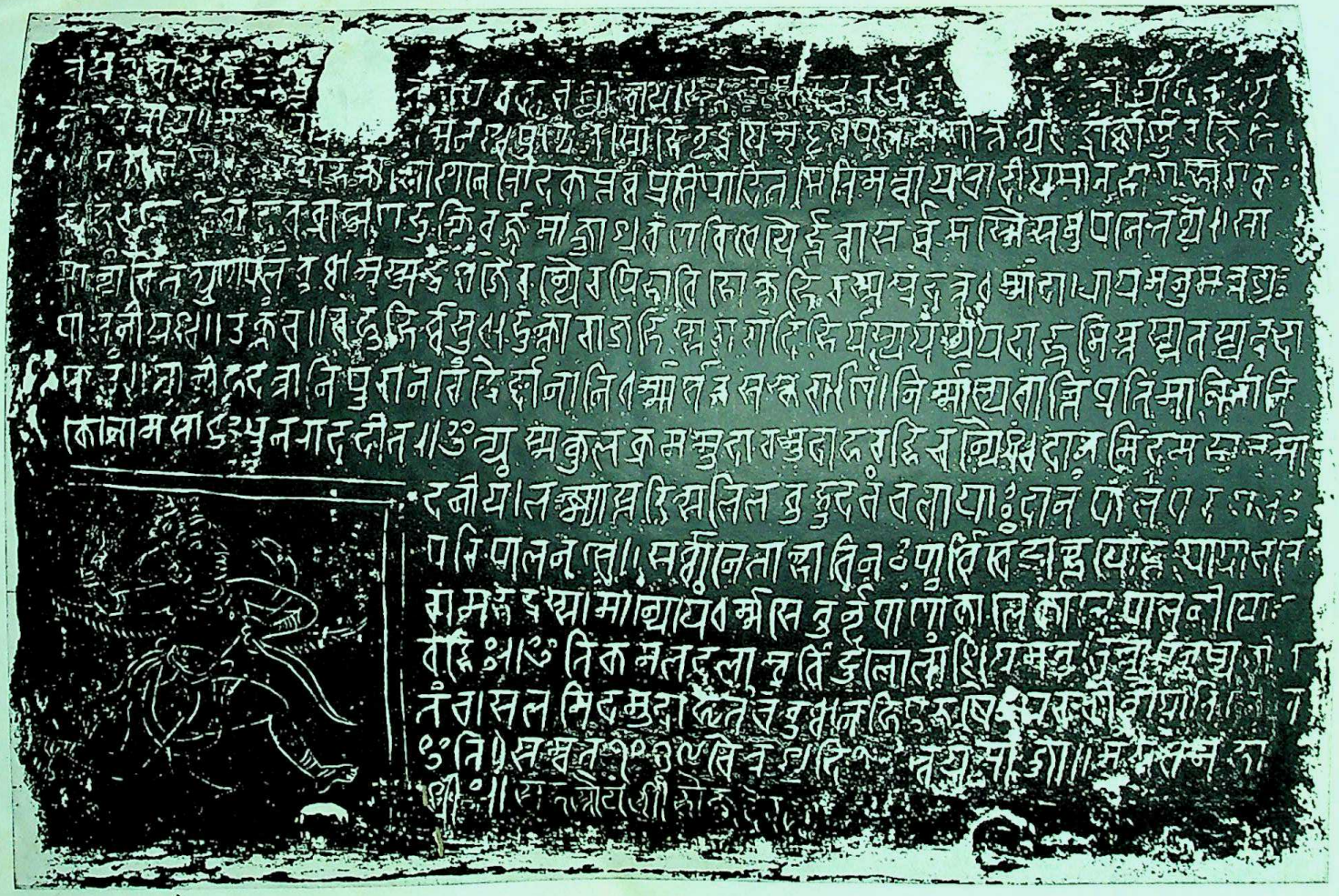

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सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं ।। (।) सा-

20 मान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वुध्वा[43] अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभो-

क्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मादायोयमनुमन्तव्यः

21 पालनीयश्च ।।(।) उक्तं च ।।(।) वहुभिर्व्व[44]सुधा भुक्ता

राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य्य (भिः । य)स्य यस्य यदा

भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

22 फलं[45] ।।[५।।] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्द्दानानि

धर्म्मार्थजसस्कराणि ।[46] निर्म्माल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि

23 को नाम साधुः पुनराद[47]दीत ।।[६।।] इत्यस्मत्कुलक्रम-

मुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमो-

24 दनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलवुद्वुद[48]चंचलायाः दानं फलं परयसः-[49]

25 [50]परिपालनश्च[51] ।।[७।।] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रा-

न्भूयो भूयो याचते

26 रामभद्रस्सा(द्रः । सा) मान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले

काले पालनीयो भ-

27 वद्भिः[52] ।।[८।।] इति कमलदलाम्बु[53]विंदुलोलां श्रियमनु-

चिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवि-

28 तं च । स[क]लमिदमुदाहृतं च वुध्वा[55] न हि पुरुषैः

परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या[:[55] ।।९।।]

29 इति ।।(।) सम्वत् १०७९ चैत्र शुदि १४ स्वय-

माज्ञा ।।(।) मंगलं महा-

30 श्रीः ।।(।) स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [।।]

43 Read बुद्ध्वा.

44 Read बहुभिर्व्वसुधा.

45 Metre *anuṣṭubh.*

46 Read ०यशस्कराणि.

47 Metre *Indravajrā.*

48 Read ०बुद्बुद०.

49 Read परयशः०.

50 Metre *Vasantatilakā.*

51 परिपालनं च would be better.

52 Metre *Śālinī.*

53 Read ०दलांबुबिंदु०.

54 Read बुद्ध्वा.

55 Metre *Puṣpitāgrā.*

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TRANSLATION

(Line 1). Om Victorious is this Vyomakeśa (Śiva) who for the purpose of creation bears on his head the digit of the moon, which appears like the shoot from which the world sprang.

(l. 2). May the matted hair, of the Enemy of Cupid (e.g. Śiva), brown like the circle of the dreadful lightning at the time of final dissolution, always extend your welfare.

(ll. 3-7). The illustrious Bhojadeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Sindhurājadeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vākpatirājadeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Sīyakadeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount,—issues, in good health, commands to all the officials of the Government, the inhabitants headed by the Brāhmaṇas, the Paṭels, (other) towns-men and others, assembled at Kirīkaikā, included in the western district (of the province) of Ujjaya(yi)nī, (thus) :—

(ll. 7-9) Be it known to you that having taken our bath in the expiation-fee (in the form of a river) for the slaughter of animals for the purpose of feeding the learned *vipras* and having worshipped the venerable lord of Bhavānī (Śiva), master of the animate and the inanimate (creation), we, residing in Dhārā, seeing the worthlessness of wordly life,

(ll. 9-12 : vv. 3-4) (That) the sovereignty over the earth is as unsteady as the clouds wafted on the wind, the enjoyment of (wordly) objects is pleasant only for a moment, the life of a man is (transitory) like a drop of a water resting on the point of a blade of grass, and *Dharma* alone is the real companion in the journey to the next world ; (and that) those who do not give away their acquired wealth, which is (as it were) standing on the edge of the circumference of the revolving wheel of wordly existence, have contrition as their only reward.

(ll. 12-18) thus ascertaining the transitory nature of the wordly life and choosing to abide by the unknown recompense (for charitable deeds), we have, with a view to increasing the religious merit and fame of ourselves and our ancestors, granted to Brāhmaṇa Vacchala, rich with Vedic studies, son of Bhaṭṭa Sośvara of the Ātreya-*gotra*

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with the three *pravaras*, e.g., Ātreya, Ārcanānasa and S(Ś)yāvāśva and of the Bahvṛca-śākhā, who had come from Mānyakheṭa, thirty-four *aṃśas* (shares worth) of level land, furnished with four ploughs, from the ordinary land attached to the village with its regular boundaries including the pasture lands for grazing cattle, with the land revenue and (other) cash income, with the sundry taxes and with all (such) rights, by this charter, with the utmost devotion and by pouring libations of water—to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure.

(ll. 18-19) Knowing this and in obedience to (our) orders you should give to this (Brāhmaṇa or grantee) the land revenue and other income and everything due to him.

(ll. 20-21). In the same way regarding the fruit of such a charitable deed as common (to all), the succeeding rulers, whether of our family or any other, should acquiesce in the charitable grant given by us and uphold it. For it is said—

[ll. 21-28 contain five of the customary benedictory verses.]

(ll. 29-30) In the year 1079 on the 14th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra. (This is) our own order. Good fortune and great prosperity! The sign manual of Śrī-Bhojadeva.

R. G. Ojha

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Catustava

[In view of the publication of Prof. Tucci's paper *Two Hymns of the Catuḥstava of Nāgārjuna* in the April number of the *JRAS.* (1932), I deem it necessary to write a few lines about the present paper by Mr. Prabhubhai Patel, a Research Scholar working with me in the Viśvabhāratī. This paper was written long ago and sent to the Editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly.* Prof. Tucci's paper contains the original Sanskrit including the Tibetan version of *Nirupama* or *Niraupamya-stava* and *Paramārtha-stava.* Therefore, so far as the first of them, i.e. *Nirupama-stava,* is concerned, Mr. Patel's Sanskrit restoration has now lost much of its value. It has, however, some importance and it lies in this that scholars will be in a position to judge from it, as to how far a Sanskrit restoration from the Tibetan made by a still more competent hand can go nearer the original text. In the present restoration no change whatever has been made after the original published by Prof. Tucci. There are a few defects, no doubt, but most of the variations in the restoration are due to the Tibetan version itself which is not quite in agreement with the Sanskrit original. For instance, in śloka 15 of the original we have nirjitaḥ (kleśas te 'nagha nirjitaḥ), but according to Tibetan which reads here *spains,* it must have been *varjitaḥ.* Mr. Patel has here *tyaktam.* It seems that the Skt. MS. before the Tibetan translator contained the reading *varjitaḥ,* or he himself misread *nirjitaḥ* as *varjitaḥ.* Similarly in śloka 16 the original reads *dhīra,* but in Tibetan we have *dpa po* which suggests nothing but *vīra* as restored by Mr. Patel. In śloka 10, there is *nairātmya* in the original, but there is nothing of it in Tibetan; consequently it cannot be found in the restoration,—Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.]

Hitherto it is accepted that the work *Catustava* of Ācārya Nāgārjuna comprised the following four *stavas*: *Nirupama-stava, Lokātītastava, Cittavajrastava* and *Paramārthastava* (Cordier, II, p. 5). Their Tibetan versions together with the French translations were published in *Le Muséon* in 1914 by Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin. But as all the copies of the volume were burnt during the last European war it is now not available. I have, however, had the privilege of consulting the work in its proofs which Prof. Poussin was kind enough to send to my revered teacher Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

According to Prof. Poussin the last two *stavas* are *Cittavajrastava* and *Paramārthastava.* But it seems to me that the identification is open to doubt. I think, they are *Acintyastava* and *Stutyatītastava* (Cordier,

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II, p. 6). The subject will thoroughly be dealt with in my introduction to the complete work, *Catustava*. For the present the Sanskrit restorations of the first two *stavas*, *Nirupamastava* and *Lokātītastava* are published here with their Tibetan versions, which were made by Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita of India jointly with a Tibetan translator, Jayaśīla. The remaining two will follow later on. The ślokas which are found as quotations in different works of the great teachers like Candrakīrtti, Prajñākaramati, etc., are marked with an asterisk and the names of the works in which they occur are given in the foot-notes.

I

NIRUPAMASTAVA

I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Restored from the Tibetan Version

निरुपमस्तवः

यो दृष्टिभिर्विपन्नस्य लोकस्यास्य हितोद्यतः ।
भावाभावार्थबोधेन नमो निरुपमाय ते ॥ १ ॥
न बुद्धचक्षुषा किञ्चिदपि त्वमवलोकसे ।
निरुत्तरं दर्शनं ते तत्त्वार्थमवबुध्यसे ॥ २ ॥
सद्भावात्परमार्थस्य ज्ञाता ज्ञेयं न विद्यते ।
अहो सुदुर्गमा बुद्धैरवबुद्धेह धर्मता ॥ ३ ॥
नोत्पादितं त्वया किञ्चिद्धर्मा नापि निषेधिताः ।
[एतया] समतादृष्ट्या प्राप्यतेऽनुत्तरं पदम् ॥ ४ ॥
संसारस्य प्रहाणेन निर्वाणं न मतं तव ।
संसारानुपलम्भेन ज्ञाता शान्तिस्त्वया प्रभो ॥ ५ ॥
एकैरस्यं त्वया ज्ञातं संक्लेशव्यवदानयोः ।
धर्मधातुरसम्भिन्नः सर्वथा तद्विशोधितः ॥ ६ ॥

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* नोदाहृतं त्वया किञ्चिदेकमप्यक्षरं विभो ।
कृत्स्नश्च वैनेयजनो धर्मवर्षेण तर्पितः ॥ ७ ॥[1]
आकाशसमचित्तत्वं स्कन्धायतनधातुषु ।
यदसक्तोऽसि तेन त्वं सर्वधर्मानिनाश्रितः ॥ ८ ॥
* सत्त्वसंज्ञा च ते नाथ सर्वथा न प्रवर्तते ।
दुःखार्त्तेषु च सत्त्वेषु त्वमतीव कृपात्मकः ॥ ९ ॥[2]
सुखे दुःखे तथानित्यानित्यादिषु प्रभो तव ।
विकल्पैर्विविधैरेवं चित्तं नैव विषज्जते ॥ १० ॥
न गतिर्नागतिः क्वापि धर्माणां त्वं तथा गतः ।
सञ्चयो नापि कुत्रापि तथासि परमार्थवित् ॥ ११ ॥
अनुवृत्तोऽपि सर्वेण न त्वं कुत्रापि वर्तसे ।
जातिर्धर्मस्तथा कायस्तवाचिन्त्यो महामुने ॥ १२ ॥
* एकत्वान्यत्वरहितं प्रतिश्रुत्कोपमं जगत् ।
संक्रान्तिसादरहितं बुद्धवांस्त्वमनिन्दितः ॥ १३ ॥[3]
शाश्वतोच्छेदरहितं लक्ष्यलक्षणवर्जितम् ।
निरूपयसि संसारं स्वप्नमायादिवत्प्रभो ॥ १४ ॥
वासनामूलनिष्ठेन त्यक्तं क्लेशाशुभं त्वया ।
क्लेशस्वभावकमपि कृतं पीयूषमेव च ॥ १५ ॥
न रूपलक्षणं वीरारूपवत्तव दृश्यते ।
देहस्तु लक्षणोद्दीप्तो दृश्यते रूपगोचरः ॥ १६ ॥
अदृष्टोऽपि रूपदृष्ट्या दृश्यत इति कथ्यते ।
धर्मदर्शनतो दृष्टो धर्मता नैव दृश्यते ॥ १७ ॥

1 *BCP.*, p. 420, ll, 2-3 ; *AS.*, p, 22.

2 *BCP.*, p. 489, ll, 1-2.

3 *MV.*, p. 215, ll, 5-6. The actual reading of *c* in *MV.*, is *saṃkrāntimāsādya gataṃ.* Here *āsādya gataṃ* does not give any proper sense, nor is supported by either of the two Tib. texts, the present work and *MV.*, the latter reading *'pho. daṅ. 'jig. pa daṅ. bral. ḥar.* The word *sāda* in the suggested reading *sāda-rahitaṃ* is from √*sad* 'to perish'. It is found in actual use in literature in the sense of 'perishing.'

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* शौषीर्यं नास्ति ते काये मांसास्थि रुधिरं न च ।
इन्द्रायुधमिवाकाशे कायं दर्शितवानसि ॥ १८ ॥[4]
* नामया नाशुचिः काये क्षुत्तृष्णासम्भवो न च ।
त्वया लोकानुवृत्त्यर्थं दर्शिता लौकिकी क्रिया ॥ १९ ॥[4]
कर्मावरणदोषाश्च नाशुभास्त्वत्प्रहाणतः ।
त्वया सत्त्वानुवृत्त्यर्थं कर्मत्यागः प्रदर्शितः ॥ २० ॥
* धर्मधातोरसंभेदाद्यानभेदोऽस्ति न प्रभो ।
यानत्रितयमाख्यातं त्वया सत्त्वावतारतः ॥ २१ ॥[5]
कायो नित्यस्थिरशिवधर्मस्वभावकस्तव ।
जिन वैनेयमुक्त्यर्थं निर्वाणं देशितं त्वया ॥ २२ ॥
गतागम्यागता बोधिरसंख्यलोकधातुषु ।
संसारमोक्षाधिमुक्तैस्त्वयि भक्त्यावलोकिता ॥ २३ ॥
* न तेऽस्ति मन्यना नाथ न विकल्पो न वेङ्गना ।
अनाभोगेन ते लोके बुद्धकृत्यं प्रवर्तते ॥ २४ ॥[6]
पुण्यं मया यत्कुसुमैरचिन्त्यै-
रलंक्रियातः सुगतस्य लब्धम् ।
तेनातिदुर्ज्ञेयमुनींद्रधर्म-
पात्राण्यमी सन्तु समस्तसत्त्वाः ॥ २५ ॥
॥ आचार्यनागार्जुनकृतं निरुपमस्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ॥[7]

2

TIBETAN TEXT[8]

DPE. MED. PAR. BSTOD. PA ।

[**Fol. 74*b*, 4**]gaṅ. źig. lta. bas. phoṅs. pa. yi ।
'jig. rten. 'di. la. phan. brtson. khyod ।

4 *PK.*, IV, 2-3.

5 *Subhāṣitasaṅgraha*, p. 14, ll. 20-21 ; *AS.*, p. 22, ll. 3-4.

6 *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* in *AS.*, p. 1, ll. 12-13. with the wrong reading *veñjanā* for *veṅganā* (=*vā*+*iṅganā* 'ceṣṭā', Tib. *gyo. ba*) in *b*.

7 Tib. Tr. adds : **भारतपण्डितेन कृष्णपण्डितेन परिवर्तकेन जयशीलेन च परिवर्तितम् ।**

8 Tanjur, Bstod. tshogs, Ka, Fol. 74*b*, 4—75*b*, 7 of the Narthang edition in the Visvabharati Library. See Cordier, II, p. 5.

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dṅos. po. med. pa'i. don. rig. pas ।
[**5**] dpe. med. khyod. la. phyag. 'tshal. bstod ॥ 1 ॥
gaṅ. źig. khyod. kyi[s] cuṅ. źig. kyaṅ ।
saṅs. rgyas. spyan. gyis. ma. gzigs. pa ।
khyod. kyi.[9] gzigs. pa. bla. med. de ।
de. ñid. don. ni. rig. pa. lags ॥ 2 ॥
don. dam. pa. yi. yod. pa. ñid ।
rtogs. daṅ. rtogs. bya. mi. [**6**] mṅa'. źiṅ ।
e. ma. 'o. mchog. tu. rtogs. dka'. ba'i ।
chos. ñid. saṅs. rgyas. rnams. kyis. rtogs ॥ 3 ॥
khyod. kyis. cuṅ źig. ma. bskyed. ciṅ ।
chos. rnams. bkag. pa'aṅ. ma. lags. la ।
mñam. pa. ñid. kyi. lta. ba. yis ।
bla. na. med. [**7**] pa'i.go. 'phaṅ. brñes ॥ 4 ॥
'khor. ba, spaṅs. par. gyur. pa yis ।
mya. ṅan. 'das. khyod. mi. bźed. kyis ।
'khor. ba. mi. dmigs. pa. ñid. kyi ।
źi. ba. mgon. po. khyod. kyis. rtogs ॥ 5 ॥
khyod. kyis. kun. nas. ñon. moṅs. daṅ ।
rnam. byaṅ. ro. gcig. [**15** *a*, **1**] gyur. rig. pas ।
chos. dbyiṅs. mṅon. par. dbyer. med. pa ।
kun. tu. rnam. par. dag. par. 'gyur ॥ 6 ॥
* gtso. bo. khyod. kyi. gaṅ. źig. tu ।
yi. ge. gcig. kyaṅ. ma. gsuṅs. pa ।
gdul. bya'i. 'gro. ba. ma. lus. pa ।
chos. kyi. char. gyis. [**2**] tshim. pa'ṅ. mthoṅ ॥ 7 ॥[10]
mkha'. daṅ. mñam. pa'i. thugs. mṅa'. khyod ।

9 X appears to read *kyis*.

10 See *BCP*, p. 420 : Tib. Mdo, La, fol. 240 *a*, 6-7 :
gtso. bo. khyod. kyis. 'ga'. źig tu ।
yi. ge. gcig. kyaṅ. ma. gsuṅs. te ।
chos. kyi. char. gyis. gdul. bya. yi ।
'gro. ba. ma. lus. tshim. par. mdzad ॥
Tattvaratnāvalī in *AS*, p. 22 = Tib. Rgyud, Mi, fol. 126 *b*, 4 :
de. yaṅ. gtso. bas. khyod. 'ga'. źig. ।
yi. ge. gcig. kyaṅ. ma gsuṅs. so ।
gdul. bya'i. gro. ba. ma. lus. la ।
chos. kyi. char. gyis. tshim. par mdzad ॥

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phuṅ. po. khams. daṅ. skye. mched. la ।
chags. par. gyur. pa. mi. mṅa'. bas ।
chos. rnams. kun. la. brten. ma. lags ॥ 8 ॥
* mgon. khyo. sems. can. 'du. śes. kyis ।
'jug. pa kun. [3] tu. mi. mña'. yañ ।
sdug. bsñal. gyur. pa'i. sems. can. la ।
sñiṅ. rje'i. bdag. ñid. gyur. pa'ṅ. khyod ॥ 9 ॥[4]
bde. daṅ. sdug. bsñal. de. gyur. pa ।
rtag. mi. rtag. sogs. la.[5] gtso. khyod ।
de. lta'i. rnam. rtog. sna. tshogs. kyis ।
thugs. ni. chags. par. [4] gyur. ma. lags ॥ 10 ॥
chos. rnams. gaṅ. du-aṅ. 'gro. 'oṅ. med ।
de. bźin. khyod. kyi. gśegs. pa'ṅ. lags ।
'ga'. ru. spuṅs. pa'ṅ. ma. lags. la ।
de. bźin. don. dam. rig. pa-aṅ. lags ॥ 11 ॥
kun. gyi[s] rjes. su. źugs. gyur. kyaṅ ।
'ga'. ru. [5] 'byuṅ. yaṅ. ma. lags. la ।
skye. daṅ. chos. daṅ. sku. rnams. kyaṅ ।
thub. chen. khyod. kyi. bsam. mi. khyab ॥ 12 ॥
* gcig. daṅ. gźan. pa. rnams. spaṅs. pa ।
brag. ca. lta. bu'i. 'gro. ba. rnams ।
'pho. daṅ. 'jig. pa. rnams. spaṅs. par ।
smad. pa. med. par. khyod. kyis. [6] rtogs ॥ 13 ॥[6]
rtag. daṅ. chad. pa. daṅ. bral. źiṅ ।
mtshan. ñid. mtshan. bya. rnams. spaṅs. par ।

4 See the note on the Skt. text. There runs the Tib. version as follows :

mgon. khyod. sems. can. 'du. śes. pa ।
rnam. pa. kun. tu. 'jug. ma. yin ।
sems. can. sdug. bsñal. gyis. ñen. la ।
khyod. ni. źin. tu. thugs. rje'i. bdag ॥

5 X *las.*

6 See note, Skt. text. Mdo. Ha, fol. 83 *b*. 5 :

'gro. ba. sgra. brñan. daṅ. 'dra. bar ।
gcig. ñid. gźam. ñid. daṅ bral. źiṅ ।
'pho. daṅ. 'jig. pa. daṅ. bral. bar ।
smad. med. khyod. kyis. thugs. su. chud ।

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gtso. bos. rmi. lam. sgyu. sogs. bźin ।
'khor. ba. ñes. par. rtogs. pa. lags ॥ 14 ॥
bag. chags. gźir. gyur. mthar. thug. pa'i ।
khyod. kyis. ñon. moṅs. sdig. pa. spaṅs ।
[7] ñon. moṅs. ñid. kyi. raṅ. bźin. yaṅ ।
khyod. kyi[s] bdud. rtsi. ñid. du. bsgr bs ॥ 15 ॥
dpa' [po] khyod. kyi. gzugs. rnams. kyi ।
mtshan. ma. mi. mthoṅ. gzugs. med. bźin ।
mtshan. gyis. 'bar. ba'i. sku. ñid. kyaṅ ।
gzugs. su. spyod. yul. ñid. du. mthoṅ ॥ 16 ॥
gzugs. su. mtnoṅ. bas. [**75** *b*. **1**] mthoṅ. min. kyaṅ ।
mthoṅ. ṅo. źes. ni. rjod. par. byed ।
chos. mthoṅ. bas. ni. źin. tu. mthoṅ ।
chos. ñid. mthoṅ. ba. ma. yin. no ॥ 17 ॥
* khoṅ. stoṅ. khyod. kyi. sku. la. med ।
ś'a. daṅ. rus. pa. khrag. kyaṅ. med ।
nam mkha'i. dbaṅ. po'i. gźu. bźin. du ।
khyod. kyi. sku. ni. ston. par. mdzad ॥ 18 ॥[7]
sku. la. sñun. med. rus. [**2**] pa'ṅ. med ।
bkres. daṅ. skom. pa. 'byuṅ. med. kyaṅ ।
khyod. ni. 'jig. rten. rjes. 'jug. phyir ।
'jig. rten. spyod. pa'ṅ. bstan. par. mdzad ॥ 19 ॥[8]
las. kyi. sgrib. pa'i. skyon. rnams. kyaṅ ।
sdig. med. khyod. kyi. kun. spaṅs. kyis ।
khyod. kyi[s]. sems. can. rjes. [**3**] 'jug. phyir ।
las. spaṅs. pa. yaṅ rab. tu. bstan ॥ 20 ॥
* chos. kyi. dbyiṅs. la. dbyer, med. phyir ।
gtso. bo. theg. dbye. ma. mchis. kyaṅ ।
khyod. kyis, theg. pa. gsum. bstan. pa ।

7 See note, Skt. text. The corresponding Tib. Rgyud, Gi. fol. 56*b*. 6 reads *c* as follows : *nam. mkha'. la. ni. 'ja.' tshon ltar.* Here *'ja' tshon = indrāyudhavarṇa.*

8 See note, Skt. text. The corresponding Tib, Rgyud. Gi, fol. 58 *b*. 7 reads :

sku. la. bsñun. med. mi. gtsaṅ, med ।
bkres. daṅ. skom. pa. 'gyur. med. kyaṅ ।
khyod. nī. 'jig. rten. rjes. 'jug. phyir ।
'jig. rten. pa. bya. bston. par. mdzad ॥

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sems. can. gźûg. pa'i. ched. du. lags ||21 ||[9]
rtag. ciṅ. brtan pa. źi. ba. yi |
chos. [4] kyi. raṅ. bźin. khyod. kyi. sku |
rgyal. ba.[10] gdul. bya. dgrol. ba'i. phyir |
khyod. kyis. mya. ṅan. 'das. par. bstan || 22 ||
graṅs. med. 'jig. rten. khams. rnams. su |
'das. daṅ. bltam.[11] daṅ. mṅon. byaṅ. cbub |
'khor. ba. thar. par. mos. rnams. kyi[s] |
khyod. la [5] gus. rnams. kyis. kyaṅ. mthoṅ || 23 ||
* mgon. po. sems. pa. mi. mṅa'. źiṅ |
rnam. rtog. gyo. ba. mi. mṅa'. yaṅ |
kyod. kyis. ṅaṅ, gis. 'jig. rten. la |
saṅs. rgyas. mdzad. pa'ṅ. 'jug. par. 'gyur || 24 ||[12]
de. ltar. bde. bar. gśegs. pa. bsam. mi. [6] khyab. me. tog |
gis. brgyan. pa. las. bdag. gi. bsod. nams. gaṅ. thob. pa |
gyur. pa. 'dis. ni. sems. can. ma. lus. pa. 'dī. dag. |
mchog. tu. rtogs. dka.' thub, pa'i. chos. kyi. snod. gyur. cig || 25 ||
dpe. med. par. bstod. pa. slob. dpon. klu. sgrub.
kyis. mdzad. pa. rdzogs. so [7] ||
rgya. gar. gyi. mkhan. po. kri. śṇa. paṇ. ḍi. ta.
daṅ. lā. tshā'. ba. tshul. khrims. rgyal.
bas. bsgyur. pa'o ||

9 See *Tattvaratnāvalī* in *AS.*, p. 22, and its Tib. Rgyud, Mi, fol. 126 *b*. 1 :

chos. kyi. dbyiṅs. la. dbyed. med. phyir |
gtso. bos. theg. dbye. ma. mchis. kyaṅ |
khyod. kyis. theg. pa. gsum. gsuṅs. pa |
sems. can. gźugs. pa'i. ched. du. lags ||

10 X *bas.* 11 X *bltams.*

12 See note, Skt. text. The corresponding Tib. Rgyud. Mi, fol 108 *a*. 4 is exactly the same.

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II

LOKĀTĪTASTAVA

I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Restored from the Tibetan Version

लोकातीतस्तव

विवेकज्ञानसंवेदिल्पोँकातीत नमोऽस्तु ते ।
चिरं करुणया यस्त्वं जगद्धिताय खिद्यसे ॥ १ ॥
विनिर्मुक्तः स्कन्धमात्रात्सत्त्वो नैवास्ति ते मते ।
महामुने त्वमेवासि सत्त्वार्थेषु परायणः ॥ २ ॥
मायामरीचिगन्धर्वनगरस्वप्नवत्खलु ।
स्कन्धा एते त्वया धीमन्मतिमद्भ्यः प्रदर्शिताः ॥ ३ ॥
* हेतुतः सम्भवो येषां तदभावान्न सन्ति ये ।
कथं नाम न ते स्पष्टं प्रतिविम्बसमा मताः ॥ ४ ॥[1]
भूतानामग्रहादक्ष्णा तद्भूतं चाक्षुषं कथम् ।
एवमुक्त्वा त्वया रूपग्रहनिषेधनं कृतम् ॥ ५ ॥[2]
न वेद्यं तदभावेन वेदको विद्यते न तत् ।
वेदनापि स्वभावेन विद्यते नैव ते मते ॥ ६ ॥
नामार्थयोरभेदे स्याद्दाहो मुखस्य वह्निना ।
भेदेप्यवगमो नेति त्वयोक्तं सत्यवादिना ॥ ७ ॥
* कर्ता स्वतंत्रः कर्मापि त्वयोक्तं व्यवहारतः ।
परस्परापेक्षिकी तु सिद्धिस्तेऽभिमतानयोः ॥ ८ ॥[3]
* न कर्तास्ति न भोक्तास्ति पुण्यापुण्यं प्रतीत्यजम् ।
यत्प्रतीत्य न तज्जातं प्रोक्तं वाचस्पते त्वया ॥ ९ ॥[4]

1 *BCP.*, p. 583, ll. 18-19 ; *MV.*, p. 413 ; Cf. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikārikā*, 40
2 *MA.*, p. 200, ll. 1-4. 3 *BCP.*, p. 476, ll. 14-15.
4 *Ibid.* ll. 16-17,

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ज्ञेयं ज्ञानं विना नास्ति न ज्ञानमपि तद्विना ।
तस्मादुक्ता त्वया ज्ञानज्ञेययोर्निःस्वभावता ॥ १० ॥[5]

* लक्ष्याल्लक्षणमन्यच्चेत् स्यात्तल्लक्ष्यमलक्षणम् ।
तयोरभावोऽनन्यत्वे विस्पष्टं कथितं त्वया ॥ ११ ॥[6]

लक्ष्यलक्षणनिष्क्रान्तं वागालापविवर्जितम् ।
त्वया हि ज्ञाननेत्रेण शान्तं जगदिदं कृतम् ॥ १२ ॥

* न सन्नुत्पद्यते भावो नाप्यसन्सदसन्न च ।
न स्वतो नापि परतो न द्वाभ्यां जायते कथम् ॥ १३ ॥[7]

युक्तं चेद्विद्यते भावो नाशस्तस्य न विद्यते ।
युक्तं न विद्यते भावो नाशस्तस्य न विद्यते ॥ १४ ॥

निरुद्धाद्धेतुतस्तावन्न युक्तः फलसम्भवः ।
नानिरुद्धान्मता जातिस्तवेयं स्वप्नसन्निभा ॥ १५ ॥

* निरुद्धाद्वानिरुद्धाद्वा बीजादङ्कुरसम्भवः ।
मायोत्पादवदुत्पादः सर्वमेव त्वयोच्यते ॥ १६ ॥[8]

* अतस्त्वया जगदिदं परिकल्पसमुद्भवम् ।
परिज्ञातमसद्भूतमनुत्पन्नं न नश्यति ॥ १७ ॥ [9]

* नित्यस्य संसृतिर्नास्ति नैवानित्यस्य संसृतिः ।
स्वप्नवत्संसृतिः प्रोक्ता त्वया तत्त्वविदां वर ॥ १८ ॥[10]

* स्वयङ्कृतं परकृतं द्वाभ्यां कृतमहेतुकम् ।
तार्किकैरिष्यते दुःखं त्वया तूक्तं प्रतीत्यजम् ॥ १९ ॥[11]

* यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः शून्यता सैव ते मता ।
भावः स्वतन्त्रो नास्तीति सिंहनादस्तवातुलः ॥ २० ॥[12]

5 *MA.*, p. 165, ll. 4-7.
6 *MV.*, p. 64. ll. 5-6. 7 *BCP.*, p. 587, ll. 7-8.
8 *Ibid.* p. 533, li. 9-10. *MA.*, p. 97, ll, 9-12.
9 *Ibid.* p. 533 ll. 11-12. 10 *Ibid.* p. 533,ll. 13-14.
11 *MV.*, p. 55, ll. 3-4
12 *BCP.*, p. 417, ll. 6 7. It is to be noted that the last word of the ś'oka *atulaḥ* is an adjective of *siṃhanādaḥ*. This is according to *BCP.*, and its Tib. But in accordance with the Tib. of *Lokātītastava*, (See the printed text) it is *atula*, vocative.

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* सर्वसंकल्पहानाय शून्यतामृतदेशना ।
यश्च तस्यामपि प्राहस्त्वयाऽसाववसादितः ॥ २१ ॥[13]
* निरीहा वशिकाः शून्या मायावत्प्रत्ययोद्भवाः ।
सर्वधर्मास्त्वया नाथ निःस्वभावाः प्रकाशिताः ॥ २२ ॥[14]
नोत्पादितं त्वया किंचिन्निषिद्धं नापि किञ्चन ।
यथापूर्वं तथापश्चात्तथतावगता [त्वया] ॥ २३ ॥
आर्याश्रितभावनायामप्रवृत्त्यानिमित्तकम् ।
.....विज्ञानं कुत्र वा भवेत् ॥ २४ ॥
आ निमित्तानवगमान्मोक्षो नास्तीति कथ्यते ।
तस्मात्त्वया महायाने तत्त्वं निःशेषमुच्यते ॥ २५ ॥[15]
स्तोत्रपात्र तव स्तोत्रालब्धं यत्सुकृतं मया ।
निमित्तबन्धनान्मुक्तं तेनाऽस्तु निखिलं जगत् ॥ २६ ॥
॥ आचार्यार्यनागार्जुनप्रणीतो लोकातीतस्तवः सम्पूर्णः ॥
॥ भारतपण्डितेन कृष्णपण्डितेन परिवर्तकेन जयशीलेन च
परिवर्तितः संशोध्य निरूपितश्च ॥

2

TIBETAN TEXT[1]

'jig. rten. las. 'das. par. bstod. pa ।
[**76 a, 1**] dben. pa'i. ye. śes. rig. gyur. pa ।
'jig. rten. 'das. khyod. phyag. 'tshal. 'dud ।
gaṅ. khyod. 'gro. la. phan. pa'i phyir ।
yun. riṅ. thugs. rjes. [**2**] ṅal. bar. gyur ॥ 1 ॥
phuṅ. po. tsam. las. grol. ba. yi ।
sems. can. med. par. khyed. bźed. la ।
sems. can. don. la'ṅ. mchog. gźol. bar ।
thub. chen. po. khyod. ñid. bźugs ॥ 2 ॥

13 *Ibid*, p. 415, ll. 3-4. According to *MA.* (See Tib. text) one should read *yasya* (*gaṇ. la*) for *yaś ca* in *c*. *BCP.*, p. 359, ll. 8-9 reads *yosya*.

14 *Ibid*, p. 489, ll. 1-2. 15 *MA.*, p. 310, ll. 12-14.

16 *Ibid*, p. 23, ll. 11-14.

1 Tanjur, Bstod Tshogs, Ka, fols. 76—77ᵃ. 3 of the Narthang edition in the Visvabharati Library. See Cordier, II, p. 6.

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blo. ldan. khyod. kyi[s]. phuṅ. de. yaṅ[2] ।
sgyu. ma. smig. rgyu. dri. za. yi ।
groṅ. [3] khyér. rmi. lam. ji. bźin. du ।
blo. ldan. rnams. la. rab. tu. bstan ॥ 3 ॥
* gaṅ. dag. rgu. las. byuṅ. ba. rnams ।
de. med. par. ni. yod. min. pas ।
gzugs. brñan. ñid. daṅ mtshuṅs. pa. ru ।
gsal. bar. ci. yi. phyir. mi. 'dod ॥ 4 ॥[3]
* 'byuṅ. ba. mig. gi[s]. gzuṅs.[4] [4] min. pas ।
de. dṅos. mig. gi. ji. ltar. yin ।
gzugs. ñid. gzuṅ. bar. rab. bkag. pa ।
gzugs. ñid. khyod. kyis. de. ltar. gsuṅs ॥ 5 ॥[5]
tshor. bya. med. par. de. med. pas ।
tshor. ba. ñid. ni. bdag. med. pas ।
tshor. ba. de. yaṅ. raṅ. bźin. gyis.
[5] yod. pa. med. par. khyod. ñid. bźed ॥ 6 ॥
mig. daṅ. don. dag. tha. dad. min ।
me. yis. kha. ñid. 'tshig. par. 'gyur ।
gźan. na'ṅ. rtogs. pa. med. 'gyur. źes ।
bden. pa. gsuṅ. ba. khyod. kyis. bstan ॥ 7 ॥
* byed. po. raṅ. dbaṅ. las. ñid. kyaṅ ।
tha. ñad. du. ni. [6] khyod. kyis. bstan ।

2 X *'aṅ.*

3 See note, Skt. text. Tib. of Mdo, ('a, fol. 152*b*.1 7) has :

gaṅ. dag. rgyu. las. byuṅ. gyur. źiṅ ।
gaṅ. dag. de. med. pas. med. pa ।
de. dag. gzugs. brñen. daṅ. mtshuṅs. par. ।
gsal. bar. ji. lta. bu. mi. bźed ॥

And Tib. of *BCP*. (Mdo, La, fol. 361[a] .6) reads :

gaṅ. dag. rgyu. las. 'byuṅ. ba. rnams ।
de. med. par. yod. min. gañ ।
de. rnams. gzugs. brñan. daṅ. mtshuṅs. pa. ।
gsal. por. ci. yi. phyir. mi. bźed ॥

4 X *gźugs.*

5 See *MA.*, p. 200, ll. 1-4.

'byuṅ. rnams. mig. gzuṅ. ma. yin. na ।
de. byuṅ. mig. gzuṅ. ji. ltar. źes ।
gzugs. la. de. skad. gzuṅs. pa. na ।
khyod. kyis. gzugs. kyi. 'dziṅ. pa. bzlog ॥5॥

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phan. tshun. bltos. pa. can. ñid. du ।
grub. par. khyod. ni. bźed. pa. lags ॥ 8 ॥[6]
* byed. po. yod. min. spyod. pa'ṅ. med ।
bsod. nams. de. min. rten. 'brel. skyes ।
brten. nas. skyes. kyaṅ. ma. skyes. źes ।
tshig. gi. bdag. po. khyod. kyis. **[7]** gsuṅs ॥ 9 ॥[7]
* śes. pa. med. par. śes. pa. min ।
de. med. rnam. par. śes. pa'ṅ. med ।
de. phyir. śes. daṅ. śes. bya. dag ।
raṅ. dṅos. med. ciṅ. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 10 ॥[8]
* mtshan. ñid. mtshan. bya. gźan. ñid. ni ।
mtshan. bya. mtshan. ñid. med. par. 'gyur ।
[76 b, 1] tha. dad. yin. na'ṅ. de. med. par ।
khyod. kyis. gsal. po. ñid. du. bstan ॥ 11 ॥[9]
mtshan. ñid. mtshan. bya. rnam bral. źiṅ ।
tshig. gis. brjod. pa. rnam. spṅas. par ।
khyod. kyis. ye. śes. spyaṅ. ñid. kyis ।
'gro. ba. 'di. dag. źi. bar. mdzad ॥ 12 ॥
* dṅos. po. yod. pa. ñid. mi. skye ।

6 See note, Skt. text. Tib. of *BCP* (Mdo, La, fol, 265 *a* 5). runs :
byed. po. raṅ. dbaṅ. las. kyaṅ. ni ।
tha. sñad. du. ni. khyod kyis. gsuṅs ।
phan. tshun. blots nas. grub. pa. ni ।
gñis. pa. de. dag. bźed. pa. yin ॥

7 See note, Skt. text. and Tib. of *BCP* (Mdo. La. fol. 265 *a* 6) runs :
byed. po. med. cīṅ. za. ba. med ।
bsod. nams. yaṅ. min. rten. 'byuṅ ।
brten. nas. 'buyṅ. ba. ma. skyes. źes ।
tshig. gi. dbaṅ. po. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥

8 See *MA*., p. 165, ll. 4-7 :
ma. śes. pa. nī śes. bya. min ।
de. med. rnam. par. śes. med. pa ।
de. phyir. śes. daṅ. śes. bya. dag ।
raṅ. bźin. med. par. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥

9 See note, Skt. text, and Tib. of *MV* (Mdo. 'a, fol. 64) :
mtshan. ñid. mtshan. gźi. la. gźan. na ।
mtshan. gźi. da. mtshan. med, par. 'gyur ।
tha. dad. med. na. de. dag. ni ।
med. par. khyod. kyis. gsal. bar. bstan ॥

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med. pa'ṅ [2] ma. yin. yod. med. min ।
bdag. las. ma. yin. gźan. las. min ।
gñis. min. skyes. pa. ji. lta. bu ॥ 13 ॥[10]
yod. pa. gnas. par. rigs. 'gyur. gyi ।
'jig. par. 'gyur. ba. ma. yin. no ।
yod.[11] pa. mi. gnas. par. rig. pas ।
'jig. par. 'gyur. ba. ma. yin. no ॥ 14 ॥
re [3] źig. źig. pa'i. rgyu. las. kyaṅ ।
'bras. bu. 'byuṅ. bar. mi. rigs. la ।
ma. źig. las. min. rmi. lam. daṅ ।
'dra. ba'i. skye. ba. khyod. 'di. bźed ॥ 15 ॥
* źig. daṅ. ma. źig. pa. dag. gi ।
rgyu. las. 'bras. bu. 'byuṅ. ba dag ।
sgyu. ma. 'byuṅ. ba. bźin. du. 'byuṅ ।
kun. kyaṅ, [4] de. bźin. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 16 ॥[12]
* de. phyir. khyod. kyis. 'gro. 'di. dag ।
yoṅs. su. brtags. pa. las. byuṅ. bar ।
kun. tu. śes. bya. 'byuṅ. ba. na'ṅ ।
skye. ba. med. ci. 'gag. med. gsuṅs ॥ 17 ॥
rtag. la. 'khor. ba. yod. ma. yin ।
mi. rtag. pa. la'ṅ. khor. ba. med ।
[5] de. ñid. rig. pa'i. mchog. khyod. kyis ।
'khor. ba. rmi. lam. 'dra. bar. gsuṅs ॥ 18 ॥[13]

10 See Skt. text and Tib. of *BCP* (Mdo. La. 317 *b* 6):
dṅos. po. yod. pa. mi. skye. źiṅ ।
med. pa. yod. ma. yin. yod. med. min ।
raṅ. las. min. gźan. las. min ।
gñig. las. min. ji. ltar. skye .źes ॥
In *b* omit the first *yod* as the sense requires, and the metre demands. In *c* one syllable is less.

11 X *med.*

12 See Skt. text. *MA*, p. 97, ll. 9-12:
sa. bon. źig. daṅ. ma. źig. las ।
myu.gu. 'byuṅ. ba. ma. yin. pas ।
khyod. kyis. skye. ba. thams. cad. ni ।
sgyu. ma. 'byuṅ. ba. bźin. du. gsuṅs ॥
Ślokas 16 and 17 occur in the original Skt. of *BCP*, p. 533, but are omitted by its Tib. Translator in Mdo. La. fol. 291

13 See Skt. text. It is cited in the Skt. text of *BCP*. but omitted in its Tib. translation. Mdo, La, fol. 291.

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* sdug. bsñal. raṅ. gis. byas. pa. daṅ |
gźan. gyis. byas. daṅ. gñis. kas. byas |
rgyu. med. par. ni. rtog. ge. 'dod |
khyod. kyi. brten. nas 'byuṅ. bar. gsuṅs || 19 ||[14]

* rten. ciṅ. 'brel. bar. [6] gaṅ. 'byuṅ. ba |
de. ñid. khyod. ni. stoṅ. par. bźed |
dṅos. po. raṅ. dbaṅ. yod. min. źes |
mñam. med. khyod. kyi, seṅ. ge. sgra || 20 ||[15]

* kun. rtog. thams. cad. spaṅs. p'ai. phyir |
stoṅ. ñid. bdud. rtsi. ston. mdzad. na |
gaṅ. źig. de. la. źen. gyur. pa |
de. ñid. khyod. kyis. śin. [7] tu. spaṅ || 21 ||[16]

* bems. po. gźan. dbaṅ. stoṅ. pa. ñid |
sgyu. ma. bźin. du. rkyen. 'byuṅ. bar |
mgon. po. khyod. kyis. chos. kun. gyi |

14 See Skt. text, and Tib. of *MV* (Mdo, 'a fol. 20 *a*. 6; and 88 *b*, 1):
sdug. bsñal. raṅ. gis. byas. pa. daṅ |
gźan. gyis. byas. daṅ. gñi. gas. byas |
rgyu. med. rtog. ge, pa. yis. 'dod |
khyod. kyis. brten. nas. 'byuṇ. bar. gsuṅs ||
The only variation on fol. 88b. is that there is *bdag* for *raṅ* in *a*.

15 See Skt. text and Tib. of *BCP* (Mdo. La. fol. 239 *a*. 4-5):
gaṅ. źig. rten. ciṅ. 'brel. bar. 'byuṅ |
de. ñid. khyod. ni. stoṅ. par. bźed |
dṅos. po. raṅ. dbaṅ. can. med. ces ||
khyod. kyi. seṅ. gaṅ. sgra. mtshaṅs. med ||

16 See Skt. text and Tib. of *BCP.*, in Mdo. La. fols. (1) 213 *a*. 6, and (2) 238 *a*. 5; and of (3) *MA.*, p. 310, ll. 12-15. The variations are noted below:

(1) *d, smad* for *spaṅ*.
(2) *a, rram* for *kun*.
b, bstan. pa. yin for *stoṅ. mdzad. na*.
c, 'dzin. pa. yaṅ for *źen. gyur. pa*.
d, spaṅs. pa. lags for *śin. tn. spaṅ*.
(3) *a, gźom. pa'i. phyir* for *spaṅs. pai. phir*.
b. bstan. pa. mdzad. for *ston. mdzad. na*.
c, gaṅ. la for *gaṅ. źig*; *'dzin. yod. pa* for *źen. gyur. pa*.
d. smad. par. mdzad for *śin. tu. spaṅs*.

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dňos. med. goms. par. mdzad. pa. lags ॥ 22 ॥[17]
khyod. kyis. cuň. źig. ma. bskyed. ciň ।
'ga.' yaň. bkag. pa. ma. mchis. la ।
[**77** *a*. **1**] sňon. gyi. ji. ltar. phyis. de. bźin ।
de. bźin. ňid. ni. thugs. su. chud ॥ 23 ॥
'phags. pa. rnamr. kyis[s]. brten. ba. yi ।
bsgoms. ma. źugs. par. mtshan. med. 'di ।
... ...
rnam. par. śes. par. 'ga' 'gyur. ram ॥ 24 ॥[18]
* mtshan. ma. med. la. ma. źugs. par ।
[**2**] thar. pa. med. ces. gsuňs. pa'i. phyir ।
de. phyir. khyod. kyis. theg. chen. rnams ।
ma. lus. par. ni. de. ňid. bstan ॥ 25 ॥[19]
bstod. pa'i. snod. khyod. bstod. pa. las ।
bdag. gi[s]. bsod. nams. gaň. thob. pa ।
des. ni. 'gro. ba. ma. lus. rnams ।
mtshan, ma'i. 'chiň. las. grol. [**3**] gyur. cig ॥ 26 ॥
'jig. rten. las. 'das. bar. bstod. pa. slob. dpon. 'phags. pa. klu.
sgrub. kyis. mdzad. pa. dzogs. so ॥
rgya. gar. gyi. mkhan, po. kri. ṣṇa. pa. ṇḍi. ta. daň la. tsā.'
ba. tshul. khrims. rgyal. bas. bsgyur. ciň. źus. te ।
gtan. la. phab. pa'o ॥[20]

PRABHUBHAI PATEL

17 See note, Skt. text and Tib. of *BCP*. (Mdo. La, (fol. 272 *a* 7):
dbaň. dp'a. med. pa. stoň. pa. ňid ।
sgyu. ma. bźin. du. rkyen. las. 'byuň ।
mgon. po. khyod. kyi[s]. chos. rnams. ni ।
raň. bźin. med. par. rab. tu. bstan ॥

18 Here *c* is missing, and so the śloka is in complete.

19 See note, Skt. text.

20 The following abbreviations are used in the present paper :
AS = Advayavajrasaṅgraha, Gækwad Oriental Series.
BCP = Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, Bibliotheca Indica.
MA = Madhyamakāvatāra, Tib. Text. Bibliotheca Buddhica.
MV = Madhyamakavṛtti, Bibliotheca Buddhica.
PK = Pañcakrama, edited by Prof. Poussin.

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Some Images and Traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Chittagong

In 1927 I went to Chittagong. There I was very kindly invited by the Aggamahāpaṇḍita Dhammavaṃsa Mahāthera of the well-known Buddhist monastery of the place to pay a visit to the institution, which I did gladly. In the monastery, I was shown among other interesting articles a few Mahāyānic images collected by the Aggamahāpaṇḍita. On enquiry, I was informed that they had been collected from several localities within the district of Chittagong and were discovered at varying depths below the surface of the ground. The Aggamahāpaṇḍita was good enough to furnish me with photographs of the images, some of which are reproduced here, along with the particulars about their find-spots. The identification of the images, well-known as they are, needs no remarks. But I feel that they should be made known to scholars interested in Buddhism, as they may throw some light on the history of Buddhism in the district of Chittagong. The following is the list of the images (which except one are all metallic) with particulars about their find-spots:

I [Plate I (a)]—Figure of (Vajrāsana) Gautama Buddha, 7½″ in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* with a *vajra* on the seat. The base contains the following inscription in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषान्तथागतो ह्यवदत्। तेषाञ्च यो
निरोध एवम्वादी महाश्रमणः देयधर्मोयं धर्माकस्य मातापित्रो ... ...

Procured from Thakurpuni Temple (Paṭiyā) where it was removed from a *dargā* in South Raozan (Kāukhāli).

II [Plate I (b)]—Figure of (Vajrāsana) Gautama Budha, 7¼″ in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* with a *vajra* on the seat. The base contains two lines of inscription in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.:

देय धर्मोयं प्रवर महायायिनः .....(the remainder not legible)

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(a) (b)

I. (Vajrāsana) Gautama Buddha

II. (Vajrāsana) Guatama Buddha

(c)

IV. (Paryaṅkāsana) Gautama Buddha

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III Figure of Gautama Buddha in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*, 4¼″ in height, seated cross-legged. Procured from Mirasarai (Chittagong).

IV [Plate (c)]—Figure of Gautama Buddha, 3¾″ in height, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*. It has the mark of a circular seal on the back containing the Buddhist formula:

ये धर्मा हेतुप्र। भवा हे??न्त। यागतो ह्यवदत् ते। (यों) यो निरोध। एवं वादी महाश्रमणः॥

(5 lines in characters of 11th-12th cent. A.D.) Procured from Satbaria, P.S. Paṭiyā, Chittagong.

V Figure of Gautama Buddha, 3½″ high, seated cross-legged in *Vyakhyānamudrā* (preaching posture). Procured from Satbaria, P.S. Paṭiyā, Chittagong.

VI Figure of Gautama Buddha, 9″ high, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*.

VII Figure of Gautama Buddha, 8¼″ high, seated cross-legged in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*.

VIII Standing Gautama Buddha, 6″ high, the right hand in the *abhaya* pose and the left in *varada*.

IX [Plate II (a)]—Figure of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi) in *Lalitāsana* (the right leg hanging down), left hand bearing a lotus with stem. It is 6″ high. A Dhyānī Buddha appears on the head-dress. The base contains the following inscription:—

देय धर्मोयं। श्रीभरीत (?) क। ... ...

Procured from Tekota, P.S. Paṭiyā.

X [Plate II (b)]—Figure of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, 8¾″ in height, seated in easy posture (अर्द्धपर्यङ्कासन) with a *Sanāla Utpala* in the left hand. In the head-dress is represented the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya in the earth-touching attitude (भूमिस्पर्शमुद्रा). On the base occurs the following inscription:—

..... १ देयधर्मोयं तिगिरीकस्य in characters of the 11th cent. A.D. Procured from the monastery of North Joara (Paṭiyā).

XI [Plate III (a)]—Figure of the Buddhist god of riches, Jambhala, 4¼″ in height, the right hand holding a citron and the left hand a

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mongoose. The god is pot-bellied. The base contains a few purses full of coins. Procured from Bhandargaon, P.S. Paṭyā.

XII [Plate III (b)]—Figure of Tārā in *Lalitāsana*, 5″ in height, left hand holding a lotus and right hand a (?) Procured from Mirasarai, Chittagong.

XIII (a) [Plate IV (a)]—*Black chlorite stone* figure of Tārā seated in *Lalitāsana*, the right hand in *varada* pose and the left hand bearing a *Sanāla Utpala*. A stūpa on the right side above. The base contains 2 lions couchant on two sides and a pair of devotees in the middle. It is 7″ in height.

XIII (b) [Plate IV (b)]—On the back of the above are inserted six lines of inscription :—

ये धर्मा हेतुप्र-। भा हेन्तुं तेशा ऽन्त। यागतः एवं वालि (?) जो निरोध। बुद्ध धर्म। महा (ग्र ?) थमः॥ १ देयधर्मोयं माया। शवः॥ काड इन्द॥

The date indicated by a chronogram (under the कटपयादि system) appears to be 1308 *Śaka*=1386 A.D. Procured from Udayapur, Hill Tippera State.

From the palæographic point of view, the images belong to the 11th or 12th century A.D. Artistically they may be attributed to the Eastern School of Art which flourished in Bengal and Behar from the 9th to the 13th century. In physiognomical characteristics, specially the facial, they bear a close resemblance to similar images unearthed at Sārnāth and Nālandā, the frontiers of Assam, and the hills of Arakan. Though there are striking similarities between some of the images e.g. those of Tārā, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī found at Chittagong and those of Nālandā, Vikrampur (Bengal) and elsewhere, there are other images which indicate the hand of local artists, who had inherited the artistic tradition of the Eastern School of Art. The lack of liveliness in the facial and physiognomical expressions, the static poses, the rigidity in the treatment of the curls of hair and the folds of the *saṅghāṭī*, in short, a dullness noticeable in the general treatment leaves no doubt in our minds that they are productions of local artists with poor accomplishments aiming to produce replicas of what they saw elsewhere.

Topographically the images can be divided into two classes:

(i) those found in the Paṭiyā sub-division, viz., the images of

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meditating Buddhas in Bhūmisparśamudrā, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Jambhala, and

(ii) those found at Mirasarai (near Sitakund) and in the Hill Tippera State, viz. the images of Buddha and the goddess Tārā.

I-VII. Of the seven (vajrāsana) images of Buddha, in the sitting posture, six have one of their hands pointing to the earth as witness (Bhūmisparśamudrā) and one has two hands put together in the preaching attitude (vyākhyānamudrā). The eighth image of Buddha is in the standing posture, with the right hand in *abhaya* (protection from fear) pose and the left hand in *varada* (gift-bestowing). These images may very well belong to either Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna but it is quite clear that they form a distinct group and show wide divergence in facial features and general treatment from the stone and bronze images which began to be imported into Chittagong from Burma direct or through Arakan. Artistically, they belong to the Bengal School of Art. On the bases of two of the images (figs. I and II) and on the back of another image [Pl. IV (b)] appears, though imperfectly and in incorrect Sanskrit, the undermentioned versified formula of the law of causation which appears at the end of almost all the important Mahāyāna works:

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषां तथागतो ।
ह्यवदत्तेषां च यो निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥

(*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 461)

The corrupt Sanskrit of the inscriptions clearly shows that the donors wanted to have the formula reproduced in Sanskrit. Then again, the expressions *deyadharmo'yam; deyadharmo'yam pravaramahāyāyinaḥ;* and *deyadharmo'yam Tīgirikasya* show that the donors used Sanskrit and not Pāli. On the base of more than a dozen of the images found at Sārnāth appear exactly the above-mentioned expressions, e.g., *deyadharmo'yaṃ Skandavarṇasya* or *Dhanadevasya* or *Kumāraguptasya* (*Sārnāth Catalogue*, pp. 41, 44, 66); *deya-Śākyabhikṣor-Buddhapriyasya* or *Śrīvinaya*...or *Bandhuguptasya* (*Ibid.*, pp. 53, 68, 69). Still more striking is the agreement of the inscription *deyadharmo'yam pravaramhāyāyinaḥ* [Fig. II] with that on some of the Sārnāth images, in which the wordings are: *deyadharmo'yaṃ mahāyāyinaḥ paramopāsaka* (*Sārnāth Catalogue*, p. 135), or *deyadharmo' yam pravaramahā-*

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yānānuyāyī paramopāsaka Māgadhīya Śrī Śāmaṅkasya (*Ibid.*, p. 123). Inscriptions of this nature are found only on the images of the Gupta period and not on those of the earlier. The similarity enables us to draw the inference that these Chittagong images represent also the same period as that of the Sārnāth images, and the type of Buddhism that prevailed at Sārnāth. They also prove that the donors could not have belonged to the School of Buddhism prevailing at present at Chittagong; hence the seven images of Buddha are, in fact, relics of the old school of Buddhism followed by at least some families in Chittagong.

IX. The ninth image is that of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva who has taken the vow that he will not have Bodhi until all beings have attained the same. He is the incarnation of compassion and is always anxious to help the people in distress. It is really the image of Khaṣarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara, the characteristics of which are described thus in the *Sādhanamālā* (translated in the *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 37):

'His person is as resplendent as the rays of a crore of moons; he wears the crown of chignon, bears the image of Amitābha on head, and sits on the moon over the double lotus in the Ardhaparyaṅka attitude; his body is decked in all ornaments; he has a smiling face, is aged about twice eight years, exhibits the Varada pose in the right hand and holds the lotus with a stem in the left'.

The image under discussion cannot be said to have been executed with all the details required by the *Sādhanamālā*, but yet it reveals an effort to produce the Khaṣarpaṇa form of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. It may be compared with the image of Khaṣarpaṇa discovered by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali in the Vikrampur Pergana of East Bengal. (For its representation, see *Buddhist Iconography*, plate XXI).

As Avalokiteśvara is said to have been an emanation of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha, the image should bear on its crown the representation of Amitābha. In the crown of the present image also there appears a Dhyānī Buddha, which evidently should be of Amitābha.

X. The tenth image is of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva who occupies the same place in the Mahāyāna tradition as Ānanda in the Hīnayāna. He represents knowledge, i.e. Buddhist scriptures which dispel ignorance. In many of the faith-arousing Mahāyāna-sūtras, Mañjuśrī

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(a)

XI. Jambhala

(b)

XII. Tārā (Lalitāsana)

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PLATE IV

(a)

XIII. (a) Tārā (Lalitāsana)

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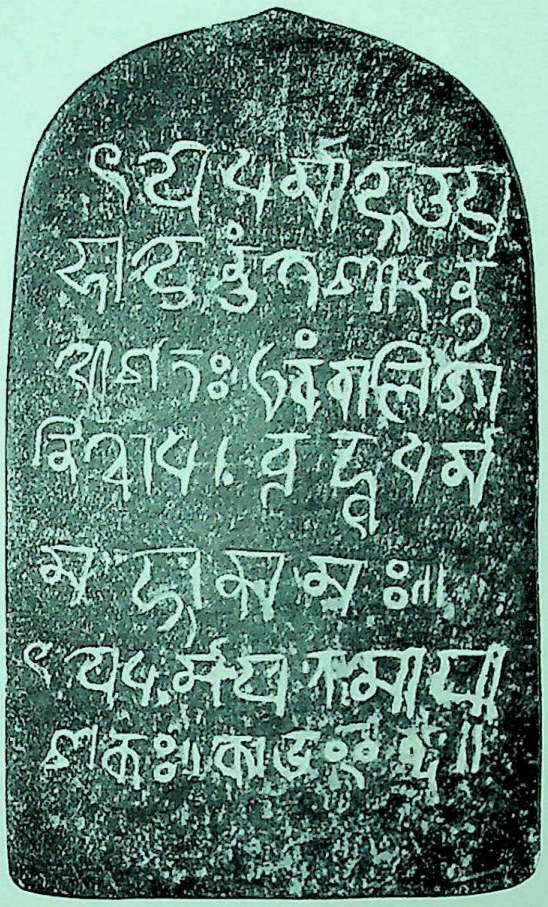
(b)



XIII (b) Inscription on the back of the image of Tārā [XIII (a)]

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appears as the interlocutor. According to the tradition, it was at his instance that many Mahāyāna-sūtras were delivered by the Teacher. He is said to have been an emanation of Akṣobhya, and as such his images should bear on the crown the image of the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya. The present image also bears one such figure on the crown. It may well be compared with the image in the Indian Museum reproduced by Dr. Bhattacharya in his *Buddhist Iconography* (plate XIV) over the title Mahārājalīla Mañjuśrī and by Mr. Havell in his *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (plate XI) over the title Avalokiteśvara (?).

XI. The eleventh image is of Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth. There are some differences of opinion about the Dhyānī Buddha from whom he emanated. It may be Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhva, or any other Dhyānī-Buddha. The present image shows similarity with those images of Jambhala which have been found in Nepal and Vikrampur (Bengal). Dr. Bhattacharya assigns them, according to the direction of the *Sādhanamālā* (*Buddhist Iconography*, p. 113), to the emanations of Ratnasambhava. The direction given in the *Sādhanamālā* for making an image of Jambhala is as follows:

"When single, Jambhala is of golden complexion and carries the monogoose in the left hand and the citron in the right". (*BI.*, p. 114). The present image complies with these requirements.

XII & XIII. The twelfth and the thirteenth images are those of the goddess Tārā.

The stone image of Tārā preserved in the Indian Musuem (Calcutta) has also her right hand in the *varada* pose and the left hand with a stemmed lotus. Havell remarks that its "austerity of outlook, simplicity of rhythm and robust technique remind us of the sculpture of the Gupta period". Artistically the present image seems to excel the one examined by Havell but cannot stand comparison in the high polish and fine execution of the metal images of Tārā of the Nepali-Tibetan School or the Prajñāpāramitā image of Java now at Leiden (See Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Paintings*, plates XIII, XIV and XV).

The conception of Divine Mother has always made a strong appeal to the Indian mind, and in most of the sculptures and paintings of female figures, it is the conception of Mother that has found prominence. Of all the Buddhist deities, the conception of Tārā has worked

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more into the hearts of the people than any Bodhisattva, be he an incarnation of compassion, or knowledge. Though everything else of Mahāyāna Buddhism has been effaced from Chittagong, Tārā still exists in the memory of every Buddhist householder, who, unaware of her history, utters her name whenever he invokes the Buddha by the utterance of Phra Tārā Saṅgha (see *infra*, pp. 340-341).

The history of the evolution of the Tārā conception has been dealt with by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Pandit Girishchandra Vedāntatīrtha and Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya. It will suffice here to say that Tārā is really the personification of Prajñā, more correctly *Prajñāpāramitā*, which alone can turn a Bodhisattva into Buddha. In the Mahāyāna philosophy, *Prajñā* is sometimes identified with Śūnyatā or the highest truth, and as everything issues out of, or more correctly is, if anything, an appearance of Śūnyatā, Buddhas or Bodhisattvas are nothing but the emanations of Prajñā. The literature dealing with the Śūnyatā philosophy is called *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*. So Prajñā represents in short the highest truth as well as the literature (dharma) which inculcates that truth. In the early days of Mahāyāna Buddhism, there were not wanting poetical compositions in which the abstract notion of knowledge was deified. The first few verses given in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, and *Pañcaviṃśtisāhasrikā* reveal how this deification started:

ॐ नमो भगवत्यै आर्य्य प्रज्ञापारमितयै ॥
निर्विकल्पे नमस्तुभ्यं प्रज्ञापारमितोऽमिते ।
... ...
पोषिका जनयित्री च माता त्वमसि वत्सला ॥
यद्बुद्धा लोकगुरवः पुत्रास्तवः कृपालवः ।
तेन त्वमसि कल्याणि सर्वसत्वपितामही ॥
... ...
सुदुर्बोधासि मायेव दृश्यसे न च दृश्यसे ॥
बुद्धैः प्रत्येक बुद्धैश्च श्रावकैश्च निषेविता ॥[1]

The transition from the abstract notion of truth, as expressed in the salutatory verses, to the conception of *Prajñāpāramitā* as the Divine

1 Cf. *MahānirvāṇaTantra*, Śiva addressing Pārvatī in the verses:

त्वमाद्या सर्वविद्यानामस्माकमपि जन्मभूः ।
त्वं जानासि जगत् सर्व्वं न त्वां जानाति कश्चन ॥

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Mother (see *BI.*, pp. 84-86), was an easy one. In Java there has already been found an image (Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pl. XIV, pp. 84-86; *Buddhist Iconography*, pls. XXVII, XXXVI c) known as *Prajñāpāramitā*. The *Tārārahasyavṛttikā* and other *Tāntric* works also give the appellation of Prajñāpāramitā to the goddess Tārā.

It may be safely stated that by the time Mahāyānism reached Bengal (about the ninth century) it had already had a long career, which converted the abstract notion of *Prajñā* into the goddess Prajñāpāramitā and thence into Tārā. So when Bengal received its Buddhism, the conception of Tārā had become common and she represented and replaced the Dharma of the Buddhist Trinity. Once she was turned into a goddess, the Divine Mother, there was no end of the various forms in which she began to be worshipped (for a detailed account, see *BI.*, pp. 37ff.).

All these images are undoubtedly reminiscent of a Mahāyānic religious wave that passed over Chittagong 8 or 9 centuries ago. The fact that there has not been found at Chittagong any old temple or site which may be pointed out as a permanent place of worship of the Mahāyānists constrains us to conclude that there were only stray families or teachers at Chittagong who professed the Mahāyānic faith. It is not improbable that they were mostly settlers hailing from Kāmākhyā and Orissa which had become important centres of Tantric Buddhism from the 9th or the 10th century A.D. It may also be surmised that there were ancient Buddhist temples at Chittagong and that they were later on converted into Hindu temples or places of worship, the Buddha being made a Śiva and the goddess Tārā a Pārvatī or Kālī.[2] The Buddhists of Chittagong even now pay annual visits to Candranātha hill where a temple of Śiva has been erected by the Hindus in later times.[3]

Most of the images show a close affinity with those of Nepal in art

2 In the *Śivaśaktīsaṅgamatantra* "Akṣobhya (Buddha) is put down as a synonym of Śiva, and Tārā of Śakti". Dr. Hirananda Sastri, *Origin and Culture of Tārā*, p. 13.

3 The Śiva temple stands a few feet apart from the ruins (very likely the base of an old Buddhist temple) which form the object of worship of the Chittagong Buddhists.

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and technique, proving thereby that they belong to that Eastern School of Art which reached Nepal from Bengal. Tāranātha suggests that this transmission took place in the 9th century, when king Devapāla was the ruler of Bengal. The time of Devapāla is usually taken to be in the 9th century A.D. and the period of his reign witnessed the highest development of Bengal-Magadhan art (*Bāṅglār Itihās*, I, p. 206). His name has come down to us as a patron of Buddhism, and of the Nālandā University. Without attempting to be definite with regard to the time of the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism into Chittagong, it would not be wide of the mark to conclude on the basis of the marked affinity of the images with those found at Nālandā and other Mahāyānic centres including Nepal that the form of Buddhism which the Pāla kings of Bengal supported reached Chittagong during the ascendancy of the Pāla dynasty. At the same time it cannot be stated that this later phase of Mahāyānic Buddhism did not leave any mark on the beliefs and customs of the people in the district of Chittagong. Of these marks the following are worth mentioning:

Even at the present day, most of the Buddhist villages within the paṭiyā sub-division in Chittagong have a small piece of land set apart for the worship of the goddess called by them *Mā Magadheśvarī*. They do not set up any image there but they have a fixed time and special mantras to perform the worship, and one of the peculiar features of this worship is that the officiating priest is invariably a Buddhist layman. This practice of worshipping a goddess unknown in Hīnayāna cannot but be a relic of the Mahāyānic worship of goddesses.

Then there is the other tradition within living memory that the Buddhists formally worshipped Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. The Chittagong Buddhists were and still are under the impression that they were worshipping a Hindu goddess. But the fact is that Sarasvatī is as much a Buddhist goddess as a Hindu at least from after the date of the *Sādhanamālā*. In this Buddhist work, she is counted as one of the most widely worshipped goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon and is believed to "confer wisdom, learning, intelligence, memory, etc." (*BI.*, p. 150). It may therefore be stated that the Chittagong Buddhist continued up to recent times the

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worship of the goddess Sarasvatī, a remnant of a Mahāyānic religious practice of the 11th century A.D.

Another remarkable trace of this mediæval form of Buddhism is found in the custom of the believing Buddhists of Chittagong uttering *Phra Tārā Saṅgha* when they start on a journey, go to bed or apprehend any evil. Mr. S. C. Das writes in the *Chittagong District Gazetteer* (p. 65) that *Phra Tārā* means *Ārya Tārā*, *Phra* being the Burmese equivalent of *Ārya*. *Phra* in Burmese also refers to 'Buddha'; hence, I think, *Phra Tārā Saṅgha* means Buddha, Tārā and Saṅgha. Now Tārā evidently here stands for Dharma, and we have seen before that Tārā is nothing but the personification of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* representing the Mahāyānic dharma.

It is remarkable that the Chittagong Buddhists were at one time the worshippers of Tārā of Mahāyāna (Tantric) Buddhism. In the seventeenth century, when with the decay of Buddhism in Bengal, the Buddhists of Chittagong were about to be Hinduised and actually began to worship the Hindu deities (*Chittagong District Gazetteer*, p. 68), the great Buddhist priest of Arakan, Saṅgha Rājā (derived, I think, from Saṅgharāja=the leader of the Buddhist Saṅgha of Arakan) came to Chittagong on his way back to Arakan from Bodh-Gaya (*Chittagong District Gazetteer*, p. 67). At this time, a communication was established between Arakan and Chittagong, and there were both immigrations and emigrations. This Arakanese Saṅgha Rājā, who knew nothing but Hīnayāna Buddhism as prevailing in Burma and Arakan, was averse to the Tantric religion followed by the Chittagong Buddhists, and by his great personal influence gave a turn to the decadent Budhism by persuading the people to follow his own sect. As a matter of course, the Arakan-Burmese Buddhism came to be super-imposed on the original Bengal Buddhism, and in course of time with the disappearance of good teachers of the Bengal School, the Arakan-Burmese school prevailed upon the people of Chittagong and made them out-and-out followers of the type of Hīnayāna Buddhism prevailing in Ceylon and Burma.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The Buddhist Manuscripts at Gilgit

The title of the Ms.

The second manuscript examined by me is written in the calligraphic Gupta characters very similar to those in the first manuscript.[1] The characters are much more legibly written, though their size is comparatively smaller. It is also a birchbark manuscript containing 41 leaves and on each leaf there are 5 lines. The title of the book as stated at the end of the ms. is *Bhaiṣajyaguru nāma mahāyānasūtra* (leaf 40 b). In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* it is called *Bhaiṣajyaguru vaidūrya-prabha-rāja-sūtra*, while in its Tibetan version (Rgyud. Tha., pp. 470 ff), the Sanskrit title is *Ārya-Bhagavato-Bhaiṣjyaguru-Vaidūryaprabhasya Pūrvapraṇidhāna-viśeṣa-vistara nāma mahāyāna-sūtra* (phags. pa bcom. ldan ḥdas. smon-gyi bla vai. du. ryaḥi ḥod-kyi sñon-gyi smon-lam gyi khyad. par rgyas. pa shes. bya. ba theg. pa chen. poḥi mdo). The Tibetan title though too long for the title of a book is not without a basis for we have on leaf 2 the following passage, in which Mañjuśrī requests Buddha to deliver the sūtra:

देशयतु भगवांस्तेषां तथागतानां नामधेयानि पूर्वप्रणिधानविशेषविस्तरविभङ्गम् ।

(Preach O Bhagavan, in full details, the excellent resolutions that were made previously by the Tathāgatas).

The object of the whole work is to relate the great resolutions (*mahāpranidhāṇas*) made by each of the seven Buddhas, and the effect of such resolutions. This section deals with the resolutions of the Buddha called Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-prabharāja. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, (p. 470), Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata are described as sons of king Śubhavyūha and are repeatedly mentioned as highly meritorious bodhisattvas, but it is difficult to say whether any of these bodhisattvas became later on the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-prabharāja, for in the Chinese version of this *sūtra* the former names appear as bodhisattvas. If these Bodhisattvas have been elevated to Buddhahood, it must have been done posterior to the time of compilation

1 For an account of the first Ms., see *IHQ.*, VIII, pp. 93ff.

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of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the date of which may be placed in the 1st century A.D.

In a paper contributed to the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extreme-Orient*, (vol. III, 1903, pp. 33-37),[2] Prof. Paul Pelliot has dealt with the Chinese versions of this work. He writes:—"The Bhaiṣajyaguru is one of the most popular Buddhas in China, Japan and Tibet. His name in Chinese is *Yao-che lieou-li-kouang-jou-lai*, (Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabha). The restoration of the original name is guaranteed by the dhāraṇī transcribed phonetically in the *sūtra* consecrated to the glory of Bhaiṣajyaguru. The Sanskrit text of the sūtra has not been discovered, but it exists in more than one translations in Chinese".

Its Chinese translations

From the Chinese and Tibetan translations we learn that the present work is the last chapter of the book dealing with the great vows (mahāpraṇidhāna) of the seven past Buddhas. In view of the fact that this last chapter have independent translations both in Chinese and Tibetan, and also of the fact that quotations from this chapter only appear in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, it may be stated that this particular chapter, containing the vows of Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabharāja, attained the greatest popularity.

About the Chinese translation of this chapter, Prof. Pelliot furnishes us with the following information: "The 12th or the last, and undoubtedly, the oldest chapter of *Fo-chouo-ta-kouan-ting-chen-tcheou-king*[3] was translated by Śrīmitra between 317 and 322 A.D.; it should, however, be observed that certain catalogues mention only nine chapters of the translation of Śrīmitra; in any case, it comprised 12 chapters at the time of the compilation of the *K'ai yuan che kiao lou*[4] in 730 A.D. Among the independent translations, it appears that the

2 I should thank Dr. P. C. Bagchi for drawing my attention to this article. In my translation of the portions of this French article, I have retained the method adopted by the French writers in transliterating Chinese words.

3 Nanjio (167) remarks under this book that it is in 12 fasciculi, "each fasc. contains a *sūtra* with its own title, so that this is a collection of 12 *sūtras*."

4 "Catalogue of books on the teaching of Śākyamuni."

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first is that of Houei-kien entitled *Yao-che-lieou-li-koung-king* and dated 457 A.D. It was mentioned in 597 in the (catalogue) *Li-tai-san-pao-ki*[5] and about 664 in the *Ta-t'ang-nei-tien-lou*[6] but it disappeared at the time of the compilation of *K'ai yuan che kiao lou* (730). The translation of Dharmagupta executed in 615 still exists (Nanjio, 170); it is called *Fo chouo yao che jou lai pen yuan king* (Bhaiṣajyaguru-tathāgata-pūrva-praṇidhāna). It is to this that reference has been made in the preface entitled *Yao che jou lai pen yuan kong tö king siu*, which preface in the Japanese Tripiṭaka has been placed by mistake at the beginning of the translation of the sūtra of Bhaiṣajyaguru made later on by Yi-tsing. The author of this preface was one of the collaborators of Dharmagupta. It is curious that he does not mention *Fo-chouo-kouan-ting-king* (Nanjio, 167) or the translation of Śrīmitra. He speaks only about the many inaccuracies in the translation of Kien-houei. The text adopted by Dharmagupta, on the contrary, was based on three mss. and the translation was accepted after three revisions. But this translation of Dharmagupta, although it is still extant, has been eclipsed by that of Hiuan-tsang, entitled *Yao-che-lieou-li-kouang-jou-lai-pen-yuan-kong-tö-king* (Nanjio 171= *Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-prabhāsa-pūrva-praṇidhāna-guṇa-sūtra*), and is dated 650. It is this translation that was entirely copied by the emperor K'ang-hi by his own hand in 1695 and it is this that has been partially reproduced in the *T'ou-chou-tsi-tch'eng*. This is assuredly the most popular in China. The three translations of Śrīmitra, of Dharmagupta and of Hiuan-tsang, however, follow one another quite closely."

Its Tibetan translations

In the tenth (tha) volume of the Rgyud (Tantra) of the bkaḥ-ḥgyur, leaves 433-470 contain *De. bshin-gśegs-pa bdun. gyi sñon. gyi smon. lam. gyi khyad. par rgyas. pa* (=*Sapta-Tathāgata-pūrvapraṇidhāna-viśeṣa-sūtra*).[7] To this probably corresponds the Chinese text translated by Yi-tsing (Nanjio 172), the title of which text as restored by Nanjio

5 "Records concerning the *Triratna*, under successive dynasties."

6 "Catalogue of Buddhist books collected under the great Than dynasty."

7 *Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 508-9.

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is *Bhaiṣajyaguru vaidūryaprabhās (ādi) sapta-buddha pūrvapraṇidhānaguṇa sūtra.* By examining the Tibetan xylographs, I find that the first tathāgata mentioned in it is called *mtshan. legs. par. yoṅs. bsgrigs. dpal. gyi rgyal-bo.* It may be restored as *Su-yaśa-parigranthita-śrī-rāja.* Prof. Pelliot gives the Chinese name of the first Tathāgata as Chan-ming-tch'eng-ki-siang-wang-jou-lai, which may be restored as *Su-yaśaśrīrāja-tathāgata.*

In Tibetan there is also an independent translation of this work on leaves 470-484. On comparison I notice that this Tibetan version closely follows the present Sanskrit text. From the summary supplied by Prof. Pelliot from the Chinese version of Śrīmitra, Dharmagupta and Hiuan-tsang, it will be apparent that the first portions (see p. 346 para 1) agrees with the present Sanskrit text but not the rest, excepting the last few lines. In this connection, I should also point out that the quotation, which is a fairly long one, in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (p. 175) has been taken from the text under consideration.

Popularity of Bhaiṣajyaguru in China and Japan

About the popularity of this Tathāgata in China and Japan, Prof. Pelliot writes:

"The Bhaiṣajyaguru is the Buddha of the 7th of these worlds, all of which are situated in the east, and of which Tsing-lieou-li is the furthest. It seems that the necessity of symmetry has caused the location of this happy eastern world opposite to the western Paradise. In a Chinese inscription of 776 A.D., Bhaiṣajyaguru's world of the east and the Sukhāvatī of the West are mentioned side by side, and a few lines furher there is a reference to the twelve vows that he had taken when he was a bodhisattva for the welfare of beings.

From China, the Bhaiṣajyaguru passed to Japan at an early date. He is represented at Horiuji in a group in bronze; the most ancient representation is perhaps attributed to Tori Busshi; an inscription enables us to date it exactly in the year 607; it was in his honour that in the year 681 on the occasion of an illness of the Queen, the Emperor Temmei founded at Yamato the great Yakushiji, the temple of Bhaiṣajyaguru. This temple perserves even now the wonders of ancient Japanese art."

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The Contents of the Sūtra

For the purpose of comparison I am reproducing in English the substance given by Prof. Pelliot from the Chinese texts as also that of the Sanskrit text:

1. "The Buddha arrives at Vaiśāli; he is surrounded by all the beings of the worlds. Mañjuśrīkumāra stands up and requests the Tathāgata to give an exposition of the vows made formerly by the past Buddhas for extricating the living beings from the miseries of existence. Bhagavā grants the request and explains the twelve vows taken formerly, when he was a bodhisattva, by a Buddha whose world is separated from ours by Buddhakṣetras, the number of which is ten times the number of the sands of the Ganges; that Buddha is Yao-che-lieou-li-kouang-jou-lai (Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabha); he lives in the world Tsing-lieou-li. He wished that he himself might attain bodhi, pure and resplendent as the vaidūrya (maṇi), and illuminate the world immersed in darkness; he wished that his name if uttered might cure maladies, release the prisoners, change into men those women who are sick of their miserable condition, procure food for the famished, or clothes for the destitute. In short, in that world, for innumerable kalpas there would be neither suffering nor poverty; there would be no more feminine beings, nor beings in inferior states of existence; the soil would be of vaidūrya, ropes of gold would line the routes;[8] the walls and the houses would be made of seven jewels and one would believe it to be the western Sukhāvatī.[9] In the country there would be two bodhisattvas, viz., Je-kouang-pien-tchao and Yue-kouang-pien-tchao,[10] the chief among the innumerable bodhisattvas and second to

8 Neither in Tibetan (vide leaf 474, ll. 4-5) nor in Sanskrit I find any passage corresponding to this.

9 Cf. कामदोषापगतापायदुःखशब्दमपगतमातृग्रामं वैदूर्य्यमयी च सा (ms. श) महापृथिवी कुड्यप्राकारप्रासादतोरणगवाक्षजालनिर्य्यूहं सप्तरत्नमयं यादृशं सुखावतीलोकधातुस्तादृशं तत्र वैदूर्य्यनिभासायां लोकधातौ तौ बोधिसत्त्वौ etc.।

Cf. Tib. xylograph, leaf 474a, ll. 4-5.

10 The Chinese terms used by Śrīmitra or Dharmagupta or Hiuantsang are really different translations of the Sanskrit names: Sūryavairocana and Candra-

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the Buddha alone; they protect the precious treasure of the law of their Tathāgata. Also all believers male and female must take the vow to be reborn in the world of this Buddha.

2. It will suffice only to think of his name for deliverance from all evils, and if one dreams of him at the time of death, Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara b., Mahāsthāmaprāpta b., Akṣayamati b., Pao-t'an-houa b., Bhaiṣajyarāja b., Bhaiṣajyasamudgata b.,[11] Maitreya b. will act as attendants of the deceased and conduct him to the place of delight.

3. If one makes an image of this Buddha, or if one recites the text of the sūtra, he will escape from the nine ways of death (neuf fins violentes): this is what the Bodhisattva Kieou-t'o[12] explained to Ānanda. In conclusion, having heard this instruction of Bhagavā, 12 great rākṣasa-chiefs, each having a following of 7000 rākṣasas, were converted; and they consecrated themselves to better the lot of living beings."

The Sanskrit text (in translation) begins as follows:

"Salutations to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Thus have I heard. Once Bhagavā in course of his tour came to the great city of Vaiśālī. There he stopped under a tree, giving out musical sounds, with a large number of bhikṣus, bodhisattvas, householders, gods, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, etc., in short, many human and non-human beings. Then the dharmarājaputra Mañjuśrī, being inspired by Buddha, put the robe on one shoulder, knelt down and said with folded hands: O Bhagavā, tell us the names of the Tathāgatas and their former resolutions in detail for the good of all beings."

The Sanskrit text follows the first para of Prof. Pelliot's translation quite closely, as has been shown by quotations of some of the corresponding Sanskrit passages. After this, it gives the following conversation of Bhagavān with Mañjuśrī:

vairocana which are found in the present Sanskrit ms. as also in the inscription of Say-fong.

11 All these names occur in the list of bodhisattvas in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (see ante p. 342); but these names are not found in the Sanskrit Ms.

12 Its Sanskrit restoration is Trāṇamukta.

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"There are, O Mañjuśrī, men who are unwise and avaricious and so when they give gifts, they feel pain in their mind; they seek food for themselves and not even for their parents. These will be reborn in the animal world, but in that state if they just remember the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, they will be born in future among men, and be able to remember their former existences and sufferings, and so will lead a pious life.

There are some who transgress the (Buddhist) precepts, or become conceited on account of their learning and look down upon others. They will be reborn in hell where, however, if they remember the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, they will be born in future among men and become devoted followers of the Buddhist religion.

There are again some who speak ill (*avarṇaṃ bhāsati*) of others. They will be reborn as asses, horses, cows, etc. or as low-class labourers. If they remember the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, they will be reborn as men and will become wise and obtain good friends.

There are also some who slander others (*paiśūnyābhirata*) and instigate people to quarrel among themselves, or kill animals, or practise dreadful (Tāntric) practises (*ghoravidyām*) and so forth; they also, if they hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru will love their enemies or victims.

Those of the monks and nuns, male or female lay-devotees, who observe the 8 śīlas or follows the code of discipline for three months or one year will be reborn in the Sukhāvatī world of the west. Should they hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, eight Bodhisattvas[13] will appear at the time of their death and conduct them to the world of gods. They may be reborn also as sovereigns of the four dvīpas, or as rich householders, and if they are females, they will lose their femininity and become males.

After this, commences the account of the merits acquired by one who makes others hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, or preaches and propagates this Sūtra.

This is followed by an account of the method of worshipping the Tathāgata through an image (tasya tathāgatasya pūjā kartukāmenaśca tena tathāgatasya pratimāṃ kārapayitavyaṃ).

13 See ante, p. 347.

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The worshipper is to observe the 8 śīlas, avoid impure food, choose a clean spot, burn incense, decorate the place with various kinds of cloths, flags and festoons. Then he is to bathe, and with a pure mind try to be friendly to all beings. After this he is to circumambulate the image with music, and read out the present Sūtra, remembering all the while the vows of the Tathāgata.

Such worship brings the worshipper wealth, sons etc. and on the other hand rids him of all worldly evils.

Those, who will hear the name of the Tathāgata as well as take the three Śaraṇas, observe the five Śikṣāpadas and the Bodhisattvasaṃvaras (rules of discipline for Bodhisattvas), or become monks observing the 250 Śikṣāpadas, or become nuns observing 500 Śikṣāpadas, will always be protected by the Tathāgata from evil destiny.

The women with child will by uttering his name feel no pain at the time of giving birth to the child, and the baby will be healthy, good-looking and intelligent."

This is followed by a conversation of Buddha with Ānanda about the credibility of the results enumerated above brought about by merely hearing or uttering the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru. As usual Ānanda dares not say anything against it and expresses his deep conviction in the same, pitying the evil lot of those who would not believe it.

After Ānanda, there appears one Trāṇamukta bodhisattva who enquires whether in future beings lying senseless on their death-bed when Yamarāja is taking stock of his merits and demerits can be revived by his relatives by making him hear the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru and performing the worship of the Tathāgata. He is given an answer in the affirmative, and an account of the method of worship. The worship is to be performed more elaborately by setting up seven images and so forth.

Ānanda now raises the question about the troubles of the ruling kings and the possibility of their removal by uttering the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru.

This is followed by a conversation between Ānanda and Trāṇamukta bodhisattva about the various causes of death.[14]

14 See ante, p. 347, para 3.

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At last, appear the rākṣasas, whose chiefs were Kiṃca, Vajra, Sanila, Indraloka, Pāyila, Vidala, etc. who promised to utter the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru, take the three śaraṇas and the vow to preach the *Sūtra* everywhere.

The *Sūtra* ends with a discussion about the suitablity of its title. Thus ends the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*.*

NALINAKSHA DUTT

* I hope to publish an edition of the Sanskrit text with its Tibetan version within a short time.

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MISCELLANY

A Note on Śrīpati and his Gaṇitatilaka

The name of *Śrīpati* as an astronomer is well-known to students of Indian Mathematics. His works on *Pāṭīgaṇita* and *Bījagaṇita* are still unpublished; and so far as I know even the Ms. for the latter work is not available. A palm-leaf Ms. of his *Pāṭīgaṇita*, styled as *Gaṇitatilaka*[1] by Siṃhatilaka Sūri in his commentary to this work, is in my possession at present. This work along with this commentary has been included in the Gaekwad Oriental Series and is being edited by me. It appears that this Ms. is only a fragment of the whole work; for, some of the chapters to be found in Līlāvatī and such other works seem to be missing in it. So will any reader of this journal enlighten me as to whence I can get another Ms. of *Gaṇitatilaka* and its commentary? Furthermore will he kindly point out if a Ms. for *Bījagaṇita* is available anywhere?

I may mention in this connection that the existence of *Pāṭīgaṇita* and *Bījagaṇita* of Śrīpati was inferred by the late Mr. S. B. Dīkṣit, as could be seen from his work "*History of Indian Astronomy*" (p. 315). He has stated therein that these works are quoted by *Munīśvara* in his[2] commentary to Līlāvatī. Will any scholar be pleased to draw my attention to quotations pertaining to *Gaṇitatilaka* in any other work he may have come across?

Siṃhatilaka Sūri, the commentator of *Gaṇitatilaka* and the author of *Mantrarājarahasya* (composed in Saṃvat 1322) refers to a commentary on *Līlāvatī*.

He has neither mentioned the title of this nor has he quoted any passage from it. Is it possible to identify this with any particular commentary to *Līlāvatī*?

HIRALAL R. KAPADIA

1 *Karaṇatilaka*, *Karaṇaparatilaka*, *Tājakatilaka* and *Sāmudratilaka*, may be pointed out as some of the mathematical works having their names ending in *tilaka*.

2 The commentary *Buddhivilāsinī* of Gaṇeśa Daivajña is being compiled for the Ānandāśram-Sanskrit Granthāvalī, Poona.

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The Successor of Kumāra Gupta I

Since the discovery of the Bhitarī Seal of Kumāra Gupta (II) in 1889 there has been a good deal of controversy regarding the chronology and order of succession of the Imperial Guptas after Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya. It has been found difficult to reconcile the divergent evidence of the Bhitarī Seal and the Bihār and Bhitarī pillar inscriptions. The last mentioned documents consistently represent Skanda Gupta as the occupant of the Imperial throne immediately after Kumāra Gupta I. But the Seal makes no reference to Skanda and mentions "Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Pura Gupta" as the son of Kumāra I and, apparently, his successor. It has been suggested that the evidence of the Seal clearly points to Pura Gupta being the rightful heir and immediate successor of Kumāra I, and that Skanda obtained, or rather usurped, the throne only after a bitter struggle in the course of which Pura Gupta and possibly some other claimants perished. The general belief among scholars, however, is that Skanda succeeded Kumāra I, and that he, in his turn, was succeeded by his brother or half-brother Pura Gupta. This view seems to be confirmed by a verse in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa* (vol. I, ed. Ganapati Śāstrī, p. 628) which runs thus:—

Samudrākhyo nṛpaś caiva Vikramaś caiva kīrtitaḥ|
Mahendranṛpavaro mukhyaḥ Śakārādyam ataḥ param||
Devarājākhyanāmāsau yugādhame. . . .

It is impossible not to recognise in the kings (*nṛpa*) Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra and "Sakārādya" mentioned in the verse, the great Gupta Emperors Samudra Gupta, Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya, Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya and Skanda Gupta. The appellation "*Devarāja*" reminds us of the epithet "*Śakropama*" applied to Skanda in the Kahāum Stone Pillar inscription, and may have actually been assumed by the king in imitation of his grandfather (cf. 'Candra Guptasya Deva-rāja-nām....'' of the Sāñci inscription) along with the title Vikramāditya. The words "*ataḥ param*" coming after *Sakārādya* clearly suggest that Skanda was the immediate successor of Mahéndra *i.e.* Kumāra I.

H. C. Raichaudhuri

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'Samudra' in the Ṛg-veda

The term 'Samudra,' as it has been used in the *Ṛg-veda*, has been interpreted by different scholars in different ways. Yāska in his *Nirukta* says that it has been used in the *Vedas* in several senses, viz., sea or ocean, a large depository of water, *antarīkṣa*, etc. But Prof. Hopkins thinks that the term does not mean a sea or ocean, but a river. Prof. Keith, in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, p. 79, says: "In the period of the Ṛg-veda there is no clear sign that they (the Aryans) had yet reached the ocean. No passage even renders it probable that sea navigation was known.....The word 'Samudra' which in later times, undoubtedly means ocean, occurs not rarely; but where the application is terrestrial, there seems no strong reason to believe that it means more than a stream of the Indus in its lower course, after it had received the waters of the Punjab."

In some passages of the *Ṛg-veda*, Zimmer says that 'Samudra' denotes the river Indus when it received all its Punjab tributaries. On this statement of Zimmer, the author of the *Vedic Index* remarks that "it is probable that this is to circumscribe too narrowly the Vedic knowledge of the ocean, which was almost inevitable to people who knew the Indus. There are references to the treasures of the ocean, perhaps pearls, or gains of trade, and the story of Bhujya seems to allude to marine navigation" (*Vedic Index*, vol. 11, p. 432). Prof. Max Müller says that though in one or two passages 'Samudra' has been used in the sense of *antarīkṣa*, the word shows in by far the larger number of passages the clear meaning of ocean. "There is one clear passage VII. 95.2, which proves that the Vedic poets who were supposed to have known the upper courses only of the river of the Punjab, had followed the greatest and the most sacred of their rivers, the Sarasvatī, as far as the Indian Ocean. It is well-known that, as early as the composition of the Laws of the Mānavas, and possibly as early as the composition of the Sūtras on which the metrical Laws of Manu are based, the river Sarasvatī had changed its course, and that the place where it disappeared underground, was called the Vinaśana, the loss."

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Now, the river Sarasvatī, which in the *Ṛg-veda*, VII. 95. 2 is said to have fallen into the 'Samudra,' and which no longer does so owing to silting, is one of the rivers which have formed the basis of the argument of scholars who are not disposed to attribute to the Ṛg-vedic Aryans the knowledge of the sea. It is true that the epithets applied to the Sarasvatī by the Ṛg-vedic Aryans do not apply to it now. But that does not prove that it was never in connection with the 'Samudra' directly. Nor does it prove the existence of a Rajputana sea in the Ṛg-vdic period, as has been considered by some scholars in recent times. The very term Vinaśana used in the *Śrauta Sūtras* and in the *Laws of Manu*, proves that the Sarasvatī at one time flowed past the Vinaśana region in Rajputana. The following account of the Sarasvatī from the *Mahābhārata* will not only show the hollowness of of the theory of the Rajputana sea, and also of the theory (that 'Samudra' means 'river') of Hopkins, Zimmer, Macdonell, Keith and others, but also prove the direct connection of the Sarasvatī with the sea, and, at the same time, lend great weight to the surmise of Max Müller. From the account it will be evident that the silting up of the river was caused, as is generally the case with rivers flowing through sandy tracts and deserts, not by the so-called upheaval of the bed of the Rajputana sea, but by the inability of the current of the river to wash off sand from its course during the post Ṛg-vedic period.

Now, in the *Mahābhārata* (Śalya Parvan: chaps. 35-37) is given an account of the pilgrimage of Balarāma. He started visiting the holy places on the banks of the river Sarasvatī. He began with Prabhāsa where the river united with the 'Samudra.' This Prabhāsa which subsequently became known as Somatīrtha from its association with Somadeva, was the first of the holy places on the banks of the Sarasvatī. Next Balarāma came to Puṣkara in Rajputana. Then after travelling for sometime, he came to the place called Vinaśana where the Sarasvatī is said to have disappeared underground owing to her abhorrence for the Śūdras and the Ābhiras living there, and then to Gargasrotas, a place where the sage Garga had his hermitage, and where probably the river Goggar met the Sarasvatī. This account gives a clear and unmistakable clue to the ancient course of the river Sarasvatī which really emptied itself into the Arabian sea. Therefore,

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we can safely say that at least in one place of the *Ṛg-veda* (VII. 95.2) the term 'Samudra' means 'the sea.' As regards the present condition of the river, it may be said that the upper course of the river lost itself in the desert at Vinaśana as late as the period of the Sūtra literature, while the lower course still flows in a pitiable condition, at a distance of about a mile to the eastward of Paṭṭana (N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 69-70, 81).

That the Ṛg-vedic Aryans had acquaintance with the sea, may also be derived from the frequent references in the hymns to the treasures of the ocean, gains of trade (cf. *Vedic Index*, vol. 11, p. 432), and to navigating ships and boats. Apart from the innumerable references to the sea or ocean generally as in *Ṛv.*, 1. 71. 7; 1. 30. 3; 1. 55. 2; VI. 50. 13; VI. 50. 14; VII. 6. 7; VII. 49, 1; VII. 69. 7, VII. 95. 2, etc., there seems to be particular references to ships and boats as in *Ṛv.*, 1.25.7; 1.56.2, etc., to the wealth of the sea, to pearls and other things as in *Ṛv.*, 1.47.6; 1.51.1; 1.48.3; 1.56.2; IX. 33.6; X. 47.2, etc., and to many other things peculiar to the sea. In the *Atharva-veda* there is a clear reference to the pearl-shell in the 'Samudra' (*Av*, IV. 104), and to the ebb and flow of the ocean. Thus we can say that at least in the passages referred to above, 'Samudra' has been undoubtedly used to designate the sea or ocean and not the river.

That the Ṛg-vedic Aryans had acquaintance with the sea, may also perhaps be proved from the findings at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Let it not be understood, however, that we are going to make an assumption that the civilisation of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro is indentical with Ṛg-vedic civilisation. What we are going to point out is this:—The conch-shell articles found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, show an acquaintance of their inhabitants with the sea. Harappa stands on the Rāvi or Ṛg-vedic Paruṣṇī. Now, in the *Ṛg-veda* a place called Hariyūpīyā plays an important part. It has been the scene of at least one very important battle between Aryans and non-Aryans (*Ṛv.*, VI. 27. 5). Another battle also was probably fought there betwen two Aryan kings (*Ṛv.*, VII 18.8; VII. 19.3). It is quite possible that the nearest phonetic analogue of Hariyūpīyā (*Ind Ant.*, 1929. p. 12), is this Harappa. Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the earliest civilisation of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro is

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chalcolithic, i.e., a civilisation other than the Ṛg-vedic one. If this civilisation, which is said to belong to the 3rd millennium B.C. from Sumerian analogy, is older than the Ṛg-vedic civilisation it is quite probable that the Ṛg-vedic Aryans, who occupied India later on should be acquainted with the sea and the conch-shell articles.

Now, as regards the contention of certain scholars such as Hopkins, Zimmer, Keith, and others that the term 'Samudra' in the *Ṛg-veda* means 'a river,' it may be pointed out that the entire River-hymn in the *Ṛg-veda*, X. 75, and frequent references to rivers, such as in *Ṛv.*, 1. 112. 11-12; V. 41. 15; V. 53. 9; VII. 95. 2; X. 108. 1, etc., definitely show that the word *nadī* and its other synonyms (*Nighaṇṭu* 1. 13) have always been used to designate a river. But there are also some passages (*Ṛv.*, 1. 71. 7; III. 36. 7; III. 46. 4; V. 85. 6) which may present difficulty. The Sapta Sindhavaḥ have been mentioned as filling up the 'Samudra.' But this problem may be solved in view of the facts that all rivers fall into the sea or ocean either directly or through some other rivers, and that the seven rivers even now meet the Arabian Sea through the Indus. Besides these rivers, there are also some vague references to rivers filling up the ocean, which do not warrant a generalisation that everywhere the tributaries of the Indus alone have been mentioned to designate 'Samudra.' Dr. Roy Choudhury has, however, pointed out one clear reference to the use of the term 'Samudra' with reference to big rivers like the Ganges as late as the period of the Jātaka commentary (cf. Jataka No. 342). But this particular case cannot be made the basis of such a wide generalisation as that made by Prof. Hopkins, Zimmer, Keith and others.

Lastly, as to the references to the two Samudras in *Ṛv.*, X. 136. 5, viz., the eastern sea and the western sea, and to the four Samudras in *Ṛv.*, IX. 33. 6; X. 47. 2, it should be remembered that in the former case, the eastern sea seems to refer to the Bay of Bengal, and the western sea to the Arabian sea. In the other case the idea of the four Samudras seems to have been originally derived from the four quarters of the sky. As regards the identification of the eastern sea with the Bay of Bengal, it may be argued that the Ṛg-vedic Aryans had not advanced so far as to know the Bay of Bengal. But besides putting forward the argument of the eastern sea derived from the eastern direc-

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tion, it may be said with a degree of certainty, that the mention of the term 'Kīkaṭas' (or Magadha) presupposes the knowledge of the eastern regions of India, either directly or indirectly on the part of the Ṛg-vedic Aryans (*Ṛv.*, III. 53. 14; *Nirukta*, VI. 32; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1. 3. 24; VII. 10. 18; Muir, *O.S.T.*, vol. II, p. 344; *Cal. Review*, 1926, p. 125). Too much importance, therefore, should not be laid on *argumentum ex silentio*.

Therefore, from the above findings, we may come to the conclusion, that the term 'Samudra' in the *Ṛg-veda*, except perhaps in some particular cases where a big river has been meant, the truth of which again is open to considerable doubt, always means 'the ocean' or 'sea.' (cf. *Ṛv.* IX. 97. 44. etc.).

AMIYA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

The Rasa-pradīpa and the Hṛdaya-darpaṇa

Mr. P. K. Gode has contributed to the *IHQ.*, viii, 1932, p. 111 an interesting note on a quotation from the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, which he found in a BORI manuscript of Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasa-pradīpa*. The quotation escaped my notice when I wrote my account of the *Rasa-pradīpa* in 1923 and Mr. Gode deserves thanks for drawing attention to it, but I have since had an opportunity of noting it as occurring at p. 3 of the edition of the text which was published in 1925 by Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Khiste Sāhityācārya in the Saraswati Bhavana Texts Series of Benares, vol. 12. The quotation, however, occurs anonymously in Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (ed. Durgāprasāda Dviveda, Bombay 1915, p. 11), which work in its turn has been cited thrice in the *Rasa-pradīpa*. It is noteworthy that the *Rasa-pradīpa* also refers independently (p. 25) to Bhaṭṭanāyaka.

It is not my intention in this short note to reopen the larger question of the authorship of the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, but with regard to the question of the nature of the work, which Mr. Gode has raised, I should like to draw his attention to a point which he appears to have over-

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looked. He has quoted and commented upon a remark of mine with reference to the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* from the first volume of my *Sanskrit Poetics* (p. 41,); but he does not appear to have noticed that I had also put forward, after an exchange of views with the late Prof. Sovani whom he also cites, a somewhat modified opinion on the question in the second volume of my *Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 231, footnote 5. On account of the loss of the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* itself, all such opinions are necessarily tentative and I do not claim finality in the matter; but Mr. Gode's quotation does hardly throw any new light on the question.

So far as I can make out from the printed edition of the *Rasa-pradīpa*, the following works and authors have been cited in it (the references are to pages):

भरतमुनि १७, २०, २५, ३३ (anonymously) ३४ (भरतसूत्र), ३७; दण्डिन्, ३, ६, १२; वामन, ५; लोल्लट, १९; शङ्कुक, २३; भट्टनायक २५; हृदयदर्पण, ३; ध्वनिकार, ५, ६, ७, ८, ९, १६, १७, ४७; धनञ्जय, ३०; धनिक, १७, १८, ३०, ३९, ४४, ४८; अभिनवगुप्त १९, २९, ३१ (लोचनकार); (काव्य-) प्रकाशकार, ३, ६, ७, १६, १७; (काव्य-) प्रदीपकृत, ६, १२, १६, २२, ३५; कुन्तक cited anonymously, १२, १३; परमानन्द चक्रवर्तिन्, २०; धर्मदत्त, ३२, ४०; नारायण, १०, ४०; गङ्गाधर, ३९; वाचस्पति मिश्र, ४८; केशव, १९; साहित्यदर्पणकार, १८, २०, ३५; जिनमुनि, ७, ९; शार्ङ्गदेव, ३५; श्रीहर्ष मिश्र, ४; शम्बराचार्य, ५; व्यक्तिविवेककार ४६; रुचिनाथ or मिश्र रुचिनाथ, ६, ७, ९; श्रीपाद, ५०; भट्टचरण, ४,१४; अलङ्काररहस्य (स्वकृत) ८, ९, १०, १३, १५, २०, ३७, ३८, ३९, ४०, ५१; मामिका संग्रहकारिका, ३७; अभिहितान्वयवादिनः ४१; आचार्य, ४, १९, ३०, २४, २८; मिश्राः, ५, ९, १०, १३, २२, ३०; सम्प्रदायरसिक, ११; सम्प्रदायमत, १३; सम्प्रदायिकाः, ३२; टीकाकार, ५; मत्स्य-पुराण, १८; रघुवंश, ९।

S. K. De

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Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad

It is proposed to give in these pages an account of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, one of the oldest institutions established for encouraging linguistic, historical and scientific study in any Indian vernacular. It was originally founded under the name, Bengal Academy of Literature, in 1893.

The Pariṣad consists of three departments of activities:—(i) Library, (ii) Museum and (iii) Publication. The Library has a collection of 34,476 printed books in Bengali, English, Sanskrit, Assamese, Hindi, etc. It has been enriched by the valuable collections, among others, of Pandit Īśvar Candra Vidyāsāgar, Mr. R. C. Dutt, the late poet Mr. Satyendra Nath Dutt, and Rājā Vinaya Kṛṣṇa Dev. It possesses a good many old and very rare publications in English and Bengali.

The Museum has a collection of sculptures, terracottas, bronzes, coins and manuscripts. A catalogue of the collection entitled *The Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad* was published by the late Mr. Manomohan Ganguli. A catalogue of the coins, some of which are very important, is under preparation.

The Manuscript Library of the Pariṣad contains about 5000 bundles of manuscripts, of which 2000 are in Sanskrit, and 3000 are in Bengali. The Pariṣad was able to secure portions of the manuscript collections of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Pran Krishna Biswas whose name is associated with that well-known Tantra compilation, the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī*, and Dr. Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Bengali MSS. is in the course of publication, two parts having already been published. A catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts is under preparation by the writer of this note and will be published shortly along with a critical and descriptive introduction.[1]

Publication Department of the Pariṣad

Thirty-seven volumes of the Quarterly Journal, the organ of the Pariṣad have been published. In it are learned papers from the

1 Cf. C. Chakravarti—*Sanskrit Mss. in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*—(Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, vol. XXXVIII, p. 237 ff.).

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pens of various scholars in Bengal. A good many epigraphic records of Bengal have been published in it, some of which were edited here for the first time. R. D. Banerji's well-known work, *Origin of Bengali Script*, was originally written in Bengali for this journal. The same is also the case with his paper on *the Indo-Scythian period of Indian History* (*Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, vol. XIV; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, pp. 25 ff.) One of the objects of the Pariṣad is to coin technical terms, so that scientific works may be produced in Bengali without any difficulty. Some of the technical terms in several branches have already been published in this journal while others are being edited by an expert committee. It is also proposed to publish a *Dialectic Dictionary of Bengali*, and with this ovject in view, dialectic words from different parts of Bengal have been collected and published in the form of a good many short papers in the different volumes of the journal.

Eighty works have so far been published in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Series. These may broadly be brought under four classes, e.g.,

(i) Old Bengali texts;

(ii) Translation from Sanskrit, English, Arabic and Persian;

(iii) Scientific works; and

(iv) Miscellaneous independent works.

Only works in Bengali are published in the series, there having been only one exception, the *Saṅgītarāga-Kalpadruma* (or Encyclopædia of Indian music) comprising popular Sanskrit, Hindi, Gujrati, Karnati, Telugu, Tamil, Bengali, Arabic, Persian, Peguan and various songs of the different dialects of Rajputana as well as some ancient English songs. It was compiled by Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsadeva Rāgasāgara in the 19th century at the instance of the chief of Udaipur and was reprinted by the Pariṣad from the original edition of 1843 A.D. Besides this, in the case of translation from Sanskrit, the Sanskrit texts have also been published along with their Bengali translations as in the *Nyāyadarśana*, *Śrībhāṣya* and *Sarvasaṃvādinī*.

Some of the publications of the Pariṣad under the first head have opened up new fields of study not only for students of linguistics but also for students of literary, social and religious history of Bengal. A good deal of controversy has also been occasioned with regard to the exact nature and genuineness of some of these works. Of these, the

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Bauddha gān a dohā contains, along with the Apabhraṃśa records of very great importance, the *Caryācaryaviniścaya*[1] which is suposed to be the earliest literary specimen of old Bengali. According to Dr. S. K. Chatterjee the work belongs to the period 950 to 1200 A.D. (*Origin and Development of Bengali language*, p. 123). But according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya the oldest songs in it may be traced back to the 6th century (*JBORS.*, vol. XIV, p. 341 ff.).

The work having been published in Bengali characters has not received the recognition that it so richly deserved. As a matter of fact few scholars outside Bengal have had any knowledge of its contents before the publication of Dr. Sahidullah's work *Les Chants Mysitiques*.

Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana is the oldest available literary specimen of middle Bengali, the importance of which has been increased by the fact of its having been edited from a contemporary manuscript belonging to the latter half of 14th century—a fact that has helped also the preservation of the language of the time. "Its importance is as great as that of the works of Layamon and Chaucer in English" says Dr. S. K. Chatterjee (*op. cit.* p. 129).

Mention may next be made of the works pertaining to the Dharma cult of Bengal—a cult which preserves the traits of Buddhism under a guise. Some of the works coming under the class and published by the Pariṣad are important and interesting.

Rāmāi Paṇḍit and Mayūrabhaṭṭa, to whom the *Śūnyapurāṇa* and *Dharmapurāṇa* are respectively attributed, are two important persons in the history of the Dharma cult of Bengal. They flourished in the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era. But the works passing under their names bear the distinct stamp of lateness, being found in comparatively later mss. The original works may have undergone modification in the hands of later writers and may have given rise to the forms in which we get them. A late work describing the power of Dharma is the *Dharmamaṅgal* of Ghanarām. Another important publication with regard to the Dharma cult is the *Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna* in which three works describing the rites connected with the worship of

1 It has been corrected by Paṇḍit Vidhu Śekhara Śāstrī as *Āścarya-caryācaya*. See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 169 ff.

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Dharma have been published. One of these is attributed to the famous law-giver of Bengal, viz., Raghunandan.

Of works belonging to the sect of the Nāthas, the origin and doctrines of which sect are still shrouded in obscurity, the Pariṣad has published the *Gorakṣavijaya*. It describes how *Gorakṣanātha* saved his preceptor Mīnanātha who being surrounded by all sorts of earthly temptations was going to meet with eternal damnation. It is a very important work throwing a flood of light on the traditional history of Nāthagurus. Similar stories regarding them may be collected not only from different parts of Bengal but from different parts of India, and a comparative study of them will be very useful.

In the field of Vaiṣṇava literature, which constitutes the real wealth of Bengali literature, the Pariṣad has brought out a fairly good number of works. Under the head of Padāvalī literature or lyrico-devotional literature the Pariṣad has brought out besides the *Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana* a critical edition of the *Padakalpataru*, in five volumes.

Critical editions of the *Padāvalīs* of the two famous and most popular poets Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdās were published for the first time from the Pariṣad. It has also published the *Gaurpadataraṅginī* or a colletcion of songs about Śrī Caitanya the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal.

Besides these, mention may be made of two important biographical works, e.g., *Jayadev-Carita* of Vanamālī Dās and *Caitanyamaṅgal* of Jayānanda, the latter of which contains valuable information about the life of the great teacher.

Of old topographical interest are the *Vraja-Parikramā* and *Navadvīpaparikramā* of Narahari Cakravartī.

Maṅgalakāvyas or Kāvya works which aim at the propagation of the worship of particular deities occupy a very important place in old Bengali literature. It is to be noted that this class of works is not well-represented in the Pariṣad Series. We have already made reference to works of this type dealing with the Dharma cult. Mention may be also made of the *Rādhikā maṅgal* of the blind poet Bhavānīprasād, *Gaṅgā-maṅgal*, *Sāradāmaṅgal*, *Śrīkṛṣṇamaṅgal* of Kṛṣṇadās and *Kālikā-maṅgal*, or the story of Vidyāsundara of Balarāma Kaviśekhara.

There was a time when with the deterioration of Sanskrit culture and the growth of the vernaculars, need was felt for addressing the

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people in the vernaculars on subjects that were the special province of Sanskrit. Some such works in Bengal were referred to and described by the present writer in the *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā* (Vol. XXXIV, p. 228 f.). In the Pariṣad Series a work of this type has been published, e.g., the *Sādhakarañjana* of Kamalākānta which seeks to explain Tantra topics like the six Cakras etc., in Bengali.

Of translations, the most important is perhaps that of the *Nyāyadarśana* by Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Phaṇi Bhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa published in five volumes. It contains also a very learned commentary in Bengali by the author. Mention should also be made of the translation of the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Durga Charan Sāṃkhyavedāntatīrtha.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has been translated by Principal Rāmendra Sundar Trivedī along with notes and a valuable appendix in which technical terms belonging to sacrificial rites have been explained. The translation of the *Bodhisasttvāvadāna Kalpalatā* by Sarat Chandra Das and the *Kaulamārgarahasya* by Paṇḍit Satīś Chandra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa should be mentioned here. In the latter work are to be found the translations of several Tantric works along with a learned essay on Kaulaism.

It is to be regretted that the translations of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by Paṇḍit Vidhu Śekhar Śāstrī and of the *Mutakherin* by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar have not yet been completed, only parts having been published.

Of standard European works the *History of European Civilisation* by Guizot was translated by Prof. R. N. Ghosh. Though the publication of scientific works in Bengali is one of the objects of the Pariṣad, few works under this head have so far been published. A work of this class is perhaps the (1) *Udbhidvijñāna* (in two volumes) which is a treatise on Botany from the pen of Principal G. C. Bose. Two other publications in this section are (2) *Rāṣāyanik Paribhāṣā* by Sir P. C. Roy and Mr. P. C. Chatterjee, and (3) *Jyotiṣa-darpaṇa* by Mr. Apurva Chandra Dutt.

Of independent original works, mention should be made first of *Bāṅgalā Bhāṣā* (in four volumes) by Prof. Yogesh Chandra Roy who was the first to attempt here a systematic and scientific treatment of

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the Bengali language in all its branches—phonetics, grammar and lexicon.

Another important publication is the *Manovijñāna* of Prof. Nalinaksa Bhattacharya. It is a treatise on Psychology. It contains references to the views of Indian thinkers on particular points. Last but not the least in importance is the *Haraprasāda Saṃvardhana Lekhamālā* (Vol. 1), a commemorative volume of essays presented to Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri on the occasion of his attainment of the seventy fifth year of his life.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

A Note on Iron in the Ṛg-vedic Age

The use of iron and steel in the Ṛg-vedic age can best be proved by showing that the Ṛg-vedic hymns refer directly or indirectly to swords, razor and the quoit ring of iron (*Khāḍu*)

Asi or Svadhiti

In *Ṛk.* I. 162.20, the Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice is distinctly mentioned. The *Sūtras* enjoin that sacrificial horse must be killed by a single stroke. (*sakṛtchitta*). The same tradition is followed in animal sacrifice in connection with the rituals of the present day. Failure to kill the sacrificial animal (be it a goat or a huge buffalo) by one stroke forebodes ill. This custom can be traced also to the *Ṛg-veda* where we read: "Let not thy dear soul burn thee as thou comest, let not the hatchet linger in thy body. Let not a greedy immolator missing the joints mangle thy limbs unduly. No here thou dies not, thou art not injured, by easy path unto the gods thou goest." (*Ṛk.*, I, 162.20).

In order to sever the neck of a powerful horse by one stroke, a

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sharp weapon is required. The *Ṛg-veda* (II. 39, 4 & 7) also refers to the sharpening of this sacrificial axe. It should then be made of one of the three metals, *viz.*, gold, silver, or copper. The question now is whether '*Ayas*' in the *Ṛg-veda* means copper or an alloy of copper and bronze So, this point requires to be very carefully weighed before we disbelieve the existence of *iron* in the Mantra age, for, a sharp axe should necessarily be of iron and steel and *Ayas* therefore should mean iron or steel.

Kṣura

Another evidence of the existence of iron and steel in the Ṛg-vedic age lies in the definite mention in the *Ṛg-veda*, of *kṣura* (razor) (I. 166 10; X, 28, 9), as also of the barber (*baptṛ*) and his shaving. (X, 142, 4). The ritualistic shaving is enjoined in almost every ceremony prescribed for the Hindus. It must be *perfectly clean*. The Ṛg-vedic term *baptṛ* (barber) signifies one who performs a clean shave of the hairs of the head, the beard, etc. Now for such a clean shave, the instrument must needs be very sharp—a fact admitted in the Ṛg-vedic bard's prayer in VIII, 4, 16, where he speaks of the extreme sharpness of the *kṣura* (razor); "Oh Puṣan! sharpen us very finely as the razors." This shows that the razor (*kṣura*) used by the Ṛg-vedic barber (*bapta*) was very *sharp*, and this was *ipso facto* indispensable for a *clean shave* on which the *Śāstras* insist. The question then arises as to the material used for manufacturing *kṣura*. The *Sūtras* say that it was of *Ayas*. The instrument was made of some metal but it could not be *gold* or *silver*, because neither of them can stand fine grounding. Therefore it must have been made of the third metal, viz., *Ayas*.[1] Hence the metal of the *kṣura* being *Ayas* and its main characteristic being very finely sharp, the belief gains ground that it could be of no other metal but steel (Indian 'wootz' celebrated as an excellent material for making razor).

1 Cf. *Ṛgveda*, VI, 3.5; 47.10. Speaking of Agni, it says, "whetting his splendour like the sharp edge of *Ayas*"; and addressing Indra, it says, "Be gracious Indra! Sharpen my thought as it were a blade of *Ayas*."

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The method of smelting *Ayas* as delineated in the *Ṛg-veda*, which we have already explained,[2] was quite capable of producing razor-steel directly from the ore—a fact fully borne out by the statements of a few metallurgists of the present times. They have actually made experiments with Indian steel obtained direct from the ore, as specified in the *Ṛg-veda* and produced sharp razors therefrom.[3] All these facts conclusively prove the existence of iron and steel in the Ṛg-vedic age.

Khādi

Khādi (*Khāḍu* as it is now commonly called), a quoit-ring is worn by every Hindu woman in her left hand just after birth. This custom may be traced back to the *Ṛg-veda* (V. 54.11; VII. 56.13; VI. 16.40; V. 58.2; II. 34.2; X. 38.1 and I. 64.10). These quoit-rings, as is the traditional custom throughout India amongst the Hindus, rich or poor, is made of iron only and of no other metal. This iron *Khādi* is a symbol of wedded union and is only taken off the wife's hand when she becomes a widow. As *Khādi* or *Khāḍu* needs be of iron and nothing else, it proves quite clearly that the Ṛgvedic people knew the use of iron.

Thus from what we have gathered from the *Ṛg-veda* as regards the use of *Asi* (sacrificing knife) and *Svadhiti* (sacrificing axe) in *Aśva-medha* or horse-sacrifice the *Kṣura* (razor) in ceremonial shaving, and *Khādi or Khāḍu* as a symbol of married life or of imparting good-will to newly born babies, there is strong evidence in support of the proof of the existence of iron in the *Ṛg-vedic* times.

MANINDRA NATH BANERJEE

2 Vide *IHQ.*, V, 3: *On iron and steel in the Ṛg-vedic Age.*

3 Mushet's *Iron and Steel* pp. 366ff. "Razors, chisels, and saw-plates were formed from different bars of the steel; all of them of a strong and excellent quality. A pair of razors of which I had a good many manufactured at Sheffield shaved me for 10 years constantly; and were at last gifted away, as no mean gift; and considered by the receiver as a curiosity having been produced from a lump of iron-ore."

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Note on Gopāla

In the December issue of the *IHQ.* (*VII*, pp. 751-3), Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh has tried to prove that Gopāla the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal was originally a feudatory of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, and that Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra mentioned in the Nidhanpur copper plate was no other than the maternal grandfather of Dharmapāla, as in the Khalimpur copper plate Deddadevī is supposed to have been described as 'Bhadrātmajā.'

Mr. Ghosh's contention may be summarised as follows:—

(1) That the late Mr. R. D. Banerji's view that Pāla kings were of humble origin is unwarranted in view of Vijñāneśvara's dictum referred to by Mr. Ghosh.

(2) That Gopāla, the father of Dharmapāla, was originally a sāmanta of Bhāskaravarman and is mentioned as such in the Nidhanpur plates.

(3) That Deddadevī has been described as a Bhadrātmajā; in the Nidhanpur plates there is mention of a feudatory called Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra, and another called Gopāla 'issuer of hundred commands' and honoured with *Pañca mahā-śabda.* "Can this Gopāla be the founder of the Pāla dynasty and his queen Deddadevī a daughter of this Jyeṣṭhabhadra? It is not at all unlikely that Gopāla, himself a sāmanta, married the daughter of another sāmanta under the same overlord."

About the first point, Mr. Ghosh shows that in the copper plate grants, according to Vijñāneśvara a commentator of Yājñavalkya, only the exploits of the great grandfather, grand father, father and the donor himself need be mentioned. Sudents of Indian epigraphy need not be told that such a rule has never been observed in the majority of the land grants. Either the grants do not mention any ancestor at all, or mention quite a host of them. In the Ṭasapaikera grant of Raṇabhañjadeva only the royal donor's father is mentioned.[1] If Mr. Ghosh had taken a little trouble he would have seen that even in the Nidhanpur copper plates the dictum referred to by him has not been followed. A glance at any Cālukya or Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant would bear out my suggestion. Even the records of the Pāla kings themselves do

1 *JBORS.*, II, pp. 167 ff.

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not observe the rule. The curious reader might go through Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, Amgachhi grant of Vigrahapāla III or Manhali plates of Madanapāla.[2] Therefore the conclusion is irresistible that the rule laid down by the famous commentator regarding landgrants has been more violated than observed. Again if Vapyaṭa and Dayita-viṣṇu were such illustrious personages why is their name omitted from later Pāla records where the genealogical table begins from Gopāla? To this must be added the fact that none of our authorities who give us any information about the origin of the Pāla kings agree amongst themselves. The natural conclusion to be deduced from all this is that on account of the humble origin of the ruling family their court-poet and admirers tried to give them all sorts of mythical origin. By 'humble' it is not certainly meant that they were a low class people, but insignificant in respect of the position held by Gopāla's son and descendants.

Regarding the parentage of Deddadevī, it requires to be pointed out that Mr. Ghosh has drawn his conclusion on very unsafe grounds. Together with Kielhorn he thinks that verse 5 of Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla makes the queen of Gopāla the daughter of a person called Bhadra.

शीतांशोरेव रोहिणी हुतभुजः स्वाहेव तेजोनिधिः
सर्व्वाणीव शिवस्य गुह्यकपतेर्भद्रेव भद्रात्मजा ।
पौलोमीव पुरन्दरस्य दयिता श्रीदेद्ददेवीत्यभूद्
देवी तस्य विनोदभूर्मुररिपोर्लक्ष्मीरेव क्ष्मापतेः ॥

"As Rohini is the beloved of the Moon, Svāha of the Fire, Sarvāṇī of Śiva, and Bhadrā of the lord of the Guhyakas, as the daughter of Pulomān is of the Purandara, Lakṣmī of Mura's foe, so the illustrious Deddadevī, *a daughter of Bhadra king*, became the queen of that brilliant ruler of earth, to him a source of joy."[3] The composer probably wanted to compare Gopāla and his queen with the various gods and their consorts. All would have been well if he had not used the word *bhadrātmajā*

2 *IA.*, XV, p. 304, *EI.*, XV, p. 293 or *JASB.*, 1900 p. 66.
3 *EI.*, IV, pp. 248, 251.

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after *bhadreva*, because in it the late Dr. Kielhorn saw a reference to the parentage of Deddadevī, which has completely misguided Mr. Ghosh. In my opinion *bhadrātmajā* may well be regarded as an adjective of Kuvera's wife. This was precisely the attitude of the late Mr. A. K. Maitra who was the first to challenge Dr. Kielhorn's interpretation.[4] Mr. Ghosh points out that the late Mr. Maitra did not cite any *Purāṇa* or *Itihāsa* in support of his conclusion. May we know what justification or authority Kielhorn has shown for his explanation?

Then even if we accept the interpretation of Kielhorn it passes my comprehension how Gopāla of the Nidhanpur plate can be regarded as the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal? It has been presumed that Karṇasuvarṇa was captured by Bhāskaravarman after the death of Arjuna, the usurper of Harṣa's throne. On what ground this conclusion is arrived at we have not been told. On the other hand it is quite probable that the city was captured by the Kāmarūpa king in conjunction with Harṣa during the latter's lifetime. Thus we see that even the date *c.* 650 A.D. is too late and therefore unacceptable. But let us suppose at present that the date is exact, and proceed to examine the possibility of identifying Gopāla of the Nidhanpur plates with the founder of the Pāla dynasty.

At present it is not possible to fix the date of Gopāla as no record of his reign has been discovered. Therefore in order to see whether he could flourish in *c.* 650 A.D. as suggested by Mr. Ghosh we shall have to fix the date of his son Dharmapāla. The first source of our information is the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāladeva in which we are told that Dharmapāla gave the crown of Kanauj to the begging Cakrāyudha after winning it from Indrāyudha.[5] At that time the question was asked who was Indrāyudha? It was years afterwards that *Jaina Harivaṃśa* solved the puzzle. There it is stated that in the Śaka year 705=783 A.D. there were reigning in the north (from a place called Vardhamānapura, modern Wadhwan) a king called Indrarāja, in the south Śrī-Vallabha, in the east the illustrious king of Avantī named Vatsarāja, and in the west in the territory of the Sauryas the brave

4 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 20 fn.

5 *IA.*, XV, pp. 305, 307.

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Varāha.[6] Thus we see that Indrāyudha was reigning in *c.* 783 A.D., the defeat therefore must have taken place in 783+x. Then the Gwalior inscription comes to our aid. It states that Nāgabhaṭṭa II became eminent after defeating Cakrāyudha whose lowly demeanour was evident from his dependence on others.[7] The Sañjan plates give us further information. They tell us that in the remote Himalayas Govinda III received the submission of Dharma and Cakrāyudha.[8] In the light of the above data we can come to the conclusion that Dharmapāla was a contemporary of Govinda III of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa dynasty of Malkhed, and Nāgabhaṭṭa II of Kanauj. We know only one date of Nāgabhaṭṭa II (872 V.S.=c. 815 A. D.), therefore contemporaneity with him would not be of much help to us. On the other hand detailed consideration of the dates of the inscriptions of Govinda III and his immediate predecessor and successor leads us to conclude that he reigned from *c.* 794 to 814 A.D. Then again we learn from Radhanpur grant of Govinda III that he defeated a Gurjara king (whose name we learn from Sañjan plate of Amoghavarṣa I to be Nāgabhaṭṭa II) before the year 730 of the Śaka Era (*c.* 808 A.D.).[9] Before that date Indrāyudha must have been defeated by Dharmapāla, and Cakrāyudha placed on the throne of Kanauj, and before that Dharmapāla must have ascended the throne of Bengal. Therefore it would be not illogical to assume that he (Dharmapāla) probably reigned from *c.* 780-815 A.D. Thus we see that in order to accept the suggestion that Gopāla of the Nidhanpur plates is no other than the founder of the Pāla dynasty and Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra of the same grant his father-in-law, we have to assign a reign of *130 years* because *c.* 650 is the date of the grant according to Mr. Ghosh himself, and which is absurd.

To conclude, it is impossible to regard Gopāla of Nidhanpur grant as father of Dharmapāla and Mahārāja Jyeṣṭhabhadra as his maternal grandfather. The anarchy due to which Gopāla was elected a king, was not due to the invasion of Bhāskaravarman, but to the repeated foreign invasions and political disintegration of Bengal. This happened long after the death of Bhāskaravarman.

A. C. Banerji

6 *IA.*, XV, p. 141; EI., VI, pp. 195-96.
7 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 112, verse 9.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 240, verse 23.
9 *EI.*, VI, p. 244.

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Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva

In the last number of this Journal (vol. VIII, no. 1, pp. 228 ff.) Mr. A. K. Mrithyunjayan has criticised my views about this inscription and supported the original contention of Dr. Hirananda Śāstrī that it should be attributed to Yaśodharman. Mr. Mrithyunjayan begins by saying that what I said in order to combat the view of Dr. H. Śāstrī had already been considered by him. Perhaps so. But does it not occur to Mr. Mrithyunjayan that since I came to diametrically opposite conclusions, I must have either considered new facts or drawn different conclusions from the same facts? As such I do not see any point in this criticism, and if I refer to it, it is simply because the same observation was made to me by a learned scholar whom I recently met in Calcutta.

Mr. M. next observes—"Dr. Mazumdar bases his argument on palæography and considers the evidence of the form of certain *akṣaras* in the document under notice too axiomatic to require re-examination of the point." This is not quite accurate. I based my argument on the form of the name which is clearly Yaśovarma and not Yaśodharma, and brought forward palæographic evidence to show that it is decisively in favour of the natural inference that the king in whose reign the record was issued was the former and not the latter. That palæographic evidence does not depend upon a few *akṣaras*, as Mr. M. supposes, but on all the test letters by which one could distinguish the scripts of the two reigns. I did not intentionally go into details, as Dr. H. Śāstrī conceded the point. Nor shall I go into this question now, in spite of Mr. M's reference to Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscript, until my view is convincingly challenged. I need only remind Mr. M. that the proper method of finding out the age of the script of a stone-record is to compare it with *stone records* of the same locality and not to invoke the name of a manuscript found at a remote place and whose date is at best uncertain. As I think it unnecessary, I refrain from the task of valuating Mr. M's disquisitions on the evolution of Indian scripts.

Mr. M. reiterates, with approval, an observation of Dr. H. Śāstrī, "that the late Dr. Fleet was perfectly right when he thought that the name of Yaśodharma should be corrected into Yaśovarma"

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(*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 40). Dr. Śāstrī refers, as his authority, to footnote 2, on page 145 of *Gupta Inscriptions* by Fleet. I quote this below *in extenso*:

"Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, *varman* occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of *dharman*,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yaśodharman should be corrected into Yaśovarman. But the *dh* is very distinct in line 7 here, and in the corresponding place in line 7 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxi c.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.—The form *dharman* is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e.g. Kṛtadharman, Kṣatradharman, Kṣemadharman, Jayadharman, and Sudharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition, e.g. in *Manv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā*, in line 5 of the Māliyā grant of the Mahārāja Dharasena II of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv; and in *tejobhir-āditya-samāna-dharmmā*, in line 29 of the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V of Śaka-Saṃvat 930 expired (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 22.)."

I suppose it will be evident to any one that far from supporting the correction of Yaśodharma into Yaśovarma, Fleet was definitely against any such idea and regarded Yaśodharma as the correct form of the name.

Mr. M's concluding observations on the use of *liṭ* miss the real point, and definitely go against the view of Dr. H. Śāstrī. "Taking it for granted" says Mr. M. "that the *liṭ* (śaśāsa) indicates the *bhūta-kāla* only and that Bālāditya could not have been alive when these stanzas about him were written . . . his [Dr. Śāstrī's] hypothesis will remain unshaken, for this *lakāra* is allowed to be used in the case of such events also as took place only one or two days before a statement is made". Unfortunately it is not so. The hypothesis is that the "inscription was written when Bālāditya was ruling" (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 40) and it cannot be said to remain 'unshaken' even if Bālāditya had died one or two days before the inscription was written. As a matter of fact Mr. M. not only supports me, but even goes further. I maintained, against the view of Dr. H. Śāstrī, that "there is no warrant for the assumption that Bālāditya was ruling at the time the record was set up." Mr. M. goes somewhat further still, and is even prepared to take it for granted "that Bālāditya could not have been alive when these stanzas about him

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were written." It perhaps escapes him completely how such an assumption takes the whole ground from under the feet of Dr. H. Śāstrī, whose cause he is out to support.

In conclusion I would like to point out that Dr. H. Śāstrī's translation of verse 14 is apt to mislead the unwary. It clearly refers to an image of the Buddha set up by Bālāditya and there can be no question of any command issued by the king. Although the latter is given as an alternative translation, it is, in my humble opinion, quite an unwarranted one; and more so, when it is put forward as preferable of the two, and an inference is drawn therefrom that the people were enjoined to respect the benefactions, mentioned in the grant, 'because of the fear of the sword of king Bālāditya' (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 39).

R. C. Majumdar

The Nāṭyaśāstra and Bharata-muni

From Mr. H. P. Trivedi's note published in the June (1930) number of the *Quarterly* on my paper on 'Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra' (*IHQ.*, March, 1930), it appears to me that Mr. Trivedi misunderstood some of my words.

In his note Mr. Trivedi seems to object to the view that the *Naṭa-sūtra* of Kṛśāśva and Śilālin means any *Nāṭyaśāstra* (i.e. any text-book on Nāṭya). To support his view he relies on Prof. Keith who is not willing to take *naṭa* of Pāṇini's time in the sense of an actor. But Mr. Trivedi overlooks the date (400 B.C.) assigned by Prof. Keith to Pāṇini (*Sanskrit Drama*, p. 31). If this view of Prof. Keith is to be accepted we fail to appreciate Mr. Trivedi's arguments which, in his opinion, are 'sufficient to trace a continuous and constant development of the drama in the Maurya time.....'

It appears further that he risked this argument on a misunderstanding of my statement that Kṛśāśva and Śilālin were the earliest known writers of any *Nāṭyaśāstra*. But Mr. Trivedi seems to have taken *any* Nāṭyaśāstra as the *NŚ*. ascribed to Bharatamuni whose exis-

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tence I and several other persons questioned. It was far from my intention to attribute this *NŚ.* to Kṛśāśva and Śilālin.

Mr. Trivedi thinks that he has found a flaw in my suggestion regarding the probable origin of the cock-and-bull story about Bharata-muni's meeting Brahman who created the Nāṭyaveda. Arguments, on which my suggestion was based, were as follows:

(a) Law-givers hated the śūdras and their arts;

(b) The Nāṭya was an art monopolised by naṭas who were Śūdras,

(c) Lovers of the nāṭya tried to raise the status of the text-book on it;

(d) Making a veda of the text-book of the *nāṭya* was probably a step in this direction.

Now Mr. Trivedi thinks that the orthodox people of the time would have raised strong objection against such blasphemous attempt and would have baffled it by every possible means. His argument is that, as the NŚ. with the proud title of a veda has come down to us unharmed, the orthodox people of the time had no quarrel with its origin. I am afraid Mr. Trivedi has overestimated the strength of orthodoxy. It happened many a time in Indian History that the orthodox people have measured their strength with heterodoxy but every time they met with defeat. Buddhism, Jainism and many other sects are living examples of this. There is ample proof that the orthodox people did not like the legendery creation of Bharatamuni, for in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* the name of this muni does not occur for a single time.

Another instance of Mr. Trivedi's misunderstanding of my paper is his belief that I suggested a cessation of dramatic activities during the Maurya times. What I said in this connection is that there was, due to political disfavour a fall of standard in dramatic performances during the Maurya times (vide *IHQ.*, 1930, p. 74).

Mr. Trivedi has given some very novel informations, some of them are given below with our comments:

(a) Mr. Trivedi writes that Aśvaghoṣa, wrote his dramas in Sanskrit. Are we to understand that he did not use Prākṛt. For exact facts Mr. Trivedi may be referred to pp. 82f. of Prof. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*.

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(b) The above remark of Mr. Trivedi explains his view that in the *Sāriputraprakaraṇa*, Aśvaghoṣa has a close accordance with the rules of the NŚ. in all points 'rarely to be found in any other of the extant dramas'. It is a well-known fact that Aśvaghoṣa's drama has been available in fragments which represent probably a very minor fraction of the entire play. It passes our understanding how a statement like the above could be made on such insufficient data. He has relied it seems, on Prof. Keith who writes that the most remarkable thing regarding this drama is its close correspondence to the classical type as laid down in the '*Nāṭyaśāstra*'. This piece is a Prakaraṇa, and it has nine acts which accord perfectly with the rule of the Śāstra (*Skt. Drama*, p. 82).

(c) In support of his guess about the existence of Indian drama in Buddha's time Mr. Trivedi refers to Prof. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama* (pp. 43-44) who I am sure never meant it.

(e) Mr. Trivedi's reliance on the *Lalitavistra* on the same points is very injudicious, for this book is never dated at Buddha's time. The earliest date that has been assigned to it is the first century B.C.

MANOMOHAN GHOSE

Mahānāṭaka

The Skt. śloka on p. 629 of *IHQ.*, of Dec., 1931 was learned by me in a different form about a quarter of a century ago. The variants may be found interesting. They are:—

पाद १। तरणिविरहिणि

पाद २। धृतमुदि कुमुदे

पाद ३। प्रतमसि शमिते

पाद ४। कन्दर्पेऽनल्पदर्पे विकिरति

T. K. JOSEPH

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Iṣṭakā and Iśtya

In the *IHQ.*, of Dec., 1931 (pp. 735-7) Mr. Przyluski discusses the origin of the Sanskrit word *iṣṭakā* (=brick) and the Avestic equivalent *iśtya*, and suggests that they are non-Aryan in origin and probably derivable from the Dravidic root *ḷeṭ* from which Skt. *leṣṭu* (and *loṣṭa*, *neṣṭu*, and *loṣṭu* also, presumably) could be derived. *Leṣṭu*, *leṣṭa*, *eṣṭa*, *iṣṭa*, *iṣṭakā* marks the successive stages in the change in form, while the Semantic change is marked by *leṣṭu*(=clod of earth)=*iṣṭakā* (=brick).

The morphological scheme shown above does not seem to account for the final *kā* of the Skt. word and the corresponding *ya* of the Avestic word. Is it not likely that some word akin to *iṣṭakā* and *iśtya* may be found in Sumerian? Did the Dravidians invent bricks (and kilns to burn them) in India—North or South, or did they learn the art of burning bricks from some foreigners, the Sumerians for instance? Mr. S. K. Sarkar concludes that "The Dravida of the Ganges valley have bequeathed to the Aryans the art of manufacturing and utilizing bricks" (p. 735). But from whom did the Dravidians learn it, if they learnt it at all from outsiders? Mr. Otto Stein (p. 735) says that "Dravidian *iṭṭikā* is without doubt a loan word from the Indo-Aryan." Is it likely that these two got the word for brick directly or indirectly from some other source?

The ordinary Malayālam word for brick is *iṣṭika*, or in the uneducated man's speech *iṭṭika*, or *iṭṭiya*. In the southern portion of the Malayalam country and in the adjoining Tamil country on the east coast of South India the ordinary word for brick is *ceṅkal* (=red stone), or cuṭukal (=burnt or baked stone), as contrasted with *veṭṭukal* (=cut stone, laterite) and *kariṅkal* (=black stone, granite) which were used for building purposes before the introduction of burnt bricks. In the Malayalam country (or Kerala) brick began to be used only one or two centuries ago. Its use in the Tamil country is more ancient.

The word for brick kiln is cūḷa in Malayalam and cūḷai and culḷai in Tamil. Is there any connection between these words and Skt. *culli* (=a fire-place)? They can very well be derived from the Tamil-Malayalam root *cuṭ*=to be hot, or to bake.

T. K. Joseph

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Notes on Aśoka Rescripts

Duāhale hi... ..... atileke (Dhauli and Jaugaḍa Sep. R.E.I).—This is a very difficult passage and has hitherto defied explanation. The full text occurs in Hultzsch's *Inscriptions of Asoka* as follows:

P. 94. *Dhau* :—duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṃm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke—(l. 16).

P. 113. *Jau* :—du[ā]hale etasa [kaṃ]masa sa me k[u]t[e ma]n[o-ati]le[ke]—(l. 8).

Hultzsch has admitted the difficulty of the passage (p. 96 n. 13) and followed Franke and clumsily rendered it: "For how (could my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?" He has taken *duāhale* as a nominative absolute and, without justification, twisted the expression "*kute.....atileke*" to impart the sense "How could my mind be pleased", with no clear evidence adduced of a similar use of *atileke* either in the Aśoka rescripts or in literature. Indeed, the whole expression has been so loosely tried to be understood by scholars that the sense of the passage, has, at times, become mercilessly free. For instance, compare the rendering of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar (*Aśoka*, p. 324): "This duty (imposed) by me has thus a *two-fold consequence* ('duāhale'). Why *any doubt in your mind* ('mane atileke')."

I think that the difficulty has been due to a rather careless reading of the Jaugaḍa text (which contains the clue), ignoring the tiny little thing *sa* after *kaṃmasa*, perhaps as a faulty repetition of the scribe, which certainly it is not. If we make use of this *sa*, joining it to the next letter *me*, and read—*duāhale etasa kaṃmasa same*, the result we obtain is striking. For if one knows the relation between the terms *sama* ('like,' 'equal,' 'parallel') and *atireka* ('greater,' 'better,' 'more') in Pāli phraseology, the whole passage—*duāhale.....atileke*—at once becomes easy of interpretation. There is a very interesting expression in the *Theragāthā*, p. 45 (first line of verse 424), which reads:

"Nâttano *samakaṃ* kañci *atirekaṃ* ca maññisaṃ".

It means 'none would I regard as my *equal* or *superior*.' Now, the terms *same* and *atileke* of the inscription offer the same sense as do the italicized words in the Pāli quotation, and they forthwith suggest the following construction:—

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1 Etasa kaṃmasa same duāhale—the like of this duty is difficult to find.

2 Kute man[-] atileke—not to speak of a better.

What Aśoka means is that the course of conduct he is recommending to the Nagalaviyohālaka-mahāmātras of Tosalī and Samāpā for the good governance of his subjects is *the best* that one can think of or take upon oneself and that there can be *no better*. In the same strain does he speak in other edicts too. Compare:

(a) Esa hi *seṭhe kaṃme* yā dhaṃmānusāsanā—(Dhau. R.E. IV.l. 6) and (b) Nathi hi *kaṃmatalā* savalokahitena—(Jau. R.E. VI. 1. 5).

To complete the interpretation, a word is perhaps necessary about *duāhale* and *man*[-].

It is evident from what has been said above that there is no necessity for explaining *duāhale* as a nominative absolute, as Hultzsch has done. The word is a complementary adjective to *same*, and in respect of grammatical form it is on a par with such terms as *dukale* (Dhau. R.E. V) and *dupaṭivekhe* (P.E. III), the hiatus remaining as in *mahāapāye* (Dhau. Sep. I. 1. 15) and *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau. R.E. II). It goes back to ā+hṛ, 'to fetch,' 'to procure,' 'to bring upon oneself' [cf. Sk. ud+ā+hṛ, 'to cite a parallel', and Pāli atītam āhari, 'he related (lit. 'conveyed') the past']. Hence, by extension *duāhale*='difficult to find.'

As regards *man*[-], occurring after *kute*, I almost felt tempted to explain it as a counterpart of Pāli *pana* occurring in such idiomatic expressions as (1) "Nābhijānāmi sāmikaṃ manasā pi aticarittā, *kuto pana* kāyena" (Aṅguttara IV. p. 66.—'I am not aware of having transgressed my husband even in my thoughts, much less with the body'); and (2) "*Kuto vā pana tassa* uttaritaraṃ" ('How, indeed, can there be a greater?—Childers, s.v. *kuto*). Although this latter quotation offers a close parallel to our *kute man*[-] *atileke*, I refrain from equating *man*[-] with *pana* for the simple reason that *pana* is not used here, although it is known to Aśokan Māgadhī, e.g. at Dhau. R.E. VI. 5 and Jau. R.E. VI. 5. Moreover, the change of *p* into *m* is not yet met with in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rescripts, although the opposite process is noticeable, e.g. in *aphe, tuphe* (=Prākṛit *amhe, tumhe*) in Sep. R.E. I and II.—In the circumstance of the final *o* of *man*[*o*] being problema-

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tical, let me try and examine the reading *mane* given in Bhandarkar and Majumdar's *Inscriptions* of *Aśoka*, p. 85. The term *mane* would admit of a twofold explanation:

(1) *mane=manye*, 'methinks'. For the correspondence *n=ny*, one will have to refer to Kālsi R.E. X 27, where occurs the word *manati*, at the same time not ignoring the fact that such a correspondence cannot be fully established from Dhauli or Jaugaḍa orthography; and

(2) *kute-m-ane*=Sanskrit *kutaḥ anyaḥ*=Pāli *kuto-m-añño*, with *m* as euphonic, preventing the hiatus as in *bhaṭi*[*m-ayesu*] at Dhau. R.E. V. 4. For the correspondence *n=ny*, one will have to look, though not very confidently, to the end of P.E. III, where occurs a form *iyaṃmana*, which Hultzsch has doubtfully equated with Sk. *idaṃ anyat* (p. 122. n. 5).

It appears that these explanations of *man-* are far from satisfactory. In the alternative, I am driven to the Pāli *manam* (=Sk. *manāk*), 'a little,' 'somewhat,' 'almost' (See P.T.S. Dictionary, s.v.), and read—*kute mana atileke*—with the meaning 'how can there be one, any the better?'

Thus, the whole passage becomes rightly understood in the following way: 'The like of this duty is, indeed, difficult to find; how can there be one, any the better?'

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

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Indra and Pāṇini

M. Srinivasa Iyengar states in his *Tamil Studies* that "One of the *sixty four predecessors* quoted by Pāṇini in the field of grammatical science was *Indra*. He should therefore have flourished before him."[1]

The statement that Indra is one of the sixty-four predecessors quoted by Pāṇini is wrong for the undermentioned reasons. Pāṇini quotes about a dozen predecessors by name in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Indra is not mentioned among them. The term *Indra* in Pāṇini occurs in such places that it has nothing to do with a grammarian (Vaiyākaraṇa) predecessor or contemporary of Pāṇini. Presumably, the author was misled into thinking that the sūtra: *indre ca*[2] following *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya*[3] was a reference to the views of another celebrity named Indra. Pāṇini refers to Śākalya (four times), Kāśyapa (twice), Easterners, Northerners, Śākaṭāyana (thrice), Senaka, Āpiśali, Sphoṭāyana, Cākravarman, Gālava (four times), Bhāradvāja, Ācāryāḥ (twice), and Gārgya (thrice). These are some of the historical personages and grammatical celebrities referred to by Pāṇini and their number could not possibly swell up to such a startling figure as *sixty-four*!

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* clinches the issue saying that "in the present state of our knowledge, the fact that the Aindra school is nowhere quoted by name either in Pāṇini or *Mahābhāṣya* or *Kāśikā* should point to the conclusion endorsed by Keilhorn that the Aindra school is Post-Pāṇinian in date though pre-Pāṇinian in substance." Anyhow no definite historical value can be attached to the assertion in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* that the school supplanted by Pāṇini was known as the Aindra school and that Kātyāyana was an adherent of the same. Equally unsatisfactory is the alleged evidence of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* which speaks of Indra as the first of grammarians, for, it is clear that the *Saṃhitā* is referring to some mythical deity of the name and not to any historical personage or pioneer in the field of grammar.

B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma

1 *Tamil Studies* by Srinivasa Iyengar, Guardian Press, Madras, 1914, p. 117.
2 *Pāṇini*, VI, 1, 124. 3 *Op. cit.*, VI, 1, 123.

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A Note on Candraprajñapti

Candraprajñapti, an[1] *upāṅga* of *Uvāsagadasāo* which is the 7th *aṅga* of the *Jaina āgamas* is an astronomical work as old as *Sūrya-prajñapti*. It consists of 20 chapters known as *Prābhṛtas*[2] (Pr. *Pāhudas*), the same being the case for *Sūryaprajñapti*. Even their extent is the same. Besides these outward points of similarity there are many other important features where these two works agree word for word. This is why Weber and others have been tempted to say that the only difference between them is in their names.

The number of MSS. available for each of these works is by no means small. For instance, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute there are 4 MSS. of *Candraprajñapti*, out of which one contains the commentary by Śrī Malayagiri Sūri, and one MS. of *Sūryaprajñapti* a work which is already published with Malayagiri Sūri's commentary by the Āgamodaya Samiti.[3] The detailed description of these along with other Jaina Mss. at the *B.O.R.I.* will be found in my compilation to be published in the near future by this Institute.

Under these circumstances the following remarks made by Dr. Sukumar Ranjan Das in his article "A short Chronology of Indian Astronomy" (vide *IHQ.*, vol. VII, p. 139) is unacceptable.

"The only work on Jaina astronomy, now available, is *Sūrya-prajñapti*. There is however evidence that two more works on Jaina astronomy were written one called *Candraprajñapti* and the other

1 See Prameyaratnamañjuṣā in *Jaina Tattvāprakāśa* published in Jamnālāl Rāmlal Kimatī Jain Granthamālā, (p. 211, 4th edition). *Candraprajñapti* is however looked upon as one of the *upāṅgas* of *Nāyādhammakahās* (Jñātādharmakathā) the other being *Sūryapajñapti*, both having 2200 *ślokas* as their extent.

2 This name is applied by the Śvetāmbāras to the divisions of the *Pūrvagata*, a main portion of *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the 12th *aṅga*. The *Digambaras* have however used this word in connection with the non-āgamika works too, e.g. the pāhudas of Śrī Kundakundācārya.

3 There is a Ms. of *Candraprajñapti* at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society as can be seen from its *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛta Mss.* (No. 1457). *Catalogue of Mss. at Jesalmere* (G. O. Series, Vol. XXI) may also be consulted.

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Bhadrabāhavīya Saṃhitā of Bhadrabāhu. These two works are mainly known from quotations by later astronomers."

Equally erroneous and therefore more surprizing is his observation made in the article[4] "The Jaina School of Astronomy" (*IHQ.*, vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 36), where he repeats the same mistake by saying that "The only work on Jaina Astronomy available at present is the *Sūryaprajñapti*."

It may be added that *Candraprajñapti* is according to the *Digambaras* one of the five parikramas forming a part of *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the 12th aṅga, the remaining four being *Sūryaprajñapti*, *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*, *Dvīpa-sāgaraprajñapti* and *Vyākhyāprajñapti*. According to the *Digambara* tradition, all ancient works are lost. Consequently *Candraprajñapti* is in no way an exception to it.

Since Dr. S. R. Das considers the printed edition of *Sūryaprajñapti* as the fundamental work on the Jaina astronomy, I am sure he does not allude to the *Candraprajñāpti* of the *Digambara* school, while making the remarks mentioned above.

HIRALAL R. KAPADIA

4 This contains a description of Jain cosmography, also. It may be mentioned *en passant* that in the following article viz. "Some cosmological ideas of the Jainas" by Mr. Amulya Chandra Sen (p. 44), the cosmological description is given according to the *Digambara* stand-point, a fact likely to escape the notice of a casual reader unaware of the *Svetāmbara* tenets, when he finds the cosmical works of the Svetāmbara cited in the beginning as giving full description of this subject.

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REVIEWS

THE BRAHMANICAL GODS IN BURMA by Nihar Ranjan Ray, M.A., P.R.S. Calcutta University, 1932, 99 pp. 23 plates.

We have often been told that there was a close cultural contact between India and Burma, but few have so far taken the trouble to point out the exact lines on which it took place. The author says truly that the cultural connection of India with Indo-China has received more attention than that of India with Burma. It is due to the apathy of scholars, Indian and Burmese, who are just realising the importance of a stock-taking of Indian as well as Greater Indian culture. The brochure is the first of its kind written by an Indian scholar and we can well say that he has performed his task creditably. The account of the remnants of brahmanical images and temples found by the author in Burma, and the few inscriptions pubilshed in the *Ep. Birmanica*, also brought together in this brochure, show quite clearly that Burma, inspite of its strong Buddhistic bias could not shut out the brahmanical rituals and ceremonies, which carried in their train the brahmanical gods. The reason for the adoption of brahmanic rituals and worship is that Buddhism was originally meant only for the ascetics and not for the house-holders, and hence in its code, no provision was made for satisfying the religious cravings of the common folk. Later on, when Buddhism was embraced by the ascetically minded people and the house-holders alike, it developed a few devotional aspects, but still it could not incorporate rituals and ceremonies. But the common folk could not do without them. It was this tendency that drew the brahmanical gods and priests to the land of non-brahmanas. In Indo-China and some other countries the new religious element found a congenial soil, but in Burma, the brahmanical gods and beliefs remained separate, and could not be thoroughly assimilated.

The author has brought together with illustrations all the information regarding the brahmanical images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, etc. and has stated their present locations. The period assigned

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to these images is from the 7th to the 14th century A.D. In the last chapter, the author has entered into an examination of the various images from the artistic standpoint and has drawn his conclusions about the nature of the influences exercised by Indian art over the brahmanical images discovered in Burma. He considers the Arakan images of Devī and Sūrya to be the earliest containing features usually found in Gupta sculptures, while the Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī slab from Hmawza shows the influence of the Pallava School of art. Most of these images, the author thinks, were executed by Indian artists who had come over to Burma, or by Burmese artists trained by the Indian masters. The Śiva-Pārvatī relief discovered at Thatoñ is, in the author's opinion, one of the best exampes of mediæval relief sculptures in India and Burma. In it he traces the influence of the Orissan art of the 9th and 10th centuries. The Nat-hlaung temple, the only ancient brahmanic temple in Burma, was, according to the writer, built by the South-Indian brāhmaṇas. In the images of the temple, however, e.g. in those of Kalkī, Sūrya, Rāmacandra and Paraśurāma the influence of the Eastern School of Art of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal and Behar of the 9-12th century has been traced. The artistic details in some of the images in the plates seem, however, to be scanty and so the author's conclusions as to the influences exercised by the different schools of Indian art upon at least some of the images cannot but be tentative. This however does not detract from the value of the book, which is certainly a successful attempt at elucidating an important aspect of early cultural relations between India and Burma.

N. Dutt

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THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, for the first time critically edited by Visnu S. Sukthankar, Ph.D., with the co-operation of various scholars. Ādiparvan: Fascicules 5 and 6. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1931.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, Southern Recension, critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon). Vol. I-II, Ādiparvan, Parts i and ii; vol. III, Sabhāparvan. Madras 1931-32.

It is a matter of congratulation that the fifth and sixth fascicules of the Poona edition of the *Mahābhārata*, which are under review, present this time a fairly substantial instalment of the text. The edition, of which previous fascicules we had the pleasure of reviewing in this Journal, has already found well-deserved recognition from competent orientalists for its critical method and its judicious treatment of a bewildering mass of manuscript material of different versions and recensions. The conscientious progress is necessarily slow, but it is noteworthy that its worthy editor, Dr. Sukthankar, has been able, with the learned co-operation of a distinguished band of scholars, to present nearly 650 folio pages of printed matter during 1930-32. Considering the enormous difficulties of the task, this is indeed no mean achievement.

Most of the interesting features of the present fascicules have been noticed by the editor in his brief prefatory note. Taking his Kashmirian codex as his chief guide, the editor has been able to distinguish certain striking differences in the Vulgate, the Kashmirian and the Southern recensions; but the question naturally arises whether these passages are to be regarded as accretions in the versions in which they occur, or to be taken as omissions in the versions from which they are missing. There is no strictly objective criterion in the present case to determine the question; and the editor is bound to fall back upon intrinsic evidence, which shows that these passages are utterly useless and serve only to lengthen and weaken the text, from which they are, therefore, to be rejected. It would thus appear that even if manuscript evidence is highly important and indispensable, subjective valuation, regarding intrinsic probability, cannot be entirely excluded in tackling this supremely baffling problem of Indian literary history. All this will indicate the peculiar difficulties which beset the Mahābhārata textual criticism, and the editor's words in this connexion are worth quoting as

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throwing light on this aspect of his task: "I am fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahābhārata MSS. we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive syntheses of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diaskeuastic activities; and that with the possible exception of the Kaśmīrī version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated. Now it is evident that the genetic method cannot in strictness be applied to conflated MSS.; for in these cases it is extremely difficult to disentangle completely by means of purely objective criteria their intricate mutual interrelationship. The documentary evidence is supremely important but the results arrived at from a consideration of the documentary probability must be further tested in the light of intrinsic probability". That the text was fluid and carelessly guarded, and therefore afforded easy opportunities of interpolation and conflation is clear from the hundreds of variants noted in the splendid critical apparatus which occupies more than half the space of the Poona edition. The editor, therefore, is justified in assuming that on merely documentary evidence no part of the text can be regarded as free from scrutiny from other points of view, which in the present circumstances are equally legitimate.

The object of the Madras edition, which is proposed to be completed in 18 volumes and of which we have here the instalment of the first three volumes, is more modest. It does not aim at giving a reconstructed Ur-text from different and necessarily confusing versions and recensions, but it concerns itself chiefly with producing a critical edition of what is known as the Southern recension of the epic. The Kumbakonam edition, which professed to represent this recension, was really an eclectic one, which included uncritically passages from the Northern and other sources, and was therefore practically useless for critical purposes. This edition, as well as other Telegu and Grantha editions, is at the present time nearly out of print, and the Southern recension is now practically unavailable in print. It is therefore a happy idea to undertake a fresh critical edition of the Southern recension, basing it entirely upon authentic South Indian manuscripts. The present edition of the Ādiparvan utilises five Southern manuscripts, four of which are palm-leaf manuscripts from the Tanjore Palace Library in Grantha and Telegu scripts; while the Sabhāparvan is based on six palm-leaf manus-

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cripts, all of which belong to the South. The edition therefore proposes to give us for the first time a genuine Southern recension of the epic, which will be as valuable for a critical study of the text as the Northern or the Vulgate, and will thus make a distinct contribution to the cause even of the critical edition of Poona.

Among the tests by which the Northern recension of the Ādiparvan is differentiated from the Southern, we find the editor of the Madras edition quoting with approval the remark of Dr. Sukthankar that "the naive Brahma-Gaṇeśa episode in the first chapter is a late Northern intruder." Chiefly on the strength of this remark the editor is of opinion that the omission of the Gaṇeśa episode may be safely taken as a criterion for marking the text as really Southern. This may be true so far as his experience regarding Southern manuscripts goes; but Dr. Sukthankar probably recorded the above opinion before he had an opportunity of examining good Bengal (especially Eastern Bengal) manuscripts. As the episode is also omitted in Bengal manuscripts, this opinion has now to be modified; but Dr. Sukthankar himself has recently pointed out that the Bengal version in many points agrees with his Kashmirian codex. The editor gives us in the second volume a critical introduction regarding the principal features of the Southern recension as revealed by his manuscripts. The text of the Sabhāparvan adopts the division into 72 chapters which is found in the Grantha edition and which agrees with the enumeration of chapters in the Anukramaṇikādhyāya of the Ādiparvan. The text of the Parvan is accompanied by the fairly early commentary of Vādirāja (1st half of the 14th century) which certainly enhances the usefulness of the edition. The volumes are well printed and are of convenient size to handle.

It would not be out of place to remark in this connexion that a similar critical edition of the Bengal recension is greatly to be desired. The Calcutta *editio princeps*, as well as later editions, suffers from the same defect as the Kumbakonam edition, and cannot be regarded as truly representative of the Bengal version. But there is a large mass of good manuscript material in Calcutta, Dacca and elsewhere which would amply justify the undertaking of a critical edition of the Bengal recension, which will be no less interesting and valuable.

S. K. De

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NAÑJARĀJA-YAŚO-BHUṢAṆA of Abhinava Kālidāsa, critically edited with Introduction and Index by Embar Krishnamacharya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. xlvii. Oriental Institute, Baroda 1930. Pp. 47, 270.

NĀṬYA-DARPAṆA of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, with their own commentary, edited with an introduction and indices by G. K. Shrigondekar and L. B. Gandhi. Vol. i. (Same Series, no. xlviii), 1929. Pp. 17, 230.

Of these two publications of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, which are of interest to students of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra, the first is comparatively unimportant. It is indeed a recent work, having been composed about the middle of the 18th century by Narasiṃha Kavi, who arrogates to himself the title of Navīna or Abhinava Kālidāsa. His patron, Nañjarāja, whose name is borne by the title of the work and whose glory it celebrates throughout in its illustrative verses, was a well-known historical figure in the struggle for power in the South during the middle and latter half of the 18th century. Nañjarāja belonged to the royal family of Kalale and became Sarvādhikārin of Mysore kingdom for twenty years from 1739 A.D. under its nominal ruler Kṛṣṇa-Rāja II. Subsequently in 1772 he was treacherously imprisoned by Haidar Ali, who had taken entire possession of the administration. He died in prison in 1773. The work under review follows generally the manner as well as the matter of Vidyānātha's more well known *Pratāparudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa*, which was written with a similar object of panegyrising the prince whose name it bears in a similar way on its title. As an original work on Poetics, the present work possesses little value, either for its treatment or for its subject-matter. It consists of seven Vilāsas, treating respectively, after its prototype, of the characteristics of the Hero, Heorine etc. (1), the general characteristics of a Kāvya (II), Dhvani (III), Rasa (IV), Doṣa and Guṇa (V), Nāṭya (VI), and Alaṃkāra (VII). Excepting some matters of detail, it keeps pretty closely to its model, sometimes even to the extent of employing the same words and sentences.

The *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, which was noticed in some detail by Sylvain Lévi in *Journal Asiatique* in 1923, is a more important and interesting work, being one of the few treatises

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which deal exclusively with the theme of Sanskrit Dramaturgy. The authors were the pupils of the famous Jaina Ācārya and polygrapher Hemacandra and belonged to the 12th century A.D. One of Rāmacandra's dramas, *Nala-vilāsa*, has already been published in the Gaekwad's Series (1926), but no less than eleven dramatic works of his are cited in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* itself; and Rāmacandra appears to have emulated his industrious preceptor in the production of a large number of works on a variety of topics. Hemacandra himself in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* gives an incidental but brief account of Dramaturgy and appropriates passages from Abhinavagupta and others, but the present work elaborates the theme further after Bharata, Abhinavagupta and the *Daśarūpaka*. Although the work is edited from a single manuscript (with the help of another which contains only the Kārikās), the editing has been accomplished with care and knowledge. Like the *Daśarūpaka*, the work consists of four chapters called Vivekas, and they deal respectively with the general characteristics of the Nāṭaka and its elements (I), the characteristics of the remaining eleven varieties of the drama (II), the Vṛttis and Rasa (III), the Nāndī, Dhruvā, the different characters and their peculiarities and excellences (IV), with a concluding account of the minor varieties of the drama. The treatment, as we have indicated above, generally follows that of Bharata and the *Daśarūpaka*, but in many places the authors seem to possess independent views and do not hesitate to criticise their predecessors. One of the interesting features of the commentary, however, is the citation of a large number of illustrative passages from more than sixty dramatic works. Some of these works are yet unknown, and some unpublished. Among these are Devī-candragupta of Viśākhadeva, Anaṅgasenā-harinandi (Prakaraṇa) of Śuktivāsakumāra, Abhinava-rāghava of Kṣīrasvāmin, pupil of Bhaṭṭendurāja, Citrotpalā-valambitaka (Prakaraṇa) of Amātya Śaṅkuka, Pārtha-vijaya [of Trilocana], Udātta-rāghava [of Māyurāja], Rāmābhyudaya [of Yaśo-varman], Manoramā-vatsarāja of Bhīmaṭa, Rādhā-vipralambha of Bhejjala, Kauśalikā Nāṭikā of Bhavanutacūḍā, Tāpasa-Vatsarāja [of Anaṅgaharṣa Mātrarāja] and Pratimāniruddha of Vasunāga, son of Bhīmadeva, besides dramas cited without the name of the author, such as Indulekhā (Nāṭikā and Vīthī), Anaṅgavatī Nāṭikā, Jāmadagnya-

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jaya (Vyāyoga), Tripuradāha (Prakaraṇa), Payodhi-mathana, Pāṇḍavānanda, Chalita-rāma, Taraṅgadatta (Prakaraṇa), Māyā-puṣpaka, Kṛtyārāvaṇa, Vidhi-vilasita, Puṣpa-dūṣitaka (Prakaraṇa), Vilakṣa-duryodhana, and Bālikā-vañcitaka. There is also a quotation from Svapna-vāsavadatta of Bhāsa, to which Sylvain Lévi has already drawn attention, but which is missing in the Trivandrum play. A Daridra-cārudatta is also mentioned, but no passage from this drama is cited. The Kundamālā of Vīranāga, wrongly attributed by Ramakrishna Kavi to Diṅnāga, is also cited.

S. K. De

LA FEMME BENGALIE dans la Littérature du Moyen-age, par J. Helen Rowlands, M.A. (Calcutta). Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris, 1930, vi+241 pp.

This interesting work, which embodies the results of the author's studies, both in India and in Europe under distinguished scholars, is a notable contribution to the study of an important phase of social and domestic life of mediaeval Bengal. The work is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the domestic life of the mediaeval Bengali woman, and the titles of the various sections will indicate its fairly comprehensive scope. It treats of Infancy, Betrothal, Marriage, the Relation between the Mother-in-law and the Daughter-in-law, the Effects of Polygamy, the Bad and the Good Wife, Maternity, the Daily Life, Self-immolation and Widowhood, with an interesting but rather brief section on the Nostalgia of the Young Wife. The second part is devoted to an account of the stories of some women well-known in literature and folklore, such as those of Behulā, Khullanā, Mayanāmatī, Samulā, Candrābatī etc. There is a bibliography, as well as a note on the sources, and an Index. The treatment is more descriptive than historical, and the work, with its unpretentious but well-informed and lucid exposition, will appeal to a wider public than the merely critical scholar. Not only literary sources but also folk-tales, legends, songs and Vrata-kathās are fully utilised, and the subjects are illustrated amply by original quotations and translations. One may, however, wonder if the modern Vrata-kathās and modern collections of songs and legends,

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on which a greater reliance appears to have been placed, can be regarded as authentic historical sources of the social life of mediaeval Bengal. But even if this fact somewhat impairs the strict historical or critical value of the work, its interest and importance from the point of view of ethnology and sociology cannot be denied. As a matter of fact, the work limits itself chiefly to the domestic and social aspects of woman's life in mediaeval Bengal and leaves aside larger issues; but within these limits it is written from direct knowledge and in a simple and graphic style. The translations and references are fairly accurate and well informed, but here and there slight errors have crept in, such as one finds on p. 49, footnote 2, where the name cited should be Cāru or Cārucandra, and not Cārudās. Nevertheless, there is evidence of extensive and careful reading, as well as of wise selection of materials and quotations. The value of the work, however, depends not so much upon its scholarship or on its painstaking collection of materials, as upon the womanly sympathy, understanding and insight with which a perennially interesting subject is ably treated.

S. K. De

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR: No. 1 *Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Udgir*, pp. 60, price as. 13. No. 2 *Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat* 1747-1761, pp. 173, price Rs. 2/3. No 3 *Shahu's Campaign against the Sidis of Janjira*, 1733-1736, pp. 173, price Rs. 2/1. No. 4 *Reports about Anandibai*, September 1786—October 1788, pp. 91, price Re. 1/-. No. 5 *The League of the Barbhai's*, pp. 89, price Re. 1/- Government Central Press, Bombay.

The Peshwa Daftar at Poona has long been regarded as a rich store house jealously guarded by the Government of Bombay like the dragon of our nursery tales and many a student of Maratha history has often cast longing looks at the forbidden place. The dragon, however, had its accommodating moods, and years ago the late Rao Bahadur Ganesh Chimnaji Vad was permitted to select numerous extracts from these closely guarded records with a view to publication.

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Vad did not live to see his *Selections from the Satara Rajas and the Peshwas' Diaries* appear in print. They were published after his death by the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society of Poona with the permission of the Government of Bombay under the editorship of D. B. Parasnis, K. B. Marathe and B. P. Joshi between 1906 and 1911, while four more volumes of similar *Selections* were brought out by P. V. Mawjee and D. B. Parasnis. These were afterwards supplemented by further instalments in the now defunct *Itihās Saṅgraha* edited by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

Then came a long pause and the dragon once more resumed its close vigilance. Meanwhile public opinion became more and more insistent and the Historical Record Commission succeeded in convincing the watchful guardian of the ancient records that inquisitive students were after all not so harmful to these mouldering papers as less conspicuous worms and the former may be profitably employed to check the depredations of the latter. It was extremely lucky that the Bombay authorities ultimately yielded to enlightened criticism and decided to take G. S. Sardesai and a few of his nominees into their confidence. The result of their labour is now before us in the shape of a fresh series of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, and we propose to review here the first five volumes.

It is needless to say that these six hundred pages of printed records are not only extremely interesting reading but they considerably add to our knowledge of the period with which they deal. In their general arrangement Sardesai's *Selections* form an improvement on their predecessors. While Vad tried to classify his records according to the Peshwa with whom they were associated, Sardesai prefers to bring all records bearing on a particular topic together. He further furnishes the reader with general hints about the importance, and nature of the records in the shape of a neat little introduction in English. Each volume is illustrated with a photographic reproduction of one of the important papers and a sketch map is added to help the reader to follow intelligently the movements of the Maratha forces and their opponents. Obsolete words are explained in simple Marathi in foot-notes and each document is followed by a brief explanatory note in English. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired and

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the Government Central Press, Bombay, is to be congratulated on the excellence of its production.

The first three volumes deal with three very important campaigns and illustrate the main causes of the downfall of the Maratha empire. The disaster of Panipat must not be treated as an isolated event and to understand the real reason for the Maratha debacle the student must carefully study the earlier campaigns of Janjira (vol. 3) and Udgir (vol. 1). As Sardesai says, the papers published in vol. 1 of his *Selections* "may be likened to telephone messages passing between the various commanders in a modern campaign" and "will enable the students of history to follow the operations of diplomacy and warfare in a manner which is hardly possible in the case of other famous campaigns". We further learn that while the Peshwa's force was moving towards Udgir, the ruler of Nagpur was engaged in a fratricidal strife and could not or would not take any important part in this important campaign. The second volume proves beyond doubt the superior ability of Ahmed Shah Abdali over his Brahman adversary both as a general and as a statesman. We find it difficult to agree with Sardesai, who, we believe, is responsible for the general introduction, that the same policy was pursued by Baji Rao I and his son Balaji. Both of them were undoubtedly ambitious imperialists, but while Baji Rao wisely cultivated the friendship of the Rajput chiefs, Balaji underestimated or totally ignored the value and utility of a mighty Hindu alliance. While the Maratha diplomatists tried to win the Muslim ruler of Oudh over to their side till the last moment and even counted upon the possibility of a friendly understanding with Najib Khan, they deliberately assumed an attitude of revenge and retaliation towards the Hindu chieftains of Rajputana. If the Rohillas could settle their differences with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh it is futile to suggest that the gulf between the Rajputs and the Marathas were too wide to be bridged. The fact is that the Maratha Chiefs were in the first place disunited among themselves, they were not always amenable to discipline and the central government frequently found it difficult to make them work a common plan in a harmonius way. Moreover the Maratha government was confronted with financial difficulties of an unprecedented character. The price of agricultural products had suddenly depreciated, reve-

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nue collection was unusually poor and the bankers were reluctant to advance loans while the state had no reserve fund to fall back upon. The strength and resources of the Muslim alliance had from the very beginning been foolishly underestimated, so that the Peshwa was celebrating fresh marriages while his presence in the north was urgently necessary. A careful examination of the documents published in vol. III leads to the same conclusion. The Siddis were no match for the great Maratha empire, yet the campaign failed in its main objective because the Maratha force lacked unity of command. Sekhoji hit the nail on the head when he wrote to Baji Rao "Unless the sole charge of the campaign is given to one single commander with full control, you will be unsuccessful." We fail to understand why Sardesai holds that Anjanvel was captured by the Marathas during this campaign. We do not find any evidence in support of this assertion anywhere in this volume while unpublished English records in the India Office leave no doubt that Anjanvel did not come into Maratha possession till the days of Tulaji Angria. The reports about Anandibai shows how badly she was treated by ministers in power. The restraints on her were naturally irksome and were probably enhanced by overjealous minions. Even sweets sent by a well-wisher from Surat would not be delivered to the widow of Raghunath Rao until the ministers at Poona signified their consent. The education of young Baji Rao was sadly neglected and his inveterate hatred for Nana may very well be understood when we learn what humiliations the future Peshwa and his mother had experienced when they were under the tutelage of the crafty minister. Volume V throws new light upon the early history of the civil war that followed the murder of young Narayan Rao. It is now definitely established that the league was organised by Sakharam Bapu and its military head was Trimbak Rao Pethe. Those who condemn Raghunath Rao for making alliances with the English of Bombay and Haidar Ali of Mysore should note how his adversaries relied for the success of their project upon the support of another inveterate enemy of their empire, the Muslim ruler of Haiderabad.

It is not in a spirit of carping criticism that we make bold to point out here a few blemishes of this otherwise excellent publication. We beg to suggest that the English note in the

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future volumes may either be made more elaborate or in the alternative be altogether omitted. As they are, they are superfluous to those who know Marathi; to those, who do not, they convey little or no information. In this respect, the English summary in Vad's volumes, inaccurate as they sometimes are, are more useful to non-Marathi knowing students. Obsolete and unfamiliar words have been sometimes left unexplained, while in a few cases the synonyms in the foot-note are, in our opinion, inaccurate. We will quote here a few instances from vol. II alone: "Kambes in p. 9 does not mean "mukrar" but "Javarjavar" (more or less) as in p. 67; "Vijārat" on p. 21 signifies the office of Vazir or Vizier and has nothing to do with "Maktedari"; "Khanajad" is an expression of Persian extraction and means a person born in the house; "namra-sevak" being a farfetched explanation of the term. It may also be noted that while "Sajāvali" ultimately means "tagādā" its immediate meaning is the office of "Sajāval". We also think that "uḍeśācyā mārge" on p. 15 indicates "by Orissa route" or "through Orissa" and not by the route of Orchha as one would gather from the foot-note.

It may be reasonably suggested that the Portuguese officer "Laddin" mentioned in Letter, no. 46, p. 42, vol. 3, may be identified with Antonio Cardim Froes. As we pointed out elsewhere, (*Military System of the Marathas*, p. 215). "The Viceroy of Goa sent Antonio Caridm Froes with two ships to Janjira, ostensibly to mediate between the two combatants, but really to help the Sidi openly, should such assistance be absolutely necessary." This officer is sometimes mentioned as Antonio Cardim and Laddin may very well be a misreading for Cardim, "K" and "La" in *modi* being almost similar.

It will not be out of place to remind the Government of Bombay, who have at length awakened to their sense of responsibility, that preservation of old records is far more necessary than their publication, and as the records of the Peshwa Daftar have already suffered from ravages of time it is urgently needed that something should be immediately done to prevent further injury. All students of Maratha history will ever remain grateful to Mr. G. S. Sardesai for undertaking this labour of love at an advanced age when most people retire from active life and seek the repose and rest which Mr. Sardesai, at least, has richly earned.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

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HARAPRASĀD SAṂVARDHAN LEKHAMĀLĀ, vol. I, edited by Dr. Narendra Nath Law and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sāhitya Pariṣat Series 80, published from the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, 243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1338 B.S.

This is a collection of essays in Bengali by various scholars prepared and published under the auspices of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat for commemorating the occasion of the attainment of the 75th year by the veteran Indologist of Bengal, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī.

The essays cover almost the entire field of Indology—Epigraphy, Old Sanskrit and Bengali Literature, Ancient Indian Tantricism and Buddhism—subjects that were favourite to him and most of which received attention at his hands through his innumerable papers written in the course of his life-long literary activities.

In all, fourteen papers have been included in this volume. In the first paper Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta refers to the time of initiation at the Varṣasatra as given in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (VII, 4.8), and from a reference therein to the rainy season (*sāṃmeghya*) he concludes that the conditions there mentioned might have been possible about 4400 years ago. The date of composition of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* also should therefore be placed, according to him, near about that time.

Mr. O. C. Ganguli has described in details a work on the art of dancing the *Nartana-nirṇaya* composed by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala of the court of Akbar. The work shows how Persian elements had been included in this art of the Hindus at the time.

In *Vaidik Sāhitye Prāṇir Kathā* Dr. Ekendranath Ghose has given a very illuminating and almost exhaustive description of animals mentioned in the different parts of the vast Vedic literature.

In this paper on *Antiquity and authenticity of the Tantras* Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has adduced proofs to show the universal character and primitative nature of the Tantras, rites or their analogues. He has also made an attempt to trace Tāntric practices or rather their prototypes to the Vedic period. An interesting description of the controversy among different Tāntric Sects with regard to the authenticity and authoritativeness of particular sections of the Tantras has added to the importance of the paper.

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Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee in his paper on the *Cosmogony in Dharmamaṅgala and Antiquity of the deity Dharma* has tried to throw some new light on this well-known topic. He has tried to show that the Cosmogony as found in the *Dharmamaṅgala* literature has also agreement with that in the Nāsadīya hymn of the *Ṛg-veda* and that the deity can be traced in different parts of the Vedic literature. His theory, therefore, goes against that of the Buddhist Origin of the Dharma Cult.

In his *Dhanurveda* Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Rai has given a detailed account of the *Dhanurveda* Section of *Agnipurāṇa* as also of Dhanurveda Saṃhitā attributed to Vaśiṣṭha adding a note on some of the weapons used in ancient India.

Dr. D. C. Sen in his *Rural Ballads of Bengal* has discussed the poetry, ideal and historical importance of these ballads some of which have been published by the University of Calcutta.

In his *Adbhut Tāmraśāsan* Mm. Padmanath Bhattacharyya gives a summary of a copper-plate grant made by Indrapāla of Assam in his 21st regnal year. A very interesting feature of this grant which constitutes its strangeness is the mention of thirty-two epithets of the king made at the end of the grant after the formal part has been finished.

Mr. Sukumar Sen in his account of the two *Mahākāvyas* of Aśvaghoṣa, e.g., *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* has drawn particular attention to the linguistic and metrical peculiarities of these works.

In *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa or antiquity of Katmandu* Dr. P. C. Bagchi points to a reference to the name in a manuscript of 1411 A.D. And this goes to prove the untrustworthiness of the tradition according to which the name came into existence by the end of the 16th century in the reign of Lakṣmīnarasiṃhadeva.

In *Mahāyānaviṃśaka* a sanskrit reconstruction of the work of that name from its Chinese and Tibetan translations has been given by Paṇḍit Vidhuśekhar Śāstrī together with Bengali translation and elaborate critical notes.

In a long paper entitled *Buddhāvatār Rāmānanda Ghoṣ* etc. Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu refers to the continuance of Buddhism in Eastern India in a disguised form and from long extracts (with Vaiṣṇavite, Buddhist and Śākta tinge) quoted from Rāmānanda's *Rāmlīlā* in

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Bengali he seeks to establish that Rāmānanda (17th century) was a Tāntric Buddhist. He also describes in detail the Buddhist upheaval in Orissa as late as the end of the 19th century under 'Bhīmbhoi.'

Paṇḍit Pañcānan Tarkaratna in a neat little paper shows that the auspicious sign used in Eastern Bengal before beginning to write the consonantal alphabet and known in some parts as *Āñjī* is nothing but a symbolical representation of 'Kuṇḍalinī' in her *Madhyamā* form which symbolises sound.

On the whole the work is a scholarly production of a high order. We commend it to the notice of scholars having any knowledge of Bengali.

R. N. SEAL

A STUDY IN THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ANCIENT INDIA, by Dr. Pran Nath Vidyālaṃkāra, PH.D. (Vienna), D.SC. (London). Published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1929.

The present work comes before us with the weight of high authority. The author who is a Professor of Economics in the Hindu University, Benares, won the PH.D. degree of the Vienna University by his previous publication *Tausch und Geld in Altindien.* His present work has secured for him the D.SC. degree of the London University and has been accepted for publication in the well-known series of monographs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. It therefore deserves the attentive consideration of all serious students interested in the subject.

During the last few years has appeared a number of works professing to deal with the 'Economic History of Ancient India' whose high promise serves only to bring out the poor quality of the performance. Dr. Pran Nath has not succumbed to the prevailing temptation. He very wisely concentrates his attention upon certain fundamental aspects of his problem—witness the significant title of his work *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India.* Within his limits he brings together a considerable amount of learning drawn from the most varied sources and he derives his conclusions therefrom by closely reasoned arguments. As such his work is the first serious attempt to investigate the difficult sub-

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ject of economic conditions in ancient India. Credit is also due to the author for the strikingly original way in which he explains numerous technical terms and the care with which he has prepared a number of statistical and other tables.

On a number of points, however, it is permissible to differ from the author. A radical defect of the author which deprives his book of much of its scientific value is that he systematically ignores the limiting conditions of time and place in passing his judgments. Had he borne these points in mind he would not have fallen into the error of indulging in such generalizations as the following:—

"The social and administrative organization in ancient India was similar in more respects than one to the feudal system of mediæval Europe" (p. 2);

"In the ancient fabric of Indian society there was no separate group comprising the middle classes as this expression is ordinarily understood in English" (p. 123);

"The whole of India was under the grip of powerful families of nobles" (p. 128).

As we shall presently see, some of these sweeping statements are contradicted by the author himself in other parts of his work, though he does not seem to be aware of his inconsistency. Coming to another point we have to state that the author's interpretations of technical terms, however striking they may be, are more often ingenious than convincing. To this we must add that the statistical figures laboriously prepared by the author are frequently based upon no surer data than those furnished by the *Jātakas*, the Epics and similar works. Finally it must be admitted that the work contains a large number of inaccuracies, which is much to be regretted in a work of this type. These remarks will now be sought to be justified by reference to concrete facts:

P. 14 *n.* 1 for *Caturāśītir-deśaḥ*, read *Caturaśītir* etc.

P. ,, *n.* 2 for the first *pūrvadeśaḥ* (wrongly repeated twice), read *paścāddeśaḥ*.

P. 15 *n.* 1 for *Valhava*, read *Vahlava*.

PP. 14-15. 'Eighty-four countries'. The list of *deśas* mentioned by

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Vinayacandra (quoted p. 14 n. 1) differs materially from that in *Bārhaspatya-Arthaśāstra* (quoted p. 18 n. 2). The list of *Janapadas* (not *deśas*) in the four great regions which Rājaśekhara mentions in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (quoted p. 15 n.) is not exhaustive, as is indicated by the word *prabhṛti* (which the author ignores altogether) at the end of each group. Nor do the names of *janapadas* in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* correspond to those of *deśas* in the other two works. Thus there is nothing to show that "from the seventh to the eleventh century A.D. ancient India was divided into eighty-four countries" (p. 14). The probability is that there was a conventional list of 84 countries into which some writers tried in different ways to press their lists of names.

P. 20. "The *Bārhaspatya-Arthaśāstra* figures and the *Si-yi-ki* (read *Si-yu-ki*) figures compared." This comparison is not convincing as the author refers Hiuen Tsang's figures arbitrarily to the *Yojana* of 40 to 50 *li* according as it suits his argument.

Pp. 38-39. Total number of *grāmas* in India. The author makes out this total (in round numbers 700,000) by adding the figure of 750,000 "given for Southern India in the inscriptions and land-grants" to the same number for Northern India reached by "a very rough approximation". But the author fails to specify "the inscriptions and landgrants" which furnish his figure for Southern India. Even if these figures were to hold good with respect to a particular period, it is contrary to all canons of criticism to apply them to all the centuries of ancient Indian history. The assumption of the same number of *grāmas* for Northern as for Southern India is unworthy of serious consideration, and consequently the author's estimated total of *grāmas* for all India and the further inferences drawn therefrom are altogether valueless.

P. 40. "One *grāma* or five families of tenants." This is based on a mistranslation of *pañcakula* in the original, which means a specific officer or body of officers and not five families. (See Bühler's remarks in *IA*. XIII, p. 113).

P. 40. n. 1 for *cayam* read *cāyam*.

Ibid *n.* 4 *milatism* is meaningless.

P. 52. "The administration of a *Janapada*". The author mentions

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three classes of servants belonging to three different departments, (1) Military, (2) Revenue, and (3) Police". In view of this elaborate official organization it is impossible to take seriously his generalization (p. 128), namely that "the whole of India was under the grip of powerful families of nobles." (Cf. a similar statement on p. 130).

P. 53. Meaning of *gaṇa*. Except the meaning of democratic (*sic*) government which is odious to the author he is prepared to accept a number of explanations of this term. He explains *gaṇa* as 'a squadron for protection of a quarter of the Janapada' (p. 53), 'a territorial division corresponding to the later *parganā* and *mahal*' (the former term being derived by a wonderful etymology from Sanskrit *para-gaṇah* or *pra-gaṇah*) (p. 55), etc. Evidently then *gaṇa* is here taken for an administrative division ruled by an official. On p. 128 we have a wholly inconsistent explanation of *gaṇa*, viz., 'a federation (*sic*) of powerful ruling families', whence it is sought to prove that 'the whole of India was in the grip of nobles.'

P. 54. "Theories advanced to prove the existence of some democratic form of government in Ancient India." Unhappily for the author and men of his way of thinking the existence of democratic as well as aristocratic forms of government in ancient India is no longer a theory but is a demonstrated truth. Without hoping to convince the author by argument it may be pointed out (a) that *gaṇa* has been taken by previous writers not in the narrow sense of demoratic, but in the wider sense of republican, government, (b) that the *gaṇa-rāyāni* in the same text cannot refer simply to 'some privileged classes of people,' for then the term *rāya* (*rājya*) would be meaningless.

P. 57. 'Collection of revenue'. Here the revenue-collection is said to have been entrusted to "officers called *daśin*, *śatin*, *sahasrādhipati*, *maṇḍala* (*sic*), etc." On p. 160 the author writes without any fear of contradiction, "The share of produce, taxes, fines and other dues were actually collected by *sāmantas* ('estate-owners') and not by the 'king' or ruler of the country (*deśa*), as generally understood hitherto."

P. 59. "The people were evidently not well protected." This astounding statement is made by the author without any limiting

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qualification as regards time and place. If the author had referred to Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India*, ed. 1919, (pp. 85, 156, 184) he would have found himself directly contradicted by the evidence of Greek, Chinese and Arab witnesses.

P. 59. "In the time of Mahāvīra, Haribhadra Sūri tells us in his Kalpa-sūtra that the people were free from troubles and calamities." Evidently the author thought that Haribhadra Sūri was a first-rate historian whose account of the condition of 'the people' 'in the time of Mahāvīra' could be accepted as a sober fact. Lack of critical spirit could not go further.

P. 117. "Population of the country." The author calculates the total population of ancient India (we are not told at what period) by taking his figures *inter alia* from such sources as the Buddhist books, the *Mahābhārata* and so forth. (p. 117). But none of the sources he quotes, not even the statements of 'the Greek historians' regarding 'the war-strength of eight ancient Indian countries' can be regarded as a statistical gazetteer. The only complete or nearly complete figure for all India, that of the total number of *akṣauhiṇīs* present in the Great War according to the *Mahābhārata* cannot be accepted as authentic until they are proved to be such. His other figures which apply only to parts of Northern India and his method of applying the average to the whole country ignore the likely differences in the material resources between Northern and Southern India.

P. 127. "As far as the Buddhist story-books are concerned, it appears that these estate-owners are called *rājans, rājānakas, amātyas, rājanyakas, sāmantas, maulas, rāyas, gaṇas, gaṇarāyas, bhojas, kulaputras, kṣatriyas, rājaputras, etc.*" If the author had referred to the P. T. S. Dictionary, he would have discovered the differences of meaning of these terms. In the immediately following lines while explaining an Avadānaśataka text he translates *rājā-Mahākapphino* as 'king' Kapphina, but takes *kecid deśā gaṇādhīnāḥ kecid rājādhīnā* to refer to the rule by individual nobles and the rule by territorial groups (*sic*).

P. 132. *Sāmanta* is explained as 'the ruling class.' By similar violence of meaning *pṛthvīpati* is translated on p. 58 as 'landowner.'

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P. 135. *Saṃdhi* is translated as 'agreement made by the class of land-owners with the king.' For the true meaning see Dr. Narendra Nath Law's *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India.*

P. 138. *Kāya* is meaningless. P. 145. For '*century*' read '*centuries.*'

P. 155. "When a king visited a village, poor people had to work hard to supply the provisions demanded by him. Even the nobles and rich inhabitants were not exempt." This is inconsistent with the equally sweeping statement, "The whole of India was under the grip of powerful families" (p. 128).

P. 161. *Apāramparabalivaddagahaṇam.* The author's translation "free from the taking of oxen in succession" makes no meaning.

P. 164. The extract from Hiuen Tsang (Beal's version) is taken to "give a fairly good idea of the economic condition of Ancient India." This extract, as Watters' improved version (which the author systematically ignores) indicates, and as is indeed quite clear from its contents, describes the cities and buildings of India in the 7th century. The really relevant foreign notices give the lie direct to the author's gloomy picture of "the economic condition of ancient India." Cf. Diodorus quoting from Megasthenes (similar accounts in Strabo and Arrian):—"The second caste consists of the husbandmen.....Being exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage.....The land thus remaining unravaged and producing heavy crops supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable"; *Fa Hien* (Giles' tr. p. 20) states:—"The people are prosperous and happy"; *Hiuen Tsang* (Watters' tr. I, p. 176):—"Taxation being light, and forced labour being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation."

P. 171. For *Mahārāja-parajaya* read *Moharāja-parājaya.*

Do For *Népal* read *Le Népal.*

Do For *Shrichakrasambhara tantra* read *Śrīcakraśambara tantra* (as correctly stated on p. 16. n.).

It is to be hoped that the above points will be borne in mind by the learned author when the time comes for a new edition of his work.

U. N. Ghoshal

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KALIKAMAṄGALA of Balarāma Kaviśekhara with a foreword by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasād Śāstrī, M.A., D.Litt., C.I.E., critically edited by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Series, No. 79, Calcutta, 1931.

In the rich store-house of fables and popular tales met with in Middle Bengali Literature the romantic story of Vidyā and Sundara occupies a prominent position. During the last century of the Christian era this was perhaps the most popular story in Bengali. In course of time much that is filthy and obscene had crept into the description of some of the incidents of the story, which caused it to lose its popularity with people with Western education. As a matter of fact, works dealing with the story were held in contempt and in most cases justly so. Obscenity was invariably associated with the works describing the story of Vidyā and Sundara. In the work of Kaviśekhara however, we have happily an exception to this rule. A pure sentiment of devotion is here found to be pervading the whole work.

An edition of the work, therefore, as brought out by Prof. Chakravarti, will be a relief to all lovers of Middle Bengali Literature, which is by its appearance as it were purged of a stigma sticking to it.

Prof. Chakravarti has had to work under great difficulties as he could get hold of only a single manuscript of the work. He has, however, done well in noting in the footnotes similar or divergent passages from other works dealing with the same story thus bringing together much useful material for a comparative study of the works.

Introductions embodying the fruits of the critical study of the editors of the works concerned are the special features of editors of old texts. Here also we have a learned and long introduction from the pen of the editor. It is a proof of his scholarship and labour, even if there may be minor points here and there in which others may not be in a position to agree with him. He has not only given a critical study of the work regarding its age and language, poetic merits, social and religious condition of the country reflected in it, but also a survey of the entire literature dealing with the same topic. This latter thing is very useful indeed. He has also entered into the questions of the origin of the story as also its relation to the story of the well-known Sanskrit

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poet of Kashmir viz. Bilhaṇa (author of the *Caurapañcāśikā*) with which it agrees so closely.

There are three valuable indexes. In the Word-Index are found certain words which are not generally met with elsewhere in literature. In the case of many words reference has been given to different works where they have been used. The index will therefore be highly useful to students of Philology. The indexes of mythological and geographical names will also be found to be of much use.

BASANTA RANJAN ROY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE FOR THE YEAR 1929 and its supplement EXCAVATIONS OF CANDRAVALI. Edited by Mr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.LITT (Lond.), Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, Bangalore in 1931.

The Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Dept. is divided into five parts under the heads, Administrative, Survey of Monuments and Ancient sites, Numismatics, Manuscripts, and Epigraphy. Part I gives a general account of the Administrative business in connection with the Archæological Survey Department of Mysore, and the résumé of the work done for the year. Part II embodies the detailed description of the Jaina and Brahmanical Monuments and Sculptures, erected within the period from the 9th to the 10th century A.D. in eight villages, in the Mysore State. Some of the sculptures offer interesting study. But the paucity of illustrations virtually makes them unattractive. Part III treating with Numismatics is by far the most interesting contribution in the whole report. The section (i) in this chapter deals with Hoysala coins and the section (ii) describes some provincial coins of Vijayanagar. The whole chapter is informative and some of the suggestions given by the author in it evince originality. The discussion on the coin of Hoysala Narasiṃha I (A.D. 1141-1173) may be referred to in this connection. Part IV discourses on three palm leaf manuscripts Dhanavastu, Paradāra Sodara Rāmana Kathe and Jayarekhā. Paradāra Sodara Rāmāṇa Kathe, by Nanjuṇḍa, a writer who flourished in the

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latter part of the sixteenth century A.D., is of great historical value as it narrates the exploits of Rāmanātha, a Karṇāṭaka prince of the 14th century A.D., who fought the invading Moslem armies of Delhi and fell in the defence of his country. Part V. contains the texts and English translations with author's note of one hundred and seventeen Kanarese and Sanskrit inscriptions discovered during the year. The detailed descriptions might not be incorporated in the Annual Report where a short summary would have sufficed. This portion ought to have been published as a separate volume of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. Of the inscriptions described the Candravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman of the 3rd century A.D. (No. 1) and the Pāṇḍuraṅga-pally grant of Avidheya (No. 117) of the early years of the 6th century A.D. evoke much interest. The second inscription throws a flood of light on the history of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas who held sway over the Deccan prior to the rule of the Cālukyas of Badami.

On the whole the report is a valuable record particularly to those who are engaged in solving the problem of the Early History of the Deccan.

D. C. Ganguly

STONE AND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF TRAVANCORE WITH PLATES, By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.; Travancore Archæological Series: Vol. VII, part II, Royal Octavo. 78 pp.

The Archæological Survey Department of the Travancore Government is doing useful work within its limited sphere of activity. A corpus of stone and copper-plate inscriptions of Travancore is gradually being made up, part by part, and the volume under review contains no less than 52 records, all found at and belonging to the village of Puravseri, whose inscriptional name is Puravari Caturvedimaṅgalam which is about a mile to the east of Nagercoil. The village originated as a brāhmaṇa colony in the gift of house sites to eighteen brāhmaṇa families, by Siṅgan-Araṅgan of Paśuṅgulam, sometime before Kollam 336; and a temple formed the nucleus of the village.

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This temple may be identified with the Viṣṇu temple still extant in the village, and which, inspite of its poor architecture, is a structure dating from at least the second half of the 12th century A.D. Since the gift of Śiṅgan-Araṅgan had been made, kings and private individuals from time to time made gifts of lands to brāhmaṇas residing in the village.

The inscriptions, though numerically large, are historically of very little importance, and they relate to only few transactions; for, each item of transaction is represented by at least two documents,—one appertaining to the actual gift and the other to the agreement tendered by the tenants who took over the lands for cultivation, promising in return therefore to supply a stipulated quantity of paddy for the temple's requirements.

But of unusual interest is the report of the recent discovery of a bas-relief cross with a Pahlavi inscription at Kaḍamaṛṛam, a village six miles distant from Mūvāttupuḷa, a taluk-centre in the Kottayan Division. It is undoubtedly an interesting acquisition of linguistic and historical value. This inscription and another written in the self-same Pahlavi character and found at Muttuśiṛa, a village fifteen miles to the north Kottayan, have been deciphered respectively by Sir Dr. J. J. Modi and Mr. B. T. Ankleseria, M.A., of Bombay. The discovery of these the Pahlavi Cross in the Travancore State is likely to prove of very great importance to the history of Christianity in West Coast which goes back at least as early as the 8th or 9th century A.D.

NIHAR RANJAN RAY

I BIBLIOGRAPHIE BOUDDHIQUE, pts. i & ii (Jany. 1928-May 1929 and May 1929-May 1930). Paul Geuthner. Paris 1930.

II CATALOGUE DU FONDS TIBETAIN DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE by Marcelle Lalou. 110 pp. Paul Geuthner. Paris 1930.

Prof. Jean Przyluski is rendering yeoman's service to the cause of the critical study of Buddhism through the publications of the

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BUDDHICA Series. Such publications are only possible when the editors, contributors and publishers are actuated by sheer love of culture and scholarship.

The editor of the *Bibliographie Bouddhique* (pts. i & ii) deserves ample credit for his ability to secure the co-operation of scholars of so many nationalities. Buddhism has long become an international subject of study and the studies are being carried on through so many languages that it offers to scholars a very great obstacle by requiring them to be equipped with a knowledge of as many as eight languages viz., English, French, German, Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pāli, leaving out of account the Dutch, Russian, Mongolian and other languages. It is this difficulty that has been partially overcome by the issues of the *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, giving, as they do, the substance of papers published in the different languages and containing information collected from such varied sources. It holds up before our eyes the great extent to which the scholars of one country have to depend upon those of another for light upon their common subject of study.

The heads selected for the *Bibliographie* are judicious and comprehensive. They are as follows: (1) General. (2) Editions of texts, translations, catalogues, dictionaries, glossaries. (3) Philology and exegesis. (4) History and Spread of Buddhism. (5) Legends, doctrines, philosophy. (6) Discipline and cult. (7) Art, archæologie, epigraphy. We hope Prof. Przyluski will be able to maintain its present high standard by keeping an eye on the reliability of the gists of various publications coming within its purview. The plan of giving a bibliography of all the writings of distinguished scholars like Léon Feer (see pt. ii) will be greatly appreciated by the world of scholars.

The fourth number of the Series, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* comes from the pen of a scholar who has devoted herself long to the study of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs, and the whole volume is full of valuable informations. It can well be stated that the authoress has been able to keep up the high standard reached by the preceding volumes through the labours of the distinguished French scholar, the late Monsieur Cordier. The object of the book under review is to give a descriptive list of the uncatalogued manuscripts and xylographs of Buddhist texts in Tibetan translations,

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preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale as also in the Musée Guimet and the Bibliothèque de l'Institut. The chief interest of these manuscripts, as the authoress points out, is that they contain many works not to be found in Kanjur and Tanjur as also a few hitherto unknown Tantric texts. There are, moreover, some texts which are probably extracts from the canon. In the description of every work, the writer gives the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles; the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas invoked; the name of the places, if any, where the sūtra was delivered; the name of the interlocutor, if any; colophon; names of the translators; and the references, if any, to Kanjur and Tanjur. Altogether 205 texts have been touched in this way. The value of the *Catalogue* has been much enhanced by the tables of concordances and the index of Sanskrit and Tibetan titles. Recently, we have had from the pen of Dr. Barnett a Catalogue of the Tibetan texts preserved in the British Musuem (see Asia Major, vol. 7), while in the present volume, we have a list of the hitherto uncatalogued texts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The work is a valuable contribution to our Tibetan-Buddhist studies, and the writer deserves commendation for the care and industry with which she has accomplished the arduous task.

D. BHATTACHARYYA

TRIṢAṢTIŚALĀKĀPURUṢACARITRA, vol. I (Ādīśvaracarita) translated into English by Helen M. Johnson. Gækwad's Oriental Series No. LI. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1931. vii + 528 pp. 5 plates.

The volume under review is a running English translation of the first book, *Ādīśvaracaritra*, of the voluminous work of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.) called *Triṣaṣtiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (Lives of the sixty three famous men) viz. 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Vāsudevas, 9 Baladevas and 9 Prativāsudevas. The volume contains an account of the previous lives of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha and the first Cakravartin Bharata. The interesting feature of this translation as compared with the one published a few years ago by Prof. Banarsi Das Jain is that the translator has all along kept lucid the translation, following the original very closely at the same time. The difficulty that confronts

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the translator of a book of this type is to find suitable English equivalents for technical terms abounding in such a Jaina or Buddhist text. This difficulty has been overcome in this book by relegating the interpretation of such technical terms to the footnotes and the Appendices. By this device, the language of the book denuded of its harshness, is as pleasant as that of a story book. For keeping up the interest of readers, the authoress has deviated from the usual method of following closely the detached verses by breaking up the translation into detached pieces, as has actually been done by Prof. Jain in his translation of the *Jaina Jātakas*. This has made the languages of the translation less halting. Another welcome feature consists in the well-chosen sub-headings which indicate at a glance the subject-matter of the discourse to follow. From the extensive bibliography as also from the learned notes, it is apparent that the translator has taken great pains to keep unimpaired as far as possible the merit of the work which is so often obscured in the English translations of Jaina and Buddhist texts, e.g. in the English translations of Pāli texts made by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

The present work, though a translation, is a veritable *vade mecum* of Jaina religion and philosophy. In the footnotes a number of technical terms has been elucidated. It can thus well serve the purpose of a handbook for the students of Jainism for getting at the meanings of obscure terms occurring in Jaina literature. In Appendices i-iv, the author has dealt with Cosmography, Karma, the fourteen Guṇasthānas, the nine Tattvas, and the qualities of the Pañca-parameṣṭhins. In Appendix vi has been given the list of rare words with their English translations. This will not only enrich our knowledge of the Jaina vocabulary but will also help a great deal in our linguistic studies. The translator's command over the language of the text is evinced by the corrections of the text that she has suggested on pp. 478-493. There are two indexes to the book. The one of names and subjects is replete with information and the other of Sanskrit and Prakrit words is exhaustive and useful. There are also five plates in the book showing the statue of Ṛṣabhanātha deposited in the Lucknow Museum; the Manuṣyaloka; the Lāñchanas of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras; the 14 dreams of Ṛṣabha's mother; and the 8 auspicious articles, mirror, śrīvatsa, etc. The only thing that is lacking in the volume under review is a suitable introduction dealing

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with the date, authorship, nature of contents, sources etc. of the main works of Hemacandra and also a short notice of the events of his life. Though Prof. Banarsi Das Jain and other scholars have dealt with it and nothing new remains to be said, yet a reader taking up this book for the first time will feel embarrassed without these requisites. To conclude, we offer our best thanks to the general editor and to H.H. the Maharaja Gækwad of Baroda for the excellent get-up of the book and for the impetus that the Gækwad Series is giving to the study of ancient Indian lore.

N. Dutt

THE BODHISATTVA DOCTRINE IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT LITERATURE by Har Dayal, xi+392 pp. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd. London 1932.

It is an undeniable fact that Buddhism owes much of its greatness to one of its post-Asokan phases, viz. Mahāyānism. On the one side, it has inspired highly thoughtful books on philosophy, while, on the other, it has given rise to a mass of devotional literature forming the basis of arts and sculptures. It was rather the Mahāyānic ethics and ideals that appealed more to the foreigners and prompted them to embrace Buddhism than the austere outlook on life preached in the Hīnayāna texts. But it is a matter for regret that in both India and Europe, this phase of Buddhism has not received the amount of attention it deserves; in any case, the attention bestowed on it is much less than that received by the earlier phase of Buddhism. The doctrine of Bodhisattva is one of the essentials of Mahāyānism. The book under review presents an elaborate exposition of this doctrine, for the first time, and hence cannot but be welcome to all students of Buddhism. The author has avoided speculations and placed before us, well-arranged, the materials from Buddhist-Sanskrit and Pāli sources along with the European interpretations of technical terms, throwing light on the Bodhisattva doctrine. In the first chapter he dwells on the meaning of Bodhisattva, shows the difference between a Bodhisattva and an Arhat, and enumerates the qualities that a Bodhisattva is to acquire

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for becoming a Buddha. He could however have spared himself the labour of bringing together the different English renderings, however unhappy, of the terms as given by the European and Japanese scholars e.g. the equivalent for Bodhisattva as suggested by Dr. Barnett, viz. "Creature of Enlightenment" (p. 5) and "earnest meiditation" (p. 83) or "mental clearness" (p. 84) as suggested by Mrs. Rhys Davids for "smṛtyupasthānāni", and "intoxicating drugs" by the same scholar for "āsrava" (p. 117). The second and the best chapter in the book is on the "Origin and development of the Bodhisattva doctrine". His treatment of 'bhakti' as found in the Buddhist literature and the evolution of the Bodhisattva doctrine is worth a serious consideration. In the third chapter, the author has explained the terms misunderstood by many like the *Bodhicitta*, *Gotra*, *Adhimukti*, *Praṇidhāna*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Skandhas*, *Bodhisattva-caryā*. The author has taken up in the fourth chapter the arduous task of finding out the exact meaning of the *dharmas* grouped as *Bodhipakṣikaḥ*. The fifth and sixth chapters are devoted to the *Pāramitās* and *Bhūmis* prescribed for Bodhisattvas aspiring to Buddhahood. In the last chapter, the author depicts the life of Gautama Buddha and shows how the Bodhisattva principles are carried out in his life. The notes and references appended to the book are very useful. Every chapter reveals the author's industry. The work will be profitably perused by those readers who seek a reliable guide for going through the Buddhist texts and comprehending the Mahāyānic ideals.

N. Dutt

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. X, pt. iii

STEN KONOW.—*Note on the Buddha's Jālalakṣaṇa.*—The *Jālalakṣaṇa* is interpreted by some scholars as one of the marks of Buddha's greatness, and the *jāla* is explained as a web or a membrane connecting the fingers and toes. Others hold that this conception is due to the misunderstanding of a technical device of the Buddhist sculptors of Gandhāra who left the schist behind as a support to the fingers of the Buddha's image. By a reference to the list of the marks of a superman and their explanations in a Śaka text found in Central Asia, the author of this note comes to the conclusion that "the traditional conception of the *Jālalakṣaṇa* was that of webbed fingers".

Ibid., vol. X, pt. iv

W. CALAND.—*Notes on the Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa.* Many errors have been pointed out in Keith's translation of the *Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa* (*Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, H. O. S.) and their emendations have been suggested.

J. GONDA.—*Etymologica.* The etymological meanings of the words *lavaṅga*, *laśuna*, *śalākā*, and *marīca* have been discussed here.

A. J. BERNET KEMPERS.—*Note on ancient sculpture from Amarāvatī.* Two scenes from the life of Buddha depicted in the carvings on the base of a mutilated octagonal pillar at Amarāvatī have been interpreted here afresh. After discussing the views of the previous interpreters on the subject viz. Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, the writer offers his own explanation of the scenes. "The river Nairañjanā", he says, "does not belong to the lower but to the upper scene, which has almost entirely disappeared" leaving the scene too incomplete to allow any interpretation. The lower panel, according to him is "a synoptical rendering of the Cycle of the Great Renunciation, viz. the concert, the sleep of the women, Chandaka entering the room and the Flight".

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Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,

vol. VI, pt. iv

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—*Mahāvīra and Buddha.* Jacobi's view that Mahāvīra outlived Buddha, and that the Nirvāṇa of the latter took place in 484 and that of the former in 477 B.C. is opposed in this article. It is argued that both these dates rest on very unsatisfactory and late evidences. The testimony of the later Jaina tradition recorded in Bhadreśvara's *Kahāvalī* and Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* pointing to 477 B.C. as the probable date of Mahāvīra's death is denied any value on the ground that the same tradition proves unreliable in regard to the date of the accession of Candragupta. It is further contended that the evidence of the earlier Buddhist texts asserting that Mahāvīra died before Buddha cannot be discredited in the absence of any serious contradiction from other reliable authorities.

TH. STCHERBATSKY.—*The Doctrine of the Buddha.* The author here opposes Keith's opinion that Buddha's teaching has not been correctly preserved in the Pāli canons. The contention that Buddha could not have been the author of a system, which with the complications involved in the denial of soul, and the theory of elements must have been unattractive to the masses and far above the trend of opinion in Buddha's time has been strongly opposed. The general features of Buddhism in the first period of its historical development are given here in the following words: "Denial of a Soul; its replacement by separate Elements, their classification into groups, bases, and components; the law of their dependent origination; their impermanence, their moral unrest produced by ignorance, their purification produced by the element of trancendant knowledge; the mystical powers produced by the element of trance, rebirth in higher realms and paradises; and, after that, Nirvāṇa".

L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.—*Tulu Prose Texts in Two Dialects.*

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.—*Phonetic Notes on Urdu Records Nos. 6825 A.K. and 6826 A.K.*

.—*Early Hindi and Urdu Poetry no. iv.* This contains pen pictures by Banarsi Das of Jaunpur who wrote his poems during ths first half of the 17th century and also by Mīr Ja'far Zaṭallī who wrote a poem on the death of Aurangzeb.

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Eastern Buddhist, vol. VI no. 1 (April, 1932)

DAISETZ TAITARO SUZUKI.—*Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism, or the Bodhisattva Ideal and the Śrāvaka Ideal as distinguished in the opening Chapter of the Gaṇḍavyūha.*

JOHANNES RAHDER AND SHINRYU SUSA.—*The Gāthās of the Daśabhūmika-sūtra.* With this portion containing 6th-10th Bhūmis, the edition of the Gāthās of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* is completed.

Indian Antiquary, April, 1932

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*The Nāgar Brāhmaṇs and the Bengal Kāyasthas.* This paper maintaining that the Bengal Kāyasthas were originally the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat, comes to a close with this instalment.

Ibid, May, 1932

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.—*Pañcavāra-vārīyam.* The expression *pañcavāra-vārīyam* often found in the South Indian Inscriptions is interpreted as "the management consisting of representatives of five groups of people".

Ibid., June, 1932

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Epigraphic Notes and Questions: The Years called Kṛta, or the Origin of the Vikrama Era.* It is pointed out that the description of Kalki as given in the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan, chapters 190-1) suits Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty very well. It is stated there that Kalki will exterminate the Dasyus, perform Aśvamedha, give back the earth to the Brāhmaṇas, and bring in the Kṛta Age. Puṣyamitra checked the spread of Buddhism by re-establishing the Brāhmaṇic religion, performed the horse sacrifice twice, and founded the Brāhmaṇa empire. So the Kṛta Era, an early name for the Saṃvat Era which began with 57 B.C., is believed by Dr. Bhandarkar to have been ushered in by Puṣyamitra. On the strength of a genealogical statement in the Śuṅga inscription of Ayodhyā, he assigns this king to the first century B.C. and thinks that the Kṛta yuga began from the time when the king celebrated

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Aśvamedha for the second time and established his power on a firm footing.

AUREL STEIN.—*Note on a Find of Ancient Jewellery in Yasin.*

Journal Asiatique, 1931

J. PRZYLUSKI.—*Le Bouddhisme Tantrique à Bali* (according to a recent publication). Dr. Bosch has analysed certain Buddhist texts belonging to Bali. In this paper Prof. Przyluski indicated the importance of Dr. Bosch's studies (which being published in Dutch will not be intellgible to many) and adds a few observations of his own. The texts examined by Dr. Bosch are *Sang hyang Nāgabāyusūtra* in Sanskrit and *Kalpabuddha* in old Javanese, which enumerate and describe the five Dhyāni-buddhas, and their *entourage.*

E. TOMAMATSU.—*Sūtrālaṅkāra and Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.* In order to fix the identity of the Chinese translator of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Mr. Tomamatsu collects here all the information available from the ancient catalogues of Chinese Buddhist texts, and goes into the question whether the name of the work is really *Sūtrālaṅkāra* or *Mahālaṅkāra.* As the translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* is attributed to Kumārajīva he offers a complete list of the works which are looked upon as translations by Kumārajīva and adduces reasons for holding that of the 124 translations attributed to him, 35 can be accepted as authentic, but not the rest, in which he includes the *Sūtrālaṅkāra.* He shows by a critical examination of the translations of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* that it could not have been translated by Kumārajīva or any other person living in the locality to which Kumārajīva belonged. It is the work of an unknown translator, very probably of the 6th century A.D.

As regards the authorship of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, the writer remarks that the tradition ascribing its authorship to Aśvaghoṣa is very old. Then he proceeds to ascertain the date of this Aśvaghoṣa and the time of composition of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra.* The comparison of the 'legend of the Śrāmaṇeras' in the three reductions, *Sūtrālaṅkāra, Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* is very useful.

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The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XVIII, pt. ii, (June, 1932)

UMESA MISRA.—*Mimāṃsāśāstrasarvasva of Halāyudha.* This instalment of the edition contains the Sanskrit text from the 2nd Adhikaraṇa of the second Adhyāya to the end of the third Adhyāya.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kuṣāṇa Emperor in India.* Fresh evidences have been adduced to prove that the word *Yaunaḥ* mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* represents the Kuṣāṇa title Jauva. The king in whose reign the Khura inscription of the Lahore Museum was inscribed has been identified to be the last Kuṣāṇa emperor of India. His name and titles are given in the inscription as *rājātirāja-mahārāja-Toramāṇa Shāha-Jaubṇaḥ.*

.—*A Passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage.* The passage containing the *garutmad-aṅka* which is regarded as referring to the Gupta coinage has been given a modified interpretation.

.—*The Kākas—their Location.* The Kākas, mentioned in Samudra Gupta's inscription on the Allahabad pillar are identified to be an autonomous community who lived in Eastern Malwa. A large village called Kākapur situated some 20 miles north of Vilsa is regarded as their ancient seat.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1932

N. K. BHATTASALI.—*Maurya Chronology and Connected Problems.* An attempt has been made to establish a chronology according to which the following dates are reached for some important historical events :

486 B.C. Death of Bimbisāra and accession of Ajātaśatru.

484 B.C. Death of Gośāla, founder of the Ājīvika sect of the Jainas.

478 B.C. Nirvāṇa of Buddha.

468 B.C. Kaivalya of Mahāvīra.

C. 317 B.C. Indian revolt against the Greek authority in the Panjab, under the leadership of Candragupta Maurya.

313 B.C. Coronation of Candragupta Maurya.

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289 B.C. Accession of Bindusāra.
264 B.C. Accession of Aśoka.
260 B.C. Coronation of Aśoka.

GIUSSEPPE TUCCI.—*Two Hymns of the Catuḥstava of Nāgārjuna.* The Sanskrit text of the *stavas* (with the Tibetan translation) containing in a great synthesis the Mahāyāna dogmatics conducive to the supreme realisation of *śūnyatā* has been edited, and traslated into English.

A. A. MACDONELL.—*The Uṣas Hymns of the Ṛg-veda.* From the unfinished draft translation of the *Ṛg-veda* left by the late Prof. Macdonell, the hymns to Uṣas (omitting X, 172) have been published here.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

XXVI, 1930. no. 1

GIUSEPPI TUCCI.—*Animadversiones Indicæ.*

1 *On Maitreya, the Yogācāra Doctor.* Some new evidences are given here to prove that Maitreya, was an historical person, the *guru* of Asaṅga, and an author of many works.

2 *The first Mention of Tāntrik Schools.* In the *Tattvasiddhiśāstra* of Harivarman (4th century A.D.) and the *Madhyāntānugamaśāstra* of Asaṅga which are preserved only in their Chinese version, there is a mention of a school called *na ya siu mo* representing, according to the writer, either *Nyāya saumya*, or *Nayasaumya* or Nayasauma, the word *Sauma* referring to a Tāntrik sect to be identified with the Kāpālikas, and *Naya* to "a very old section or group of Tantras."

3 *On the Names of Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha.* These are believed to be the initiation names showing a well-defined stage of holiness.

4 *The Gorakṣasaṃhitā and the Avadhūtagitā.* The *Avadhūtagītā* which is included as a portion of the *Gorakṣa-saṃhitā* (Bengali edition) is here pointed out to have been associated with the name of Dattātreya.

5 *A Sanskrit Work by Siddha Carpaṭi.* A manuscript has been discovered in Nepal containing a small work by Carpaṭi. The work is called *Devamanuṣyaśloïra* and is a hymn to Avolo-

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kiteśvara. Carpaṭi is known both in India and Tibet as a Siddha, believed to have been the *guru* of Mīnanātha.

6 *A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and some Questions connected with Nāgārjuna.* The paper delineates the contents of the fragment of a manuscript preserved in Nepal containing the lives of Nāgārjuna and some other Siddhas classified according to the āmnāyas or mystical schools.

7 *The Lāmākrama and the Influence of Tibetan-speaking Races on the Tantras.*

C. W. GURNER.—*Development of the Ṛtusaṃhāra Theme in the Rāmāyaṇa.* Passages from the *Rāmāyaṇa* containing descriptions of seasons have been pointed out to show that they have immensely influenced the descriptions of seasons by later writers.

.—*The Psychological Simile in Aśvaghoṣa.*

SUKUMAR SEN.—*The Language of Aśvaghoṣa's Saundaranda Kāvya.*

M. M. CHATTERJI.—*Interpolation in the Brahmasūtram.*

.—*Brāhmaṇism and Caste.* That the influence of caste was confined to the social and political sphere and did not touch spiritual life is the point discussed here.

.—*Monasticism and Brāhmaṇism.* The writer is of opinion that Monasticism has no place in the canonical Brāhmaṇism. He is inclined to believe that monasticism originated among the Buddhists and was subsequently adopted by the Brāhmaṇa revivalists about the 7th century A.C.

.—*The Vedic Divisions.* According to the author, the division of the Veda into Atharva, Yajuḥ, Sāma and Ṛk represents four different stages of the society indicating the great intellectual advance resulting in the search after an Agent from the primitive condition of humanity in which the practice of magic for individual benefit was regarded as invaluable.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE,—*Was Viśākha Datta a Bengali?*

K. K. BASU.—*The House of Tughlaq.* This account of Sultan Lā 'Azam Abu Muzaffar Sultan Firoz Shah is based on the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*

NILMANI CHAKRAVARTI.—*End of Prasenajit, king of Kośala.*

.—*Ghoṭakamukha a predecessor of Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana.* Similarity has been pointed out between the views expressed in the Goṭamukhasutta of the *Majjhimanikāya* and those of Ghoṭakamukha quoted in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. This

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Ghoṭamukha or Ghoṭakamukha has also been identified with Ghoṭakamukha mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya* and has been placed between the 3rd and the 4th century B.C.

S. R. SARMA.—*The Beginnings of Suketri Dynasty.*

BIBHUTI BHUSAN DATTA.—*On the Hindu names for the rectilinear geometrical figures.*

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Some Meteorological Proverbs of the People of Bengal.*

.—*The Cult of Bāro Bhāiyā of Eastern Bengal.* That the cult of Bāro Bhāiyā or Twelve Brothers worshipped in the villages of Eastern Bengal is a form of demon-worship is shown by the details of the worship.

NILMANI CHAKRAVARTI.—*An Ancient Indian Story in a Bengali Vratakathā.* It has been shown how an ancient story occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa* found a place in the *Kharaputta jātaka.* It is also preserved in a narrative relating to the Kojāgarī Lakṣmī-pūjā observed in Bengal in the month of Āśvina.

J. C. DEY.—*Religion and Kingship in ancient times.* Arguments have been put forward to show that the rulers of ancient India generally tolerated the religion of their subjects.

Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie XI, i

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.—*Die Struktur des Volkes in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Lehre der Schukranjti.* (The Structure of the people in the Social-scientific Teachings of the *Śukranīti*).

Man in India, July-December, 1931

PANCHANAN MITRA.—*Cultural Affinities between India and Polynesia.*

G. RAMDAS.—*Projas.* This is an account of the Proja tribe of Orissa.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—*The Origin of Ornaments.* Some ornaments used by the Hindus have been described here, and their origin has been shown to be associated with magic.

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Nāgaripracāriṇī Patrikā (Hindi) vol. XII, no. 1
(Vaiśākh, Saṃvat 1988)

RAMESVAR GAURISANKAR OJHA.—इन्दौर म्युजियम का एक शिलालेख (*A stone-inscription deposited in the Indore Museum*). While describing the sinking of a large well at village Khadawada by a military officer under Sultan Ghiasuddin Khilji in the last quarter of the 16th century A.C., the inscription deals with the general history connected with the Muhammadan Sultans of Malwa.

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. VIII pt. i (April, 1932)

S. K. DAS.—*The Spirit of Indian Philosophy.*

N. VENKTARAMAN.—*Sanātana Dharma or the Moral Life as conformity to Law.* The discussion in the paper has been divided into two sections: cencept of Law and Dharma in Indian Philosophy, and the Law of Karma and the Doctrines of Metempsychosis.

Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, (Bengali), vol. XXXIX, no. i
(Bengali year 1339)

HARAPRASAD SASTRI.—*Puruṣottamadeva.* This paper deals with the literary works of the Buddhist scholar Puruṣottama, who flourished during the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in Bengal. It has been shown that Puruṣottama's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, which was written as a supplement to the well-known Sanskrit lexicon of Amarasiṃha, contains words that indicate definite alterations and expansions of the religious views and practices of the people of Bengal.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.—*An Account of the Newspapers of Bengal* (1835-1857).

AMULYADHAN MUKHERJI.—*Basic Principles of Bengali Metre.*

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The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals

II

BY

DR. PRAN NATH, D.SC. (London), PH.D. (Vienna)

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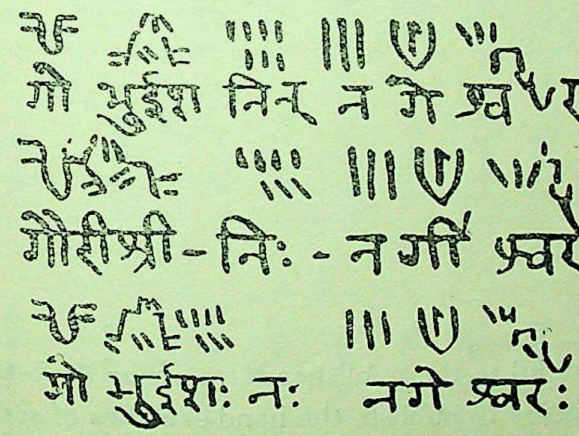
The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals

II

Prefatory

गो-भुईश-निन्-नगेश्वर :



From the decipherment proposed in the last article it would appear that the people of the Indus Valley worshipped gods and goddesses

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of whom some were local and others Sumerian or foreign. *Gaurīśa*, *Nāgeśa*, *Nageśa*, *Śiśna*, *Hrī*, *Śrī*, *Klī*, etc., appear to be the names of deities of the Indus people. *Inni*, *Yini*, *Sin*, *Ninsianna*, *Nanna*, *Gaga*, *Gi* or *Ge*, etc. on the other hand, are well-known Sumerian gods and goddesses, which occur frequently in the inscriptions on the Indus seals. Some, such as *Iloih*, *Illu*, etc., I would class as foreign, but they are so few in number that their occurrence may be due to a few traders of Semitic race residing at Mohenjo-daro. The gods and goddesses of the Indus people continue to figure in the Hindu pantheon at the present day. The occurrence of names of Sumerian deities was a puzzle. With a view to solve it I decided to make a thorough search in the Paurāṇik and Tāntrik literature for some clue. The discovery of the text of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā sheds a new light on the subject. This text is divided into thirteen *adhyāyas* and contains 701 short *mantras*. The following table[1] may give some idea of the nature of the text :—

1 I am thankful to the publisher Mr. Arthur Probsthain for kindly giving me permission to publish the hand-sketches of scripts and other portions of the illustrations contained in the *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization.*

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Cāmuṇḍā-text	Ref. to Mantras:		Names of Gods and Goddesses probably referred to:	Sumerian Gods and Goddesses:	
ॐ ऐं किं नमः	V-95 =	Ūm̐-En-Kin-Na-Maḥ	ENKIN / ENKĪ	ENKI	Water-god, fish symbol. (*SL.*, pp. 84-87).
ॐ ऐं सीं नमः	V-112 =	Ūm̐-En-Sīn-Na-Maḥ	SĪN or SĪ	SĪN	Moon-god. (*SL.*, 5); *Śiva* in Tāntrik literature.
ॐ ऐं निं मः	V-4 =	Ūm̐ En-Nin-Na-Maḥ	.....	INNINI	Earth goddess as female principle of An. (*SL.*, p. 91).
ॐ ऐं ईं नमः	VIII-6 =	Ūm̐-En-In-Na-Maḥ	.....		
ॐ ऐं नं नमः	V-67 =	Ūm̐-En-Nan-Na-Maḥ	.....	NINNANA	,, ,, ,,
ॐ ऐं अं नमः	II-6 =	Ūm̐-En-An-Na-Maḥ	AN or A	AN	An = Anu, Sky god (*SL.*, pp. 89, 91-93, 94, 112 etc,)
ॐ ऐं हूं नमः	II-45 =	Ūm̐-En-Hūn-Na-Maḥ	ENHŪN	ENSŪN	
ॐ ऐं सूं नमः	XIII-26 =	Ūm̐-En-Sūn-Na Maḥ	ENSŪN or ENSU, ENHU	NIN-SŪN	Mother of Gilgamish. (*SL.*, pp. 115, 397 n., 73, 241, 242, 244 etc.)
ॐ ऐं हूं नमः	XII-15 =	Ūm̐-En-Hūn-Na-Maḥ			
ॐ ऐं क्लीं नमः	I-104 =	Ūm̐-En-Klīn Na-Maḥ	ENKLĪN or KLI	KILILI	Ishtar was known as Kilili. The Indus Goddess *Kli* enjoys the same importance in the Tāntrik, Paurāṇik and Jaina cults of India as Ishtar in Assyria and Babylonia.
ॐ ऐं कूलीं नमः	XI-30 =				

Note: *S.L.* = Semitic by S.H. Langdon.

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Further search in the same direction provided me with a link which unites the Indus religion with that of the historic period in India. Who were these Sumerians? Why have the names of their gods and goddesses been preserved by the Indian people if their religion and culture were not deeply rooted in the land itself? These questions prompted me to examine the marks found on pottery in the Deccan and Southern India and, to my great surprise, I found there the names of gods and goddesses like *Ka*, *Ra*, *Ma*, *Inni*, *Klī*, *Ślī*, *Hrī*, etc., which were known to me from my decipherment of the signs on the Indus Valley seals. In the present article I shall deal with following points :

(1) Geographical distribution of the Indus script

(2) Nature of the Indus language and the script

(3) A brief examination of the views advanced by Sumerian scholars

(4) Religion of the Indus people

(1) *Geographical distribution of the Indus script*

In my last article I have stated that a linear script is the basis of the inscriptions of Crete, Elam and the Indus Valley. The pottery marks indicate the use of linear signs throughout southern India. About these marks Dr. E. H. Hunt in his article on "Hyderabad Cairn Burials and their Significance" in January, 1924, issue (vol. liv) of *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* writes : "Pot Marks. These present a very interesting problem. Their occurrence is widespread over South India and they have received various titles, such as potters' marks and owners' marks. Largely as a result of these titles, they have been considered as having no special interest. Now these marks are not part of the pot as originally made, but have been scratched on afterwards, and often in the most casual manner. They are not put on by the potter. The expression owners' marks is equally open to criticism." (p. 150). He adds : "It is obvious that many of these pot marks are the work of ignorant persons who have attempted to copy symbols. Tribal owners' marks they may be, but not the owners' marks of individuals. The same mark turns up in burials in the same group, and in group after group, though these be a hundred miles and more apart. We must presume that centuries at least separate burials which produce the same marks and combinations of marks ; and there is a strong probability that they are symbols of some kind which were of importance in their day."

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I have already mentioned that a careful examination of these pot marks shows that the cult of *Ka*, *Ra*, *Ma*, *Inni*, *Ślī*, *Hrī*, *Klī* etc., was popular throughout southern India. The cult of *Ka* and *Ra* continued its hold in Egypt for a long time. The god *Prajāpati* as *Ka* is frequently mentioned in the Vedic literature of India. Tāntrik texts associate the god *Rāma* with *Ra*. The following comparative tables will give an idea of the wide area over which the use of the linear script extended.

(A)
SIGNS FOUND IN THE INDUS-VALLEY AND CRETE COMPARED

INDUS-VALLEY	CRETE	INDUS-VAL.	CRETE	INDUS-VAL	CRETE
CCCXIV	ME. P.164	159	ME. P.164	CXXVI	ME. P.163
84	"	XCIII	ME P.166	91, 189	ME. PL.I P.1.a.
CLXXXIV	"	CCLXIV CCLXVII	"	CCXXXVIII	" P.1.b
CCLXXXV	"	CXIX	ME. P.163	CCXXXVII	" P.1c
CCCIV	ME. P.163	CCLXX	ME. P.166	XLVI a	" P.6.a
CLIX	ME. P.164	CXLI	ME. P.164	CXLV CXLVI	" P.11.c
CVI	"	CLVIII	ME. P.167	(71)	ME. P.179
CCXCIII	"	CCXXXI CCXXXIV	" P.168	VI	"
CLVII	"	CCCI	" P.172	L	"
463.	ME. P.165	CLIX	Sign No. 15 ME. pp. 232-33.	VIII	"
	"	CXII	"	XLVI	"
LXVIII	"	IX	"	(72)	ME.P. 173
	"	558	" P.171	(74)	ME. P.176
CLIX	"	CCXXXI CCXXXIII	" P.163	XCIII	Sign No. 112. ME. Pb. 232-33

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(B)
SIGNS FOUND IN THE INDUS-VALLEY AND ELAM COMPARED.

INDUS		ELAM		INDUS		ELAM		INDUS		ELAM	
I		1		CLIII		980, 1005		LX		917	
II		Pl. II 10 f		CLIV		841		471		1007	
VI		Pl. X 71		CLIV		842		CCLIII		311	
XIV		Pl. II 11		CLVII		84		CCLV		312	
XIII		Pl. III 22.		CLVIII		87		CCLVI		314	
XVI		Pl. VII 43.2.		CLX		45		CCLVII		315	
XIX		1537		CLX		32		CXVIII		733	
XXVI		Pl. IV 24 f.		159		MP. Pl. VII 44 2.		CLXX		489	
XXVIII		1548		CCXCVI		1127		XLVI		415	
XXa		1248		CCCXIV		297		CCXXXI		Pl. III 23 f.	?
CXII		865		CCXCVI		1124		CCCIV		237	
CXIII		726		CCC		1122		(Under the neck of some animal.)		271	
CXXVI		36		CCXCII		1096		CCCXLIV		508	
CXXXVI		387		CCCI		1136		XCIII		136	
CXXXVII		587		CCXCVI		1126		463		746	
CXXXVIII		458		136		1164		CXXVI		243-44	
CXLI		595		385		811		CCLXXXV		135	

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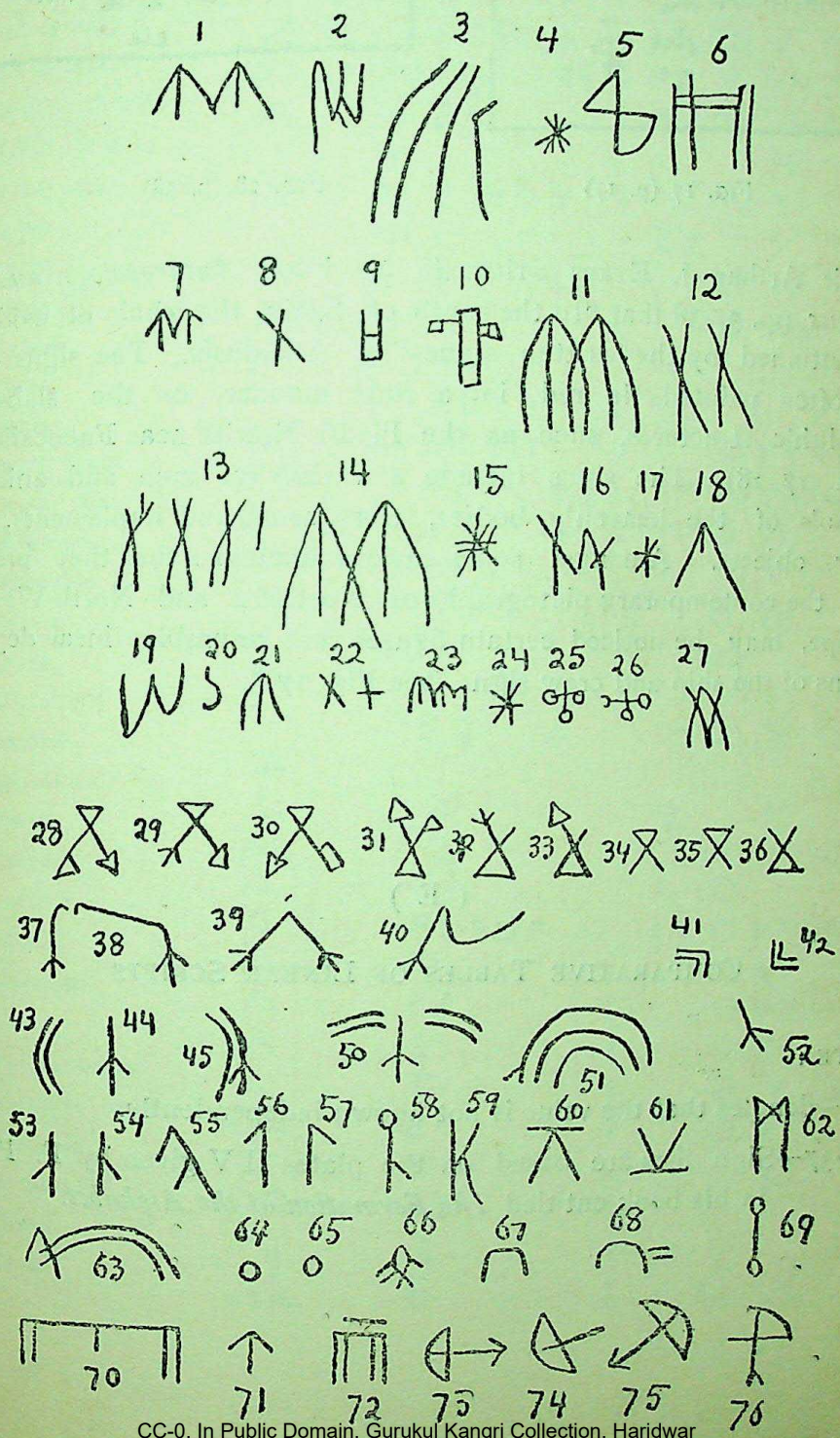
(C)

SOUTH INDIAN POT-MARKS

[For signs 1-27 see : *Indian Ant.*
" " 28-76 see : *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* Vol. liv ; Jan. 1924.]



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(D)

FIG. 17 (p. 17)

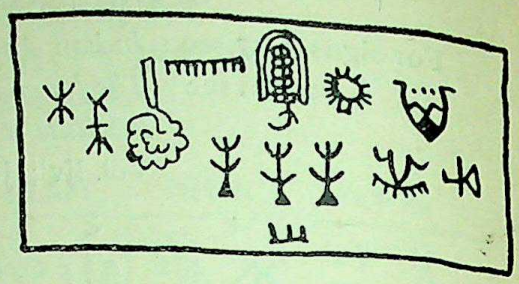

FIG. 18 (p. 38)

Sir Arthur J. Evans writes in his book *Anthropology and the Classics*, pp. 37-38 that "In the south of Spain the chain of evidence is continued by the 'written stones' of Andalusia. The signs here are often painted in red, in a rude manner, on the slabs of megalithic structures, such as the Piedra Escrita near Fuencaliente, (Figs. 17, 18). The signs include a variety of men and animals, symbols of the heavenly bodies, trees, arms, and implements, and other objects. Amongst some curious analogies that they present with the contemporary pictographs of Northern and North-Western Europe, may be noticed certain figures that resemble linear degenerations of the ship and crew signs (see Fig. 17)".

(E)

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF LINEAR SCRIPTS

NOTE :

*—denotes that the value is not known independently.

4-37—Sign lists are based on the plates II-V given by F. Petrie in his book entitled *The Formation of the Alphabet.*

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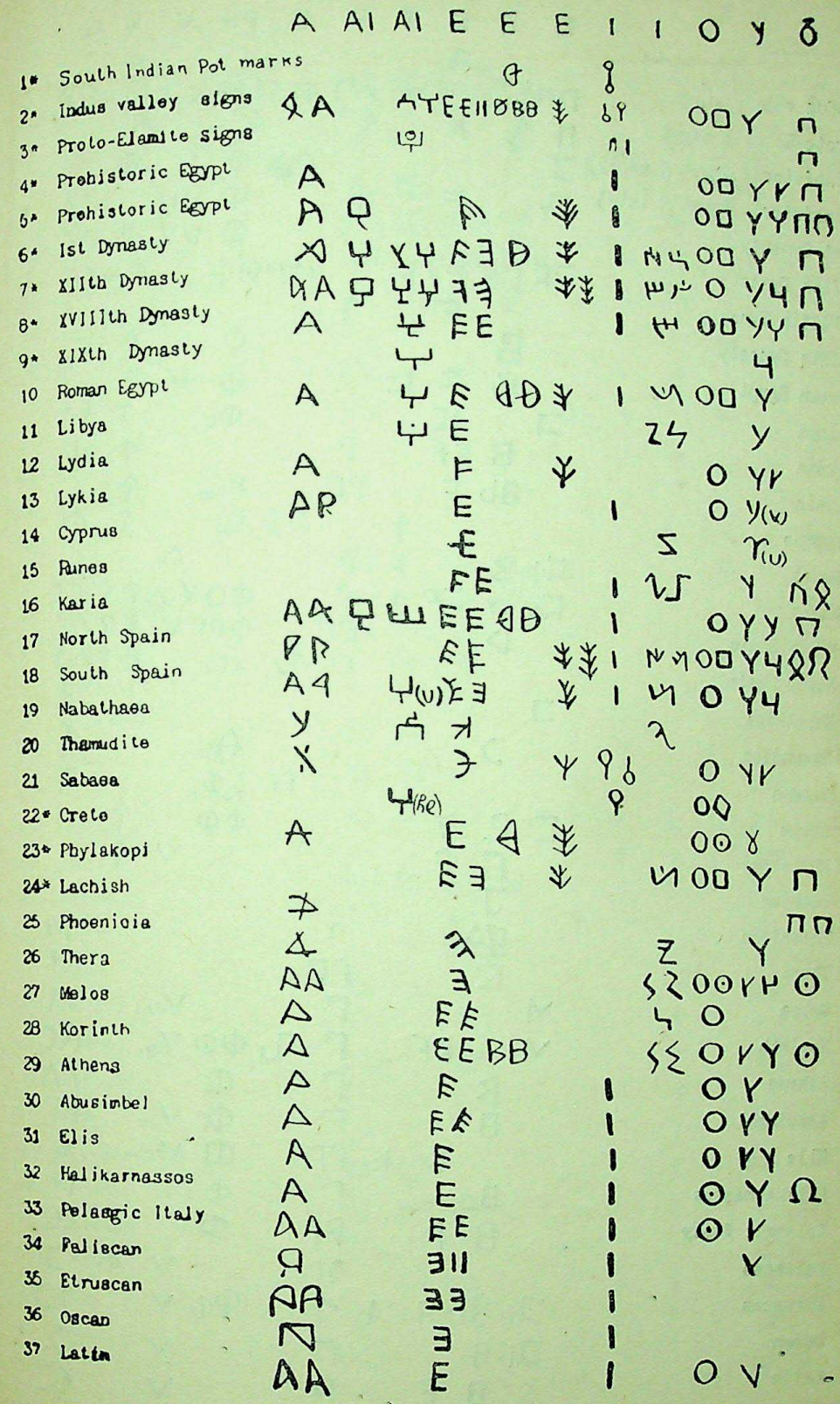

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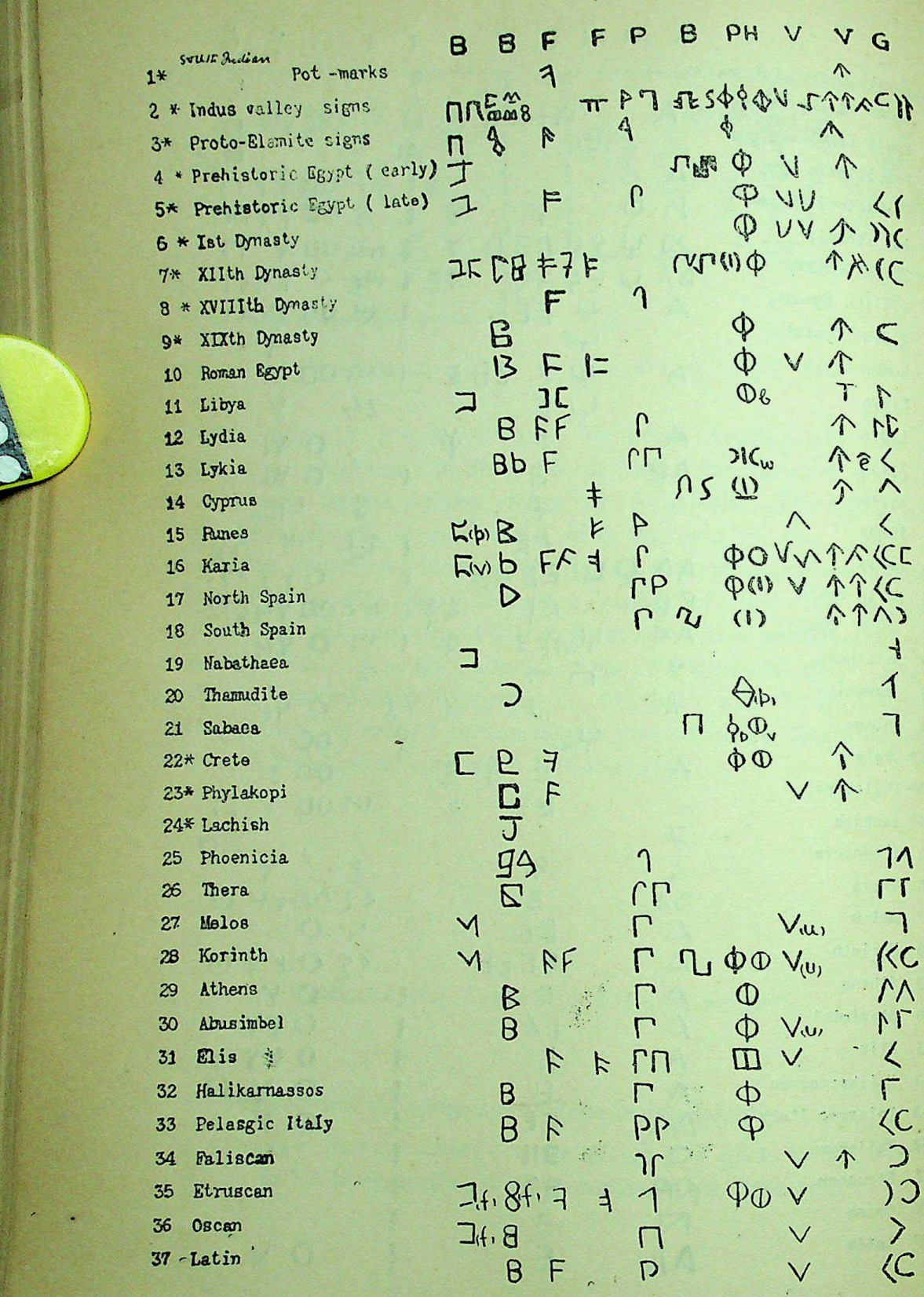

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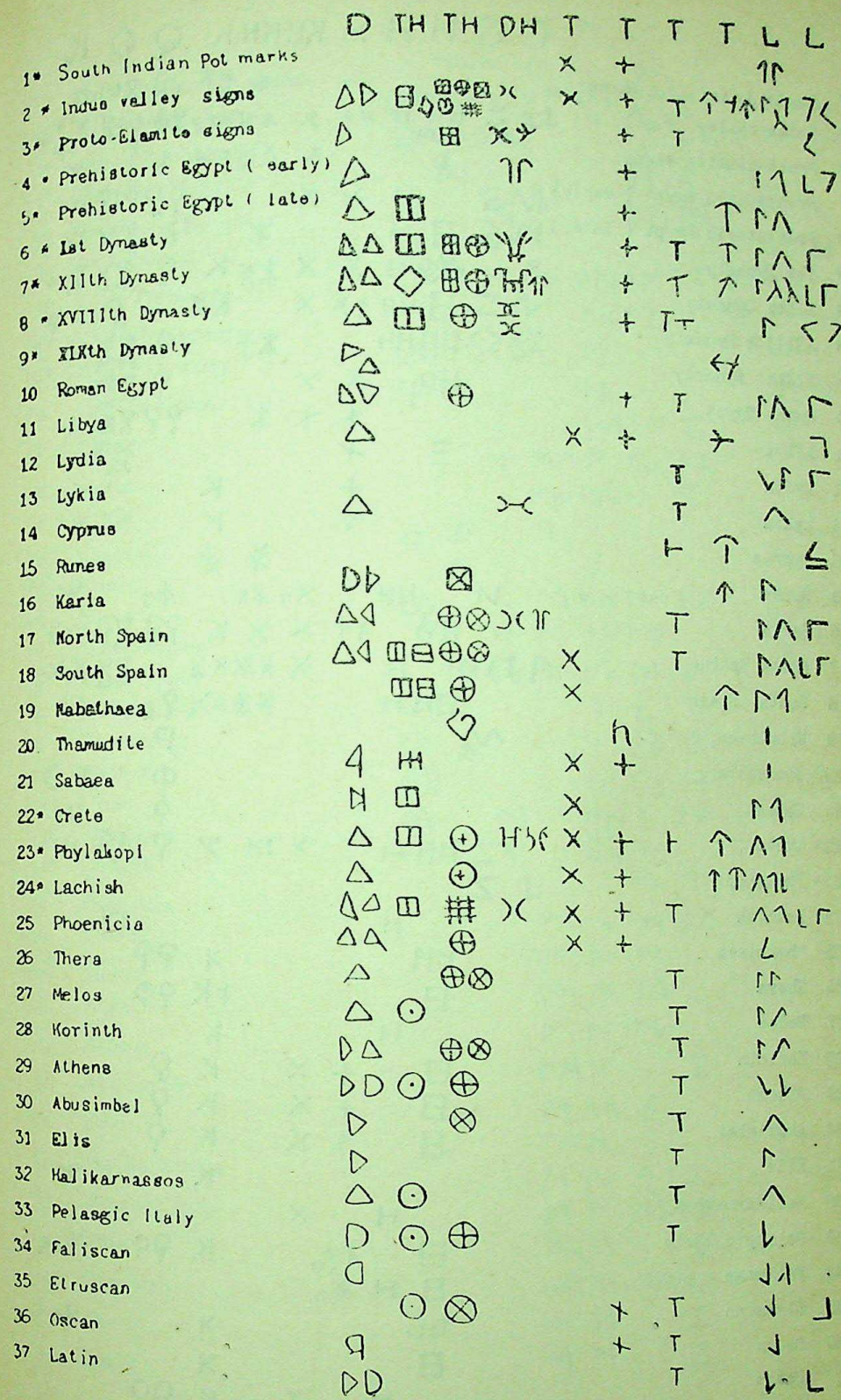

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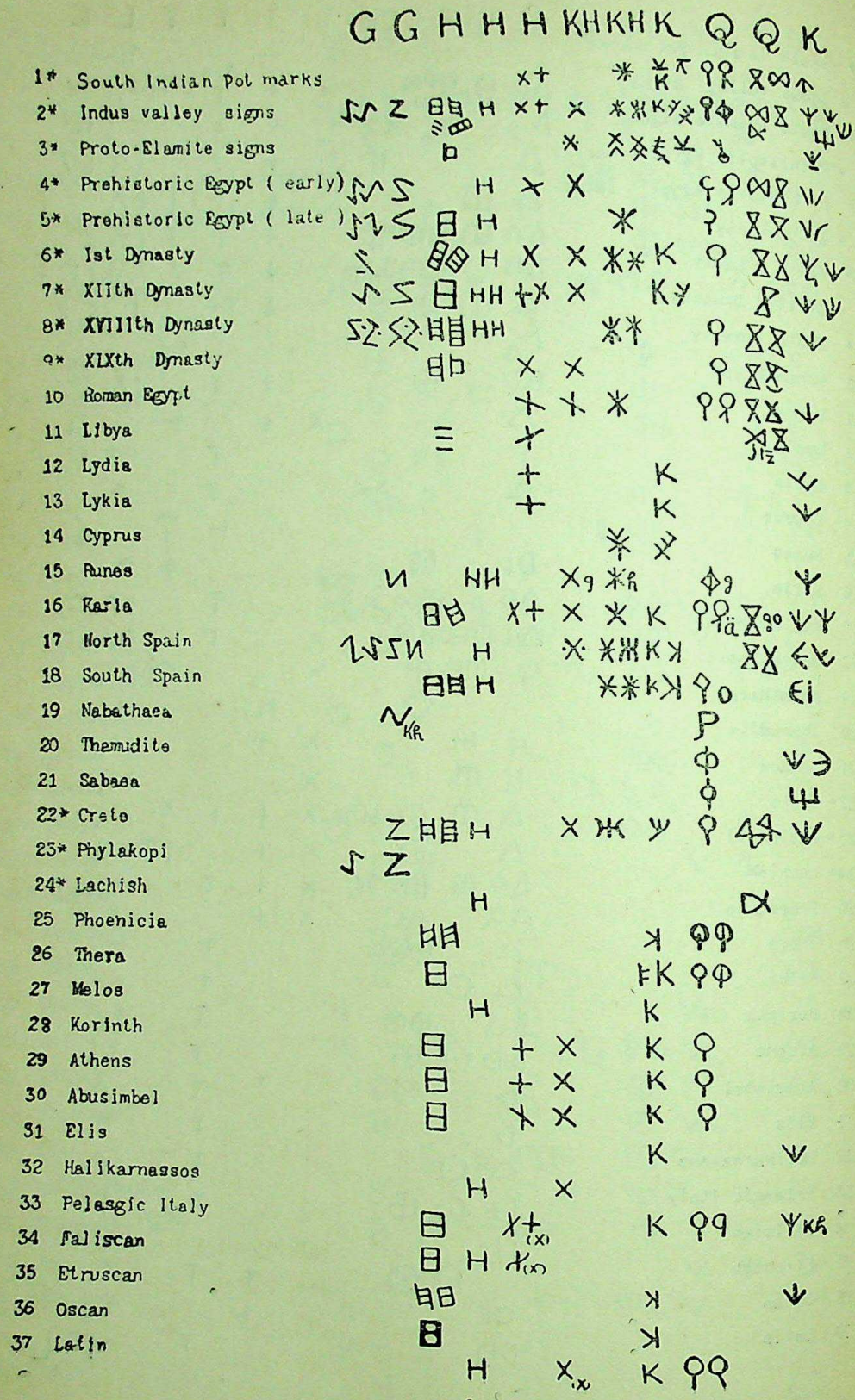

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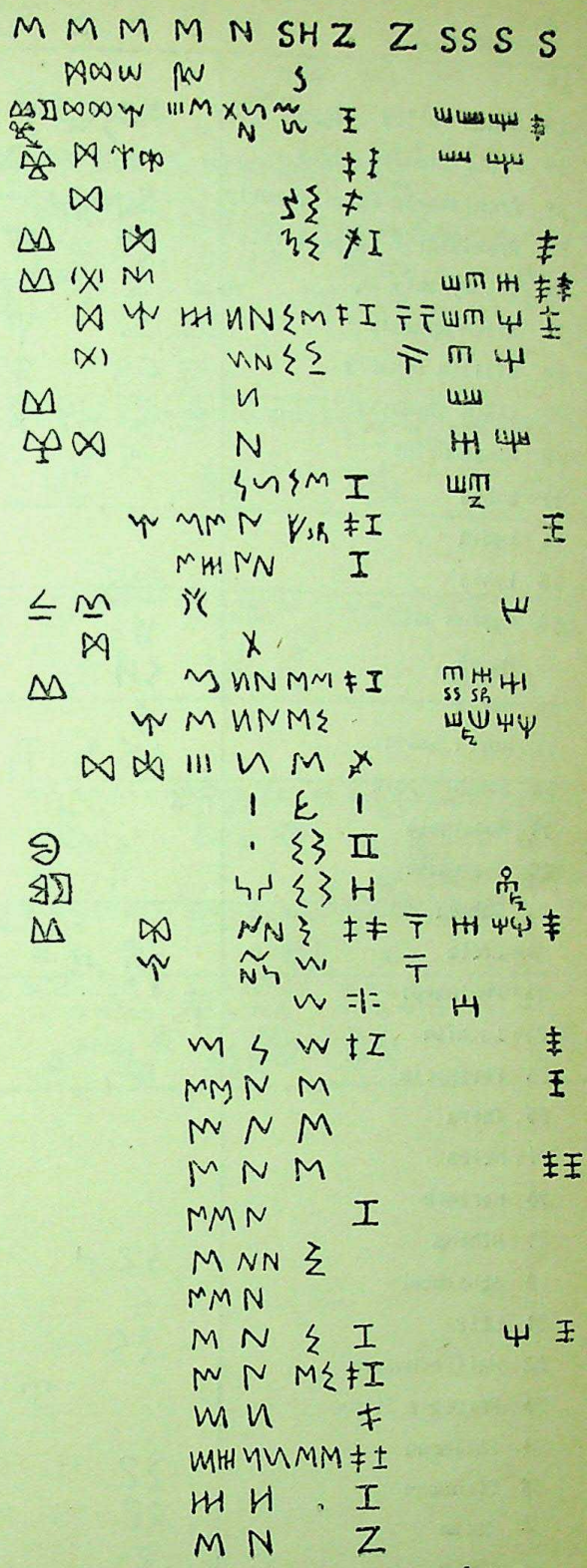

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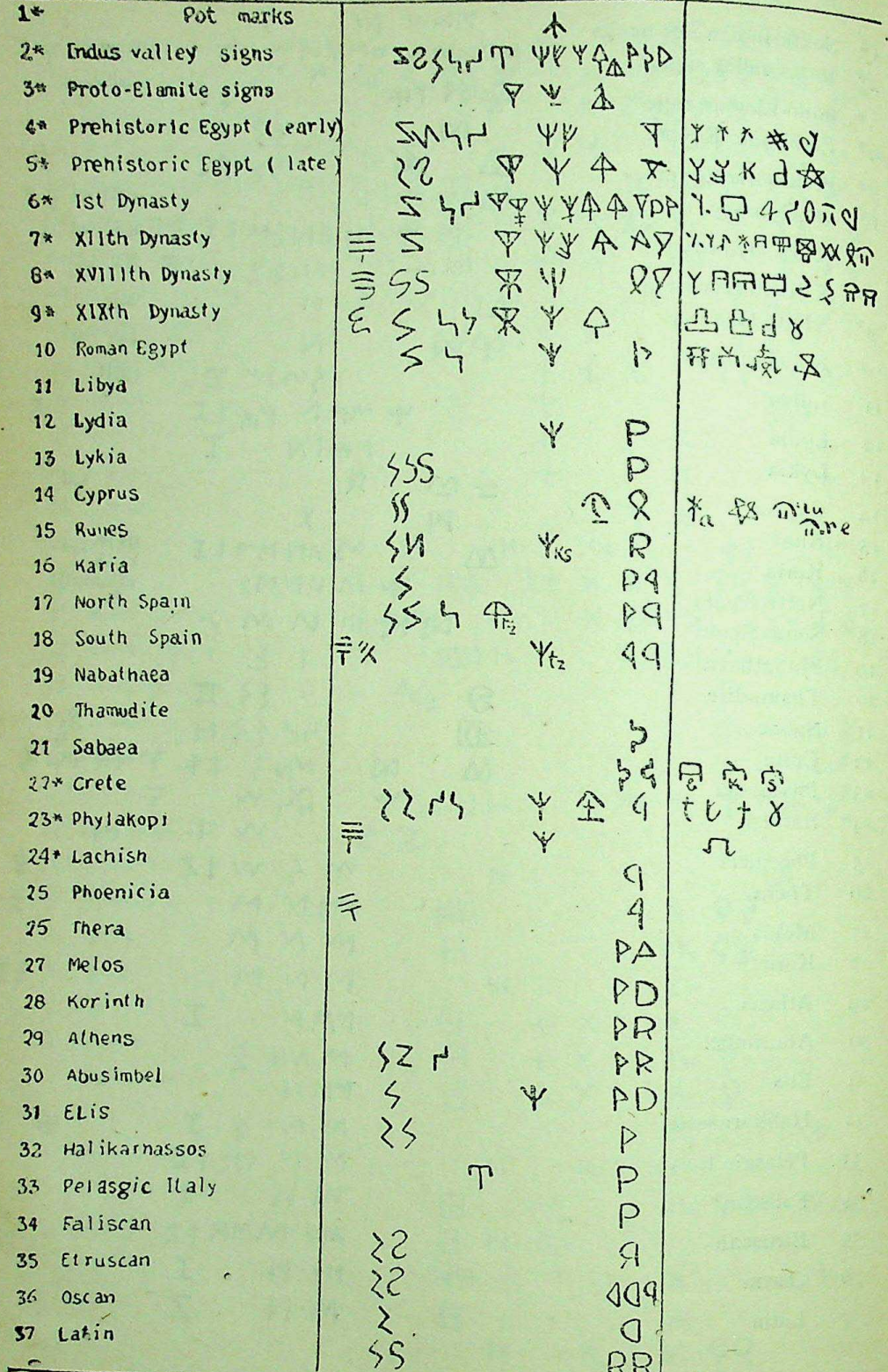

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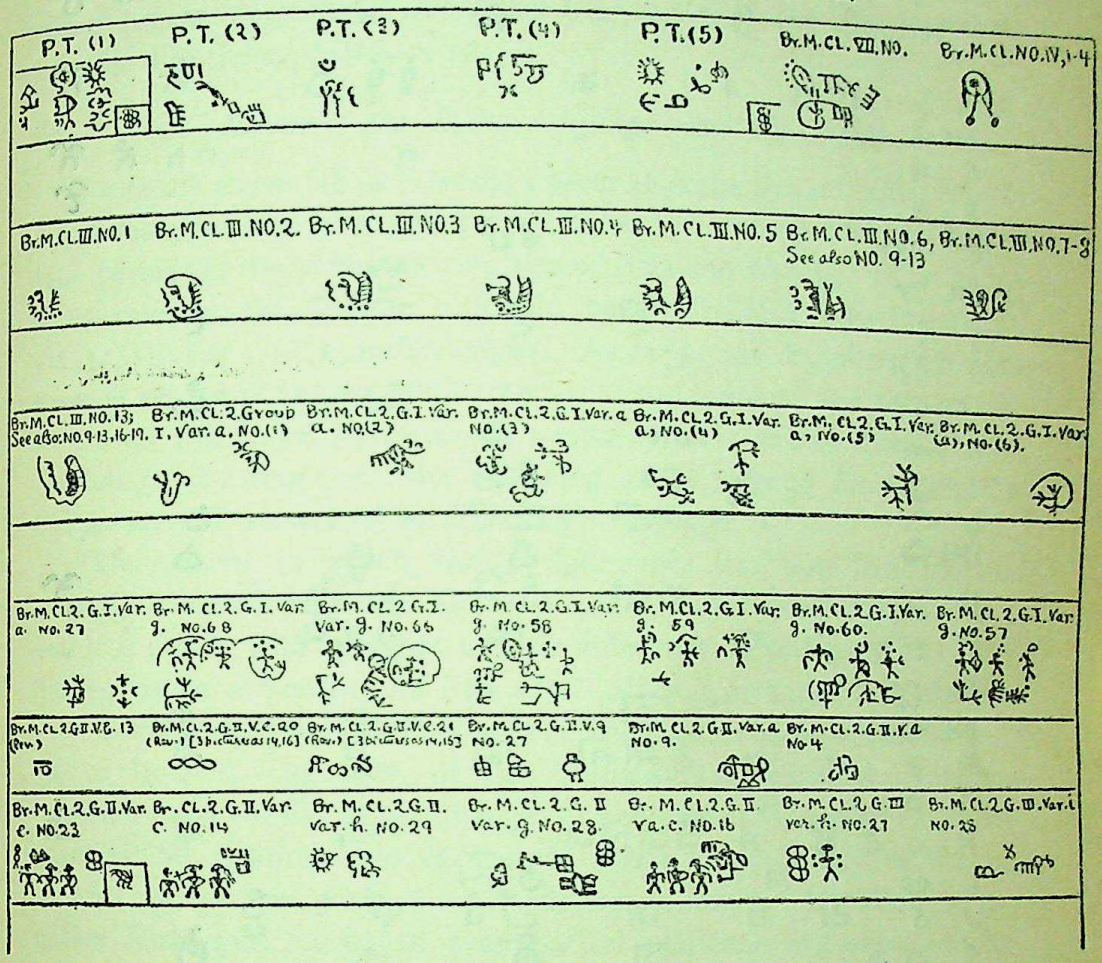
(F)

SIGNS FOUND ON PUNCH-MARKED COINS.



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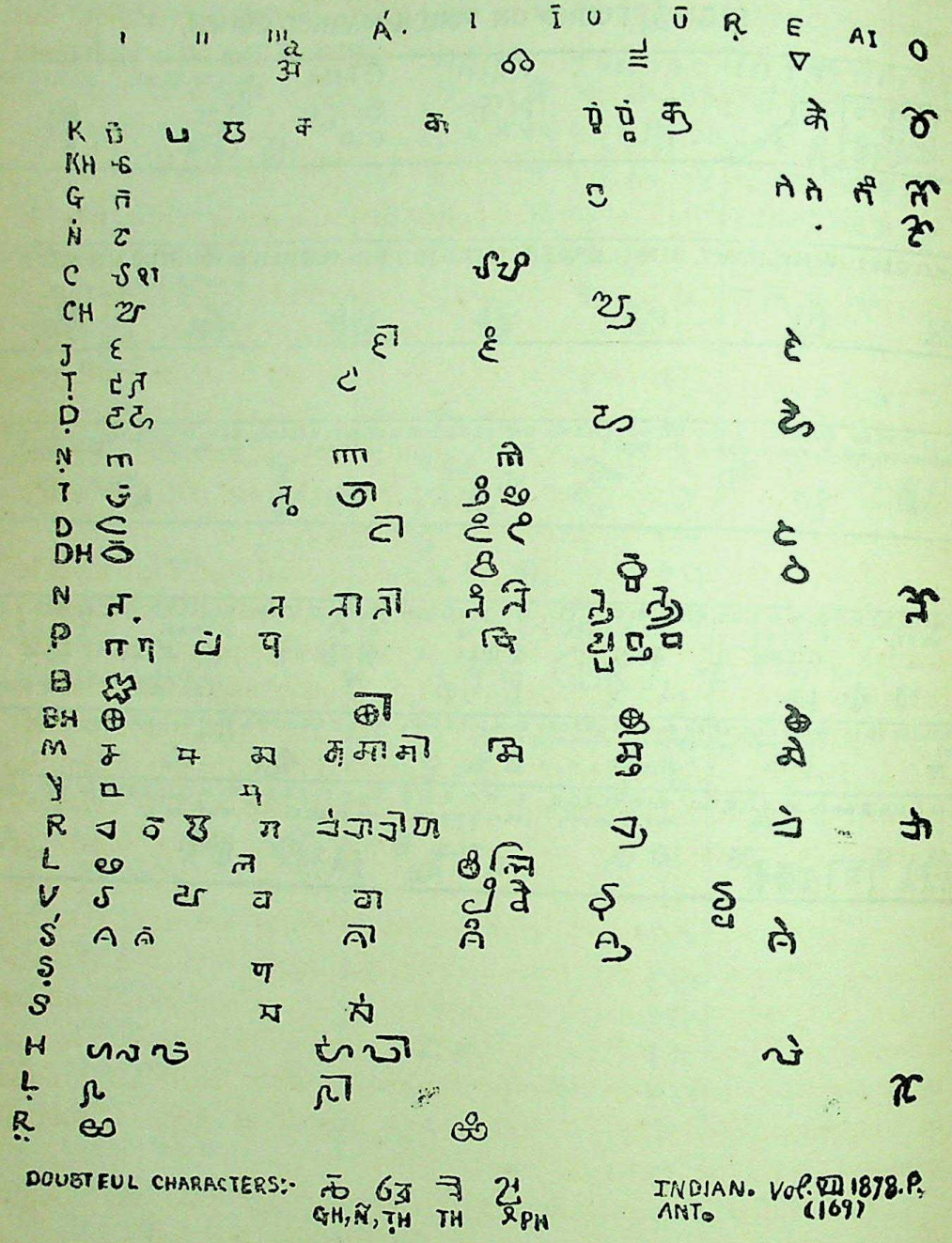
(G)

ALPHABETS of the HARIHARA PLATES (A.D. 350).



INDIAN. ANT. Vol. VII 1878. P. (169)

About the characters used in the above plate Mr. Lewis Rice while editing "Chera or Gaṅgā Grants of A. D. 350 and 481" remarks :

"The great peculiarity of this inscription, and what seems to me to constitute its chief interest, is the primitive old characters, different from any yet published that I have met with, in which it is mostly

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written, and the singular changes from that to Devanāgarī, apparently without any rule." [*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. 1878. p. 171]. He goes further and says that "The primitive old character, to which I have referred, evidently has an affinity to those used in the edicts of Aśoka, but still does not correspond with either the earlier or the later alphabets employed in them." [*Ibid.*, p. 171].

(2) *Nature of the Indus language and the script*

From the above tables it would appear that the linear script was in use at least between 3000 and 4000 B. C. and continued down to a very late period in the different countries of Asia and Europe. The Indus signs resemble the Chinese script in being divisible into two parts, viz., (1) strokes, and (2) radical signs. As far as my decipherment goes there is reason to suspect that the language spoken by the people who used this linear script was of a monosyllabic nature like Chinese. On this point I may quote the following passage from Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Language* :—

"The manner in which various languages deal with their roots is strongly illustrative of their essential spirit and distinctive character; and it is chiefly with reference to their differences in this particular that the languages of Europe and Asia admit of being arranged into classes.

Those classes are as follows :—(1) The monosyllabic, uncompounded, or isolated languages, of which Chinese is the principal example, in which roots admit of no change or combinations, and in which all grammatical relations are expressed either by auxiliary words or phrases, or by the position of words in a sentence. (2) The agglutinative languages, in which grammatical relations are expressed by internal changes in the vowels of dissyllabic roots. (3) The agglutinative languages, in which grammatical relations are expressed by affixes or suffixes added to the root or compounded with it. In the latter class I include both the Indo-European and the Scythian groups of tongues.....Probably all languages consisted at first of isolated monosyllables" (pp. 191-192).

From the above quotation it is clear that Dr. Caldwell thought that possibly all the languages of the Scythian and Indo-European groups were originally monosyllabic like Chinese. His conclusion would seem to be supported by the tentative decipherment of the Indus and proto-Elamite inscriptions. The words occurring in these inscriptions, when joined together, at once suggest well-known Sanskrit words, as the following table will show.

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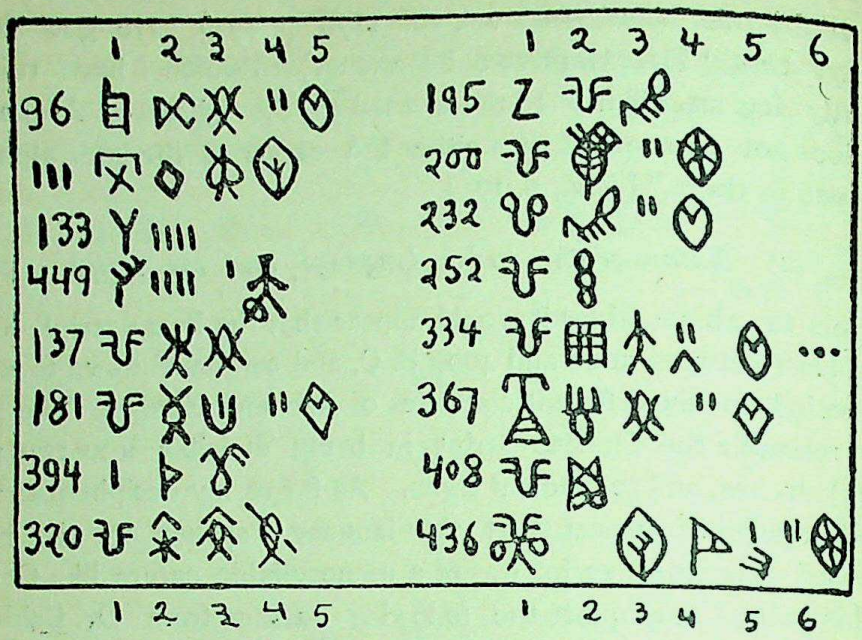
PLATE [H]



95	छी क्री (श्री) मो ई शः	195	ग गो रीशः
	ही क्री „ „ „	200	गो ही इशी ? ई शः
449	जिनि इ इश्वर	232	गौ रीशः ई शः
	जि नि इ इ शरः	252	गु हः
133	य इन् (येन्)		गो हः
136	श् री क्री	334	गो ही ईशः री शः
	श् री ही		„ „ „ शे शः
137	गो श्री मो	367	सती ? निः मो ई शः
	गो लीशः मो		सीता ? निः मो ई शः
			शता ? नीश मो ईशः
181	गो मृ गी ई शः	408	गो महः
394	इ का मः		„ मही
	इ रामः	486	गौरीशः शेष पाश ईशः
320	गो हः मः मे		गौरीः „ „ „
	गौ रः मः मे	200	गो श्रीः ई शः
111	ही ह् श्री शेष		

Note :—In the decipherment given above, three *sas* of Sanskrit have not been distinguished.

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The inscription No. 181 in the above Plate [H] is in pure Sanskrit. The reading of other inscriptions also suggests that the language of the Indus people is very closely connected with the Sanskrit language. It differs from Sanskrit in that it is monosyllabic in its nature while Sanskrit is polysyllabic. A hint as to the possible monosyllabic nature of original Sanskrit may also be obtained from the meanings of Sanskrit words given in the dictionaries. The majority of the words have more than one meaning assigned to them ; some have ten different meanings, and others many more. This characteristic of the Sanskrit language prompted some poets to write poetical works like the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya*, describing stories of the two great epics of India in the same verses. The *Pañca-nalī* of the *Naiṣadha-carita* is another example. Here each verse has got five different meanings. Among the old Paṇḍita class there is a belief that Vedic Sanskrit contains an enormous number of *yaugika* words, i. e., words the meaning of which had nothing to do with the current accepted meanings of those words. Hitherto the only chance of ascertaining their meaning was to look up to the grammar of Paṇinī and the old *Dhātupāṭha*, and then make conjectures. The meanings of certain of the Vedic hymns were not clearly understood as far back even as the time of Yāska (300-500 B. C.). Some scholars, like Kautsa, were ready even to go so far as to say that the Vedas are meaningless, if not as a whole, at least in part. The Tāntrik cult, which seems to have some intimate connection with the religion of the Indus people, assumes the language of certain hymns to be monosyllabic. The interpretation of the *Gāyatrī* hymn may be cited on the point (see Appendix A). Similarly in the *Sītopaniṣad* of the Śaiva cult the word *Sītā* is explained as a compound word consisting of three syllables, viz., *Sa-i-ta* (see Appendix B). It is interesting to note that in the better Sanskrit dictionaries the meaning of each syllable is given, and in the majority of cases these refer to different gods. We have also got monosyllabic dictionaries, having such names as *Varṇa-bijākṣara-koṣa*, *Ekākṣara-koṣa*, *Mātṛkā-nighaṇṭu*, etc. It is a pity that oriental scholars have not thrown any light on the origin of the meanings of these syllables. The technical question of the monosyllabic nature of ancient Sanskrit would never have been raised here, if it were not likely to prove important in future in the decipherment of the inscriptions on the seals. A monosyllabic language from its nature requires a complicated system of writing. Take for instance the Chinese language. According to Mr. H. H. Dubs "It is monc-

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syllabic, tonic, and uninflected, that is, all words are composed of single syllables, and each word has as an integral part of its pronunciation a certain inflection of the voice. There are no conjugation, declension, or definite parts of speech. Such a language is inherently adapted to a hieroglyphic method of writing. A polysyllabic language leads naturally to a separation into its phonetic elements, but a monosyllabic language leads to the representation of each word by a different symbol. The inflection of a word is inherently difficult to represent alphabetically" (p. 8). He says further :

"Another result of this monosyllabic character of the language was the small number of sounds possible. The language does not use all possible monosyllabic phonetic combinations, but confines itself to a few, and so has only about 340 monosyllables in actual use, the actual number of which varies with different dialects" (pp. 8-9). "In general the characteristic of written Chinese is that there is a different written symbol for each different meaning" (p. 9).

I would like to draw attention to the last sentence quoted above, because it seems possible that the Indus people also used different signs to express different meanings of words with similar phonetic values.

(3) *A brief examination of the views advanced by Sumerian scholars*

The Sumerian scholars, who have contributed chapters on the seals in the recently published volumes on *Mohenjo daro and the Indus Civilization*, appear to hold views about the nature of the script differing essentially from mine. They seem to regard the Indus script as pictorial in its nature. Messrs. Smith and Gadd write that the signs "are pictographs, as in all other early scripts" (p. 407). The occurrence of some pictorial signs cannot be held to prove that the script itself is pictorial ; nor has this point been discussed in detail. If we regard the Indus script as hieroglyphic in its nature, the question arises, of what type is it ? Chinese or Egyptian ? In Chinese the signs are composed of two units, i.e., strokes and radicals, and generally all the signs are divisible. Egyptian and Sumerian hieroglyphic signs differ to a large extent in this respect from the Chinese. The Sumerian scholars would seem, as far as I can judge, to base their opinion that the Indus signs are pictorial in their nature on the apparent shapes of the following classes of signs ;—

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(a) Homo-signs,

(b) Fish-signs,

(c) Bird and scorpion signs.

Let us examine each class and see what the signs may mean.

(*a*) *Homo-signs.*

Messrs, Smith and Gadd write, "It is rather noticeable that, whereas men in various attitudes are well represented, there are few parts of the body among the signs ; seemingly the only exceptions are the hand and foot, if, indeed, Nos. CCLV, CCXLVII are correctly so interpreted" (p. 408). Dr. Langdon would identify the homo-sign with ovals appended as representing a man of the water-carrying class, but he gives no reason why the two ovals should denote water-bags. My decipherment (see Table No. XII of the first article of the series) indicates that this sign denoted the word *īśara* or *īśaḥ*. This sign often comes after the sign which I dicipher as *go*. Thus we get the word *go-īsar* or *go-īsaḥ*. In some inscriptions we find another sign after *go*, the reading of which according to the same syllabary would be *rīśa* (see inscription No. 107). When we combine these two we get the word *gorīśa*. This is one of the most sacred and popular names of the Indian god *Śiva*. In some cases a semi-circle, the value of which, according to my syllabary, is *l* is added to the homo-sign (see Inscription No. 1), thus giving the reading *golī-śara* or *golīsaḥ*. The change of *la* to *ra* has been recognised by Indian grammarians in the phrase *ralayor ḍaḷayor abhedaḥ*, i.e., *ra* and *la*, and *ḍa* and *ḷa* are interchangeable, and so are not fundamentally different. From these readings the conclusion suggests itself that in the Indus script, the homo-sign indicates some supreme being, and that it does not refer to any particular class of human beings.

As far as the Vedas and the Upaniṣads are concerned, they abound in passages referring to the Supreme Being by words like *Puruṣa*, *Ādipuruṣa* etc. The cult of representing the supreme God by the homo-sign does not appear to be confined to India. This cult was so widely spread that it appears to have reached the extreme corner of Northern Europe on the one side and a corner of Asia, viz., China, on

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the other. The following figure may be reproduced as illustrating this :

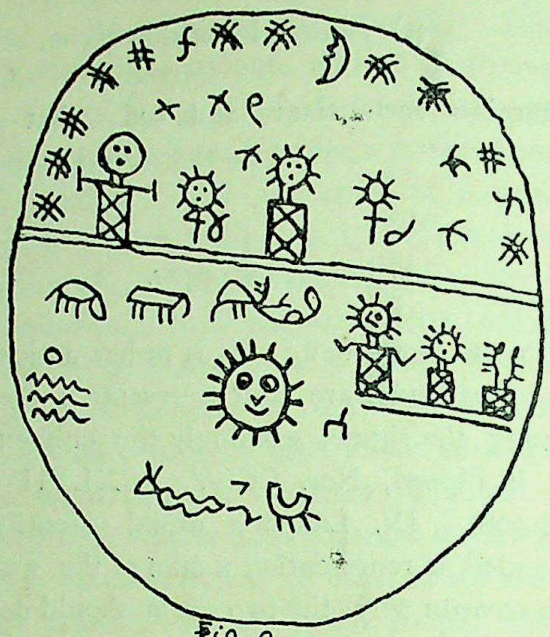

Fig. 9.

Sir A. J. Evans writes, "It is interesting to observe that it is in the extreme north of Europe, where the conditions most approach those of the Reindeer Period, that purely pictographic methods have remained the longest. The Lapp troll drums, used as a means of divination by the native shāmans, show a variety of linear figures and symbols which had a traditional interpretation. Thus in the simple example given in fig. 9., taken from Scheffer's Lapponia, we see, in the upper compartment, according to the interpretation preserved by Scheffer, four Lapp gods, with rayed heads, one of them identified with the Norsk Thor, above which are the crescent moon, twelve stars, indicated by crossed lines, and seven flying birds—resembling the simplification of the same figures seen in the Cretan linear script."—*Anthropology*, pp. 28,29.

With the help of Egyptian and Sumerian mythology we might be tempted to identify some symbols of the Lapp troll drums. For instance, the symbol according to the Egyptian dictionary represents the goddess 'Sati'. The symbol below the figure of the sun, i.e., is very like Muṣḥuṣṣū as illustrated by Professor

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Langdon in his *Semitic Mythology* (see p. 131). The figure is very like some signs found in the proto-Elamite inscriptions, Nos. 1411-1413.

From the above it should not be regarded as strange if the homo-sign should represent *Īśara* or *Īśaḥ*, according to the Indus syllabary. Similar ideas are associated by the Chinese with the homo-signs found in their ancient sacred literature.

According to Prof. Suzuki " t'ien (heaven) and t'ai (great) and jên (man) all seem to have developed from the common source representing a human figure with outstretched arms, that is . To avoid confusion, this archetypal character was later differentiated into the three forms, , , , while t'ai (great), retained its original type more faithfully than the others ; for it is engraved on the ancient vases thus : , , , and finally "(p. 174). He goes on to say that " *t'ien* primarily signified simply something above, and not something great which is above. The latter explanation is too philosophical to be the conception of the natural man. *T'ien*, as we have it engraved on the ancient vessels, appears in the following forms : , , , ." (p. 174). See *A Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy* by D. T. Suzuki. London, 1914, p. 174.

Further he says that according to Confucius *T'ien* means Heaven or Heavenly Destiny (T'ien ming) or the *Great Ultimate*. (*Ibid.* p. 21).

The proposed reading of the homo-sign seems well supported by the above passages.

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(*b*) *Fish-signs.* This term has been used by Sumerian scholars. Messrs. Smith and Gadd write :

"The suggested 'fish' signs are more puzzling, since the modifications to which the original (?) CCCXXXI is subjected are not particularly natural as indicating different kinds of fish, and it is by no means certain that a fish is intended at all, but the comparison suggests itself at once, and it is hard to find a better." (p. 408).

In the *Kālī-vilāsa tantra*, where we find the description of the script called *Dida* (probably an Iranian word) and where the signs which we find constantly occurring in the proto-Elamite and Cretan seals and which I have previously identified as *mi*, and where the Indus goddess Siñjinī is also mentioned, we read *Pūrvoktaṃ kathitam devi likhitaṃ makarasya ca. Makaraṃ ca yathā devi tathaiva mīna-ketanam* meaning : "O goddess we have already described writing of different varieties of *ma*. Fish-sign is the same as *ma*." The questions as to why *ma* is written like a fish, and why the god Śiva is represented by a monogram resembling a man, and so on, will be dealt with later on.

Since the text is very important, it is given below :—

श्री देव्युवाच

पृच्छाम्येकं महाभाग योगीन्द्र योगनायक ।
कामबीजादिबीजानां कथ्यतां लिखनक्रमः ॥ ३ ॥

श्री सद्योजात उवाच ।

यत्रकल्पे भवेद्रामो रावणश्चापि राक्षसः ।
तत्कल्पसम्मतं नित्यं चतुर्युगस्य सम्मतम् ॥ ४ ॥
कथयामि महेशानि लिखनं सर्व्वसम्मतम् ।
जम्बुद्वीपस्य वर्षे च कलिकाले च भारते ॥ ५ ॥
क्षीरपीठात्मकं वर्णं युगाद्यास्तनसंयुतम् ।
त्रिंशत्कोष्ठात्मकं बीजं स्मरणात् फलदायकम् ॥ ६ ॥
चन्द्रिकार्द्धगता नित्या चपला चपलेक्षणा ।
चपलान्तर्गतं पुष्पं विद्युत्कोटिप्रदीपकम् ॥ ७ ॥
अनिमेन्दुमुखी सिद्धिः पुष्पमध्ये च संस्थिता ।
चन्द्रार्द्धबिन्दुसंयुक्तं कामबीजमितीरितम् ॥ ८ ॥

Kāma-bīja system of writing *MA.*

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चन्द्रिकान्तर्गतो नित्यो हरः पद्मदलेक्षणः ।
हरस्य मध्यविन्दौ चाणिमा शशिमुखी विशेत् ॥ ९ ॥
चपलान्तर्गतो नित्यः हरः पद्मदलेक्षणः ।
हरस्य मध्यविन्दौ च सदा शशिमुखी वसेत् ॥ १० ॥

Manmatha system of writing *MA*.

चन्द्रविन्दुसमायुक्तं मन्मथं परिकीर्त्तितम् ।
हरवर्णेषु चासीनः शिवः पद्मदलेक्षणः ॥ ११ ॥
पूर्वोक्तं कथितं देवि लिखनं मकरस्य च ।
मकरश्च यथा देवि तथैव मीनकेतनम् ॥ १२ ॥

Fish-sign is also the same as *MA*.

चपलान्तर्गता बुद्धिः प्रफुल्लकमलेक्षणे ।
चपलानुगतं पुष्पं विद्युत्कोटिसमप्रभम् ॥ १३ ॥
पुष्पमध्ये स्थिता नित्या रेचिका लिखनक्रमः ।

Recikā system of writing.

अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि श्रीबीजलिखनं शृणु ॥ १४ ॥

Writing of *Śrī-bīja* described.

मङ्गलाया मध्यविन्दौ ईश्वरी कमलेक्षणा ।
ईश्वरी पद्मगर्भा च पुष्पमध्ये च रेचिका ॥ १५ ॥
चन्द्रविन्दुमयी नित्या श्रिया लिखनमीरितम् ।
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि चाङ्कुशं वरवर्णिनि ॥ १६ ॥

Aṅkuśa script :—

चन्द्रिकान्तर्गता नित्या सुस्थिरा कमलेक्षणा ।
सुस्थिरान्तर्गता नित्या सिञ्जिनी ब्रह्मपूजिता ॥ १७ ॥
चन्द्रविन्द्वात्मिका नित्या लिखनं त्वङ्कुशस्य च ।
हरस्य मध्यविन्दौ सा विशालाक्षी सुशोभना ॥ १८ ॥
हरिणाक्षीषु चासीना युवा च ह्यणिमा गुणा ।

Dida-script :—

चन्द्रविन्द्वात्मिका विद्या दिदं लिखनमीरितम् ॥ १९ ॥
एवं सर्व्वत्र बोद्धव्यः बीजानां लिखनक्रमः ।
विना लिखनविज्ञानबीजानां नगनन्दिनि ॥ २० ॥
विफलं जायते सर्व्वं जपयज्ञार्च्चनादिकम् ।
सर्व्वं तस्य भवेद् व्यर्थं किं पुरश्चरणादिभिः ॥ २१ ॥

इति श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रे ऊनत्रिंशत्तमः
पटलः समाप्तः । (Luzac & Co.), pp. 73-74.

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(c) *Bird and scorpion signs*

The gods and goddesses at the time of the Indus Valley civilization were represented by animals, birds, trees, etc. Such representation continued down to a much later period, though in a different form. For instance, in the Paurāṇik mythology the gods and goddesses are represented as having their *vāhanas* (i.e, birds and animals upon which they ride). Since the material on this point is very abundant, I must reserve discussion thereof for a future occasion. If, however, the representations of animals, birds, scorpions, etc., appearing on the Indus seals are intended merely to supplement the inscriptions by indicating the particular god or goddess referred to, they cannot be held to prove that the script itself is pictorial.

Sumerian scholars have shown keen interest in the question whether the script reads from right to left or from left to right. Dr. Langdon considers that the script reads from right to left. He writes, "But even more conclusive is the internal evidence. The determinative No. 87 stands at the left end of a large number of lines. Now if the left were not the end of the line, how can we explain a text like that in Seal 52, where the material is too much for one line, and runs over into the second line by one sign ? This is the postfix No. 87, and stands immediately below the left end." (vol. II, p. 427).

Dr. Langdon's argument does not appear to support his conclusion. For instance, if an inscription runs into a second line and the second line begins immediately beneath the left-hand end of the first line, this would rather indicate that the inscription reads from left to right. The practice followed in modern times is that the second and subsequent lines begin from the same side from which the first line commences. If, therefore, the sign left over from the first line appears at the left side in the second line, it would seem to be more probable that the writing runs from left to right. If the signs are engraved in different places on a seal, probably each is a separate unit conveying a particular idea. Since my system of decipherment is based on the values of the radicals and strokes, I read the script in the direction in which it seems to present an intelligible reading, which is from left to right, as in the case of the Brāhmī script, which Dr. Langdon himself evidently felt was somehow connected with the Indus script. Ordinarily writing begins from one side and stops wherever the sentence or record is complete. So, if a vacant space is generally found on the right side, this would mean that the script reads from left to right,

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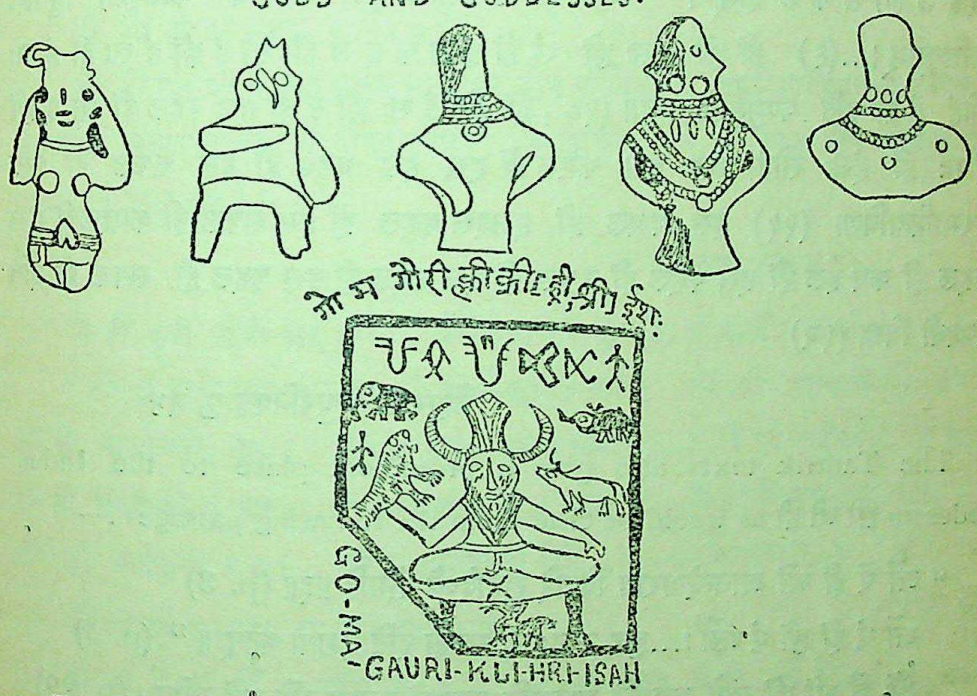
and vice versa. The following table will give an idea of the side from which the writing of the Indus people started.

Seal No.	Vacant space on the left in *cm.*	Vacant space on the right in *cm.*
2	1	1½
5	0	1
7	0	1
15	0	2
18	0	2
144	0	1½
254	0	1

From the above table it is clear that the writing began from the left, and not from the right, since the vacant space is always on the right side, except in those cases where the signs are so few that for the sake of symmetry they are engraved in the middle. As to the system of writing followed in the proto-Elamite inscriptions we shall discuss this when we take up the question of their decipherment.

(4) *Religion of the Indus people*

(INDUS)
GODS AND GODDESSES.



The names and symbols on Plates annexed would appear to disclose a connection between the old religious cults of the Hindus and Jainas with those of the Indus people. A close and careful examination of

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the South Indian pottery marks would also seem to show that signs associated with Tāntrik cults were used there, for these marks, when deciphered according to my syllabary, give the names of the well-known Tāntrik deities, *Klī*, *Śrī*, *Hrī*, as well as *Ka*, *Ra*, *Ma*, *Na*, *Ni*, *Bhu*, *Inni*. Egyptian pottery marks, it may be noted, indicate the existence of the cult of *Ka* and *Ra* in that country. Certain signs found in Spain considered along with signs found on the Indus seals would suggest the conclusion that the Tāntrik cult was very widespread.

Klī, *Śrī* and *Hrī*.—These goddesses were held as important by many theological schools in ancient India. The following twelve schools, for instance, are recorded in the *Tripurā-tāpiny upaniṣad* of the Śaiva cult.

(१) शक्ति-शिव-विद्या, (२) लोपामुद्रा विद्या, (३) क्रोधमुनि विद्या, (४) मानवी विद्या (५) चान्द्री विद्या (६) कौबेरी विद्या (७) अगस्त्य विद्या (८) नान्दि विद्या (९) प्रभाकरी विद्या (१०) षण्मुखी विद्या (११) परमशिव-विद्या (१२) वैष्णवी विद्या।

The above schools have been explained by the commentator in the following manner :—

अथ द्वादशविद्यामुद्धरति एव मित्यादिना। आदिविद्या तु क ए ई ल ह्र, ह स क ह ल हीं, स क ल ह्रीम्। अत्राद्यखण्डं वाग्भवकूटं, द्वितीयं कामकूटं, तृतीयं शक्तिकूटम्।...(९) ह्रीं क्लीं हं सः क्लीं लं ह्रीं ह स क ह ल ह्रीं सो हं क्लीं हं सः ह्रीं हं सः सोहं हं सः इति षण्मुखी विद्या (१०), ह्रीं क्लीं हं सः क्लीं लं ह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं सो हं क्लीं हं सः ह्रीं हंसः सोहं हंसः हस कएल ह्रीं हस हस कहल ह्रीं हस सकल ह्रीं इति परमाशिवविद्या (११) हस कएल ह्रीं हसहस कहल ह्रीं हस सकल ह्रीं कएईलह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं कए ईल ह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं सकल ह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं हस कहल ह्रीं सकल ह्रीं इति वैष्णवी विद्या (१२)

त्रिपुरातापिन्युपनिषत् पृ, २४

The Tantrik texts also give a prominent place to the Indus godesses क्ली श्री ह्री as would be clear from the following passages :—

" ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं आनन्देश्वराय विद्महे सुधादेव्यै धीमहि ॥३॥ (p. 3)

ओं एं ह्रीं क्लीं एं ग्लौं:...कुट २ ठः ठः स्वाहा इति दशधा पठेत् ॥ " (p. 5)

ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं नमो भगवति माहेश्वरि अन्नपूर्णे स्वाहा इति मत्रं जपेत्। (p. 29)

ह्रीं श्रीं शिवशक्ति...(p. 27)

ओं ह्रीं श्रीं फट् स्वाहा...(p. 14)

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ऐं क्लीं सौः सर्वतत्त्वेन तनुत्रयाश्रयं जीवं शोधयामि...(p. 27)

ॐ ह्रीं सर्वविघ्नकृद्भ्यः सर्वभूतेभ्यो हुं फट् स्वाहा..."(p. 33)

भैरवीचक्र published by Hariśaṅkara Śivaśaṅkara,

Moradabad, 1923

" अमृतं द्रव द्रव निर्झर निर्झर ऐ ह्रीँ कुलकुण्डलिनी अमृतं कुरु कुरु स्वाहा ॥ "

कौलावलीनिर्णय, p. 21

Luzac & Co., *Tantrik Texts*, vol. XIV

It is interesting to note that the *Purāṇas* and the Jaina religious books both assign high places to these gods. The following passages from Jaina religious books will show how Hindus and Jainas agree in honouring these gods :—

'ॐ ह्रीं श्रीचंद्रप्रभजिनेंद्र । अत्र अवतर अवतर" (जिनवाणीसंग्रह. पृ. ३४३)

ॐ ह्रीं क्षीं भूः स्वाहा पृ. १२. ६.

ॐ ह्रीँ क्रौँ वौषट् षष्टिसहस्रसंख्येभ्यो नागेभ्योऽमृताञ्जलिं प्रसिञ्चामि स्वाहा ॥

त्रैवर्णिकाचार of सोमसेन भट्टारक, पृ. १२७ जैनसाहित्य प्रसारक कार्यालय सः (२८२५)

"ॐ हुं फट् इति अस्य मन्त्रः पृ. १५८"

"ऐं श्रीं ह्रीं क्लीं स्वाहा पृ. २५७"

"ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं ऐं अर्हं अष्टम नन्दीश्वर द्वीप पूर्वदिशावर अकृत्रिम जिनचैत्य चैत्यालय जिनबिंबा अत्रावतरावतर सं वौषट् स्वाहा । आह्वाननम् ॥ १ ॥ अत्र तिष्ठत तिष्ठत ठठ स्वाहा । स्थापनम् ॥ २ ॥ "

नंदीश्वर पूजा पृ. १

ॐ ह्रीँ क्ष्वीँ झँवी क्ष्मर्हं हं सः...त्रैवर्णिकाचार पृ. ६१. हं झं वं मं हं सं तं—पृ. ६१

"ॐ ह्राँ अर्हद्भ्यो नमः । ॐ ह्रीं सिंहेभ्यो नमः । ॐ ह्रीं आचार्येभ्यो नमः । ॐ ह्रीं पाठकेभ्यो नमः । ॐ ह्रीं सर्वसाधुभ्यो नमः ।.....ॐ ह्राँ अर्हद्भ्यो हूं फट् । ॐ ह्रीं सिद्धेभ्यो हूँ फट् ।...ॐ ह्राँ अर्हद्भ्यो हूं वषट् ।...ॐ ह्रीं सिद्धभ्यो हुं वषट् ।... ॐ ह्राँ अर्हद्भ्यः ठ ठ ।... ॐ ह्राँ अर्हद्भ्यो घेघे..."—त्रैवर्णिकाचार, पृ. २४

ॐ ह्रीं ह्यौं असुझूर असुझुर सुकुरुभव...पृ ३७.

ॐ ह्राँ ह्रीँ ह्रूँ ह्रौँ ह्रः असि आ उ सा...पृ. ४५. ततः झँवी क्ष्वीँ हंसः । पृ. ४६.

ॐ ह्रीँ श्रीं क्लीं ऐं अर्हं असि आ उ सा...पृ. ४६.

See also पृ. ४७, पृ. १२४—१५५.

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The names *Klī*, *Śrī*, and *Hrī*, moreover, constantly appear at the beginning of sentences in the Jaina works *Nandīśvara-pūjā* and *Ṛṣi-maṇḍala-pūjā*, and in other works also. From the Jaina religious texts it would seem that *Hrī* enjoyed much popularity. It may also be noted that the inscription on the Indus seal No. 449 reads, according to my decipherment, *Jineśvara*, or *Jineśaḥ*.

Ka.—The sign for *Ka* occurs frequently among the South Indian pottery marks. In Vedic mythology, it will be remembered, the god Prajāpati is called *Ka*. In the Harihara plates (*circa* 350 A.D.) the figure of a pot stands for *ka*. The passages quoted below throw considerable light on this association of *Ka* with the gods and with a pot.

प्रजापतिः संवत्सरो महान् कः ।

तै, ब्रा. ३ कां. १० प्रपा. १ अनु. ४.

एको नैकः सवः कः किं यत्तऽपदमनुत्तमम् ।

श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । Luzac & Co., Tantrik Texts, vol. xv, p. 52.

ब्रह्मज्योतिः ककारे च विष्णुज्योतिस्तथैवच ।
रुद्रज्योतिः ककारे च ईश्वरस्य तथैव च ।।१५ ॥
ककारे श्रीशिवज्योतिः ककारे च परं शिवः ।
सर्ववर्णेषु बोद्धव्यं ककारमुपलक्षणम् ॥१६ ॥

श्री कालीविलासतन्त्र, पृ. ८४.

क= (See Table G)

ॐ कलशय मुखे विष्णुः कण्ठे रुद्रस्समाश्रितः ।
मूले तस्य स्थितो ब्रह्मा मध्ये मातृगणः स्मृतः ॥
कुक्षौ तु सागराः सप्त सप्तद्वीपा वसुन्धरा ।

... (संस्कारसमुच्चय पृः २५ Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow, 1926)

Ni or *Nin.*—The well-known and most widely spread *svastika* sign appears to me to stand for the name Niḥ or Nin. Where the cross represented *ha*, the reading would be Niḥ, otherwise Nin. According to the *Kālī-vilāsa-tantra*, *Ni* refers to the great eternal light. (निः शब्दोऽयं महाज्योतिर्निर्विकारो निरञ्जनः ॥३३॥)

Nini, *Inni* and *Bhu.*—These are well-known names, which refer

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to the Earth goddess (see the Appendix to my first article, *IHQ.* vol. VII).

Seṣa, Sisa and *Ma.*—These names appear to stand for the serpent deity, which seems to be connected in some way with the god Śiva and the Earth goddess.[1] The word *Ma-ṇi* occurs several times in the Indus inscriptions. The mythological association of the *maṇi* ('jewel') with the serpent in Sanskrit literature suggests that *maṇi* when used in this connection may also have had an older meaning.

Nāga, Nāgeśa, Śeṣa, etc.—These words are frequently found in the Indus inscriptions. In fact the worship of serpent deities seems to have been popular. It is interesting to note that Jaina mythology also assigns an important place to Nāgas and Nāgakumāras, etc. In the following passage from the *Traivarṇikācāra* of Somasena Bhaṭṭāraka we find instructions for preparing a *karṇa-piścācinī-yantra,* which, it will be noticed, resembles an Indus seal. Did the Indus seals function as *yantra-mantras* ?

"कर्णपिशाचिनीयन्त्र यन्त्रं विलिख्य पूर्वोक्तविधिना कांस्यभाजने। तस्याग्रे जपं कुर्यात् काञ्जिकाहारभुक्तिभाक् ॥ ३ ॥

पुर्वाक्त विंधानपुर्वक कांसीके बर्ननपर मंत्र लिखकर उस यंत्रके सामने जपकरे।... .....इसतरहका यंत्र बनवाये

ॐ जोगे मग्गे०

ॐ ह्रीँ सः ह ल्वीं ह ह्री ॐ ॐ यन्त्र स्थापना ॐ

अथ मंत्र :—ॐ जोगे मग्गे तच्चे भूदे भव्वे भविस्से अकेव पकवे जिनपार्श्वे श्रीं ह्रीं स्त्रीं कर्ण पिशाचिनीं नमः। इत्ति मंत्रः"—पृ. १५७

1 अथ शिवकृष्ठाक्षरी स्तोत्र—महादेवं महावक्त्रं महाध्यानं परायणम्। महापापहरं देवं मकारं त नमाम्यहम् ॥ ३ ॥ चिदानन्दलहरी—Sarasvati Press, Cawnpore [1924], See p.24.

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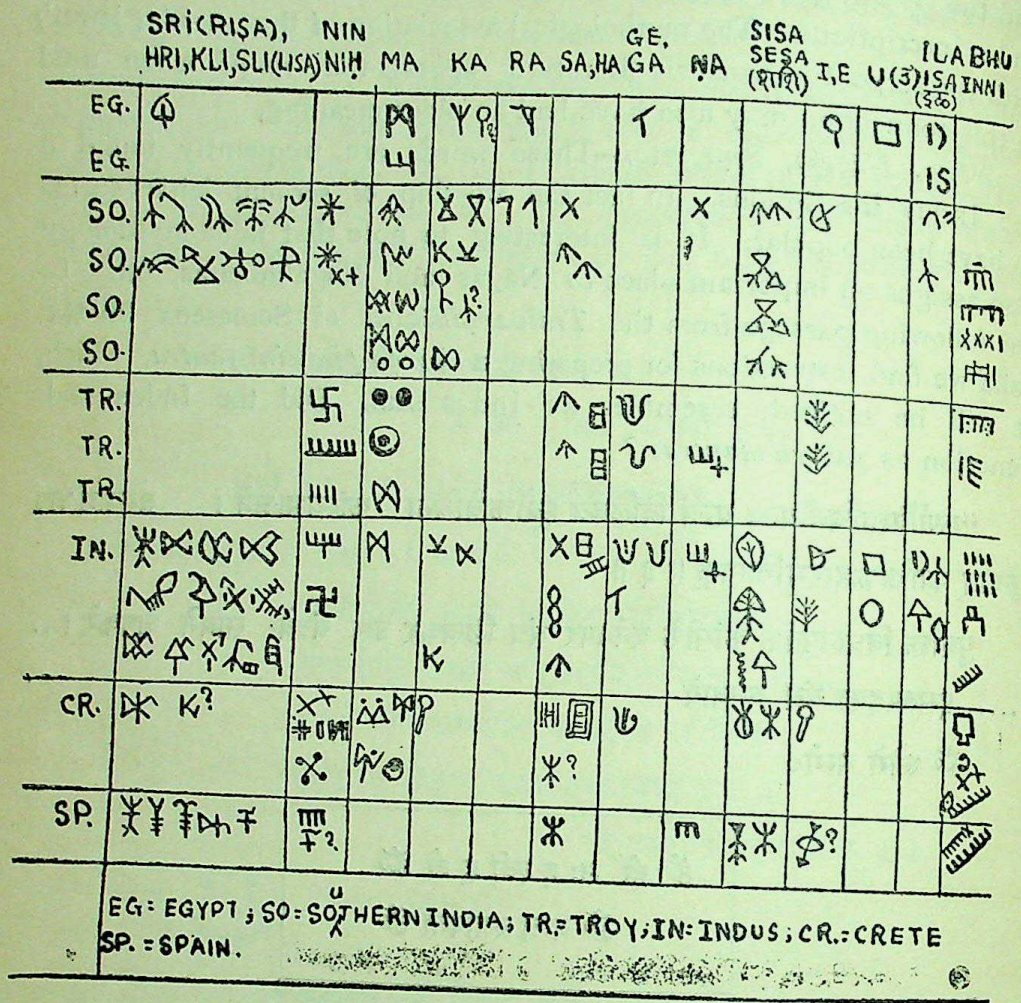
It is interesting to find how Tāntrik texts kept the Indus tradition intact.

(I)



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ettha dhammo[1] jāto ti Kammāsadhamman ti vuccati. Tattha nivuṭṭha-[2] nigamassā pi etad eva nāmaṃ. Bhummavacanena kasmā na vuttan ti? Avasanokāsato. Bhagavato kira tasmiṃ nigame vasanokāso koci vihāro nāma[3] nāhosi; nigamato pana apakkamma aññatarasmim udakasampanne ramaṇīye bhūmibhāge mahāvanasaṇḍo ahosi. Tattha Bhagavā vihāsi taṃ nigamaṃ gocaragāmaṃ katvā, tasmā evam ettha attho veditabbo. Kurūsu viharati Kammāsadhammaṃ nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo, taṃ gocaragāmaṃ katvā ti.

Āyasmā ti piyavacanam etaṃ garuvacanam[4] etaṃ. *Ānando* ti tassa therassa nāmaṃ. *Ekam antan* ti bhāva-napuṃsaka-niddeso, visamaṃ candimasūriyā pariharantī ti ādīsu viya. Tasmā yathā nisinno ekam ante nisinno hoti tathā nisīdī ti evam ettha attho daṭṭhabbo. Bhummatthe vā etam upayogavacanaṃ. *Nisīdī* ti upāvisi. Paṇḍitā hi garuṭṭhānīyam upasaṅkamitvā āsanakusalatāya ekam ante nisīdanti. Ayañ ca tesam aññataro, tasmā ekam antaṃ nisīdi. Kathaṃ nisinno kho pana ekam antaṃ nisinno hotī ti. Cha nisajjadose vajjetvā. Seyyath' idaṃ. Atidūram accāsannam uparivātam unnatappadesam atisammukham atipacchā ti. Atidūre nisinno hi sace kathetukāmo hoti uccāsaddena kathetabbaṃ hoti. Accāsanne nisinno saṃghaṭṭanaṃ karoti. Uparivāte nisinno sarīragandhena bādhati. Unnatappadese nisinno agāravaṃ pakāseti. Atisammukhā nisinno sace daṭṭhukāmo hoti cakkhunā cakkhum āhacca daṭṭhabbaṃ hoti. Atipacchā nisinno sace daṭṭhukāmo hoti gīvaṃ pasāretvā[5] daṭṭhabbaṃ hoti. Tasmā ayam pi tikkhattuṃ Bhagavantaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā sakkaccaṃ vanditvā ete cha nisajjadose vajjetvā[6] dakkhiṇajānumaṇḍalassa abhimukhaṭṭhāne chabbaṇṇānaṃ Buddharasmīnam anto pavisitvā pasannalākhārasaṃ[7] vigāhanto[8] viya suvaṇṇapaṭṭaṃ[9] pārupanto viya rattuppalamālāvitānamajjhaṃ pavisanto viya ca dhammabhaṇḍāgāriko āyasmā Ānando nisīdi. Tena vuttam ekam antaṃ nisīdī ti.

Tāya[10] pana velāya kena kāraṇena ayam āyasmā Bhagavantam upasaṅkanto[11] ti? Sāyaṇhavelāyaṃ paccayākārapañhaṃ pucchanakāraṇena. Taṃ divasaṃ kir' āyasmā kulasaṅgahatthāya gharadvāre[12] gharadvāre sahassabhaṇḍikaṃ nikkhipanto viya Kammāsadhammaṃ[13]

1 Si. dhamme
2 Si. niviṭṭha; B. nivuttha
3 P. B. & Si. drop it.
4 B. gārava-
5 B. parivattetvā
6 P. & Si. vajjento
7 S. panassalākhārasaṃ
8 S. viggahanta; B. viggāhanto
9 B. & S. -paṭaṃ
10 P. Kāya
11 B. upasaṅkamanto
12 S. drops it.
13 S. adds gāmaṃ.

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piṇḍāya caritvā piṇḍapātapaṭikkanto Satthuvattaṃ dassetvā Satthari Gandhakuṭiṃ paviṭṭhe Satthāraṃ vanditvā attano divāṭṭhānaṃ gantvā antevāsikesu vattaṃ dassetvā paṭikkantesu divāṭṭhānaṃ paṭisammajjitvā cammakkhaṇḍaṃ paññāpetvā udakatumbato udakaṃ gahetvā[1] udakena hatthapāde sītale katvā pallaṅkam ābhujitvā nisinno sotāpattiphalasamāpattiṃ[2] samāpajji.[3] Atha paricchinnakālavasena samāpattito vuṭṭhāya paccayākāre ñāṇam otāresi. So avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā ti ādito paṭṭhāya antaṃ, antato paṭṭhāya ādiṃ, ubhayantato paṭṭhāya majjhaṃ, majjhato paṭṭhāya ubho ante pāpento tikkhattuṃ dvādasapadaṃ paccayākāraṃ sammasi. Tass' evaṃ sammasantassa paccayākāro [4]ativibhūto hutvā uttānako[5] viya upaṭṭhāsi.

Tato cintesi 'ayaṃ paccayākāro sabbabuddhehi gambhīro c'eva gambhīrāvabhāso cā' ti kathito, mayhaṃ kho pana padesañāṇe ṭhitassa sāvakassa sato uttāno vibhūto pākaṭo hutvā upaṭṭhāti, mayhaṃ yeva nu kho eso uttānako[6] hutvā upaṭṭhāti udāhu aññesam pī ti. Ath' assa etad ahosi, 'handāham imaṃ pañhaṃ gahetvā Bhagavantaṃ pucchāmi, addhā me Bhagavā imam atthuppattiṃ katvā sālindaṃ Sinerum ukkhipanto viya ekaṃ Suttantakathaṃ[7] kathetvā dassessati.[8] Buddhānaṃ hi Vinayapaññattiṃ bhummantaraṃ paccayākāraṃ samayantaran ti imāni cattāri ṭhānāni patvā gajjitaṃ mahantaṃ hoti ñāṇam anupavisati Buddhañāṇassa mahantabhāvo paññāyati desanā gambhīrā hoti tilakkhaṇāhatā[9] suññatāpaṭisaṃyuttā ti. So kiñcā pi pakatiyā va ekadivase[10] satavāram pi sahassavāram pi Bhagavantam upasaṅkamanto na ahetu akāraṇena upasaṅkamati, taṃ divasaṃ pana imaṃ pañhaṃ gahetvā Buddhagandhahatthim āsajja[11] ñāṇakoñcanādaṃ sossāmi,[12] Buddhasīham āsajja[11] ñāṇasīhanādaṃ sossāmi, Buddhasindhavam āsajja[11] ñāṇapadavikkamaṃ passissāmī ti cintetvā divāṭṭhānā uṭṭhāya cammakkhaṇḍaṃ papphoṭetvā ādāya sāyaṇhasamaye Bhagavantam upasaṅkami. Tena vuttaṃ: sāyaṇhavelāyaṃ paccayākārapañhaṃ pucchanakāraṇena upasaṅkanto[13] ti.

Yāva gambhīro ti ettha yāva-saddo pamāṇātikkame. Atikkamma pamāṇaṃ gambhīro atigambhīro ti attho. *Gambhīrāvabhāso* ti gambhīro va hutvā avabhāsati dissatī ti attho. Ekaṃ hi uttānam eva gam-

1 P. & Si. drop udakaṃ gahetvā.
2 S. sampattiṃ
3 P. & Si. samāpajjitvā
4 B. P. & Si. drop ati.
5 B. P. & Si. repeat it.
6 P. & Si. repeat it; B. esa uttānako
7 S. suttantakkhandhaṃ
8 Si. dasseti; S. desessati
9 B. ti-lakkhaṇabbhyāhatā
10 S. ekadivasa; P. ekadivasena
11 B. & Si. āpajja
12 P. & Si. drop it; B. sossati
13 B. upasaṅkamanto

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bhīrāvabhāsaṃ hoti pūtipaṇṇādivasena[1] kāḷavaṇṇaṃ purāṇ' udakaṃ viya. Tañ hi jānuppamāṇam pi sataporisaṃ viya dissati. Ekaṃ gambhīram uttānāvabhāsaṃ hoti maṇigaṅgāya vippasannam udakaṃ viya. Tañ hi sataporisam pi jānuppamāṇaṃ viya khāyati. Ekam uttānam uttānavabhāsaṃ hoti cāṭi-ādīsu udakaṃ viya. Ekaṃ gambhīraṃ gambhīrāvabhāsaṃ hoti Sinerupādakamahāsamudde udakaṃ viya. Evam udakam eva cattāri nāmāni labhati. Paṭiccasamuppāde pan' etaṃ n'atthi. Ayaṃ hi gambhīro c'eva gambhīrāvabhāso cā ti ekam eva nāmaṃ labhati. Evarūpo samāno pi atha ca pana me uttānak' uttānako viya khāyati yad idam acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante ti evam attano vimhayaṃ pakāsento[2] pañhaṃ pucchitvā tuṇhībhūto nisīdi.

Bhagavā tassa vacanaṃ sutvā Ānando bhavaggaggahaṇāya hatthaṃ pasārento viya Sineruṃ bhinditvā[3] mijjhaṃ niharituṃ vāyamamāno viya vinā nāvāya mahāsamuddaṃ taritukāmo viya paṭhaviṃ parivattetvā paṭhavojaṃ[4] gahetuṃ vāyamamāno viya ca Buddhavisayapañham attano uttānan ti vadati hand' assa gambhīrabhāvam ācikkhāmī[5] ti cintetvā 'mā hevan' ti ādim āha.

Tattha *mā hevan* ti ha-kāro nipātamattaṃ. Evaṃ 'mā bhaṇī' ti attho. Mā hevan ti ca idaṃ vacanaṃ hi Bhagavā āyasmantam Ānandam ussādento[6] pi bhaṇati apasādento pi. Tattha ussādento[6] pi Ānanda tvaṃ mahāpañño visadañāṇo, tena te gambhīro pi paṭiccasamuppādo uttānako viya khāyati, aññesam pan' esa uttānako ti na sallakkhetabbo, gambhīro yeva ca gambhīrāvabhāso ca.

Tattha catasso upamā vadanti. Cha māse subhojanarasapuṭṭhassa kira katayogassa[7] mahāmallassa samajjasamaye katamallapāsāṇaparicayassa[8] yuddhabhūmiṃ gacchantassa antarā mallapāsāṇaṃ dassesuṃ. So kim etan ti āha. Mallapāsāṇo ti. Āharatha nan ti. Ukkhipituṃ na sakkomā ti vutte sayaṃ gantvā kuhim imassa bhāriyaṭṭhānan ti vatvā dvīhi hatthehi dve pāsāṇe ukkhipitvā kīḷāgule[9] viya khipitvā va agamāsi. Tattha mallassa mallapāsāṇo lahuko ti na aññesaṃ lahuko ti vattabbo. Cha māse subhojanarasapuṭṭho[10] mallo viya hi kappasatasahassam abhinīhārasampanno āyasmā Ānando, yathā mallassa mahābalatāya mallapāsāṇo lahuko, evaṃ

1 S. putipaṇṇarasavasena ; B. pūtipaṇṇādivase
2 P. adds pañhaṃ pucchi.
3 B. P. & Si. chinditvā
4 Si. kathavojaṃ
5 B. P. & Si. ācikkhissāmi
6 B. ussārento
7 P. -phuṭṭhassa kira katayoggassa
8 P. & Si. katamallanapuññassa
9 B. kīlagule
10 P. & Si. -phuṭṭho

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therassa mahāpaññatāya paṭiccasamuppādo uttāno, so aññesam uttāno ti na vattabbo.

Mahāsamudde ca Timi nāma maccho dviyojanasatiko, Timiṅgalo tiyojanasatiko, Timipiṅgalo[1] catuyojanasatiko, Timirapiṅgalo[2] pañca-yojanasatiko, Ānando Timindo[3] Ajjhāroho Mahātimī ti ime cattāro yojanasahassikā. Tattha Timirapiṅgalen' eva dīpenti. Tassa kira dakkhiṇakaṇṇaṃ cālentassa pañca yojanasate padese udakaṃ calati, tathā vāmakaṇṇaṃ, tathā naṅguṭṭhaṃ, tathā sīsaṃ. Dve pana kaṇṇe cāletvā naṅguṭṭhena udakaṃ[4] paharitvā sīsam aparāparaṃ katvā[5] kīḷitum āraddhassa sattaṭṭhayojanasate[6] padese[7] bhājane pakkhipitvā pi uddhane āropitaṃ viya udakaṃ pakkuṭṭhati.[8] Tiyojanasatamatte padese udakaṃ piṭṭhiṃ chādetuṃ na sakkoti. So evaṃ vadeyya, ayaṃ mahāsamuddo gambhīro gambhīro[9] ti vadanti, kut' assa gambhīratā mayaṃ piṭṭhipaṭicchādanamattam pi udakaṃ na labhāmā ti. Tattha kāyuppannassa[10] Timirapiṅgalassa[11] mahāsamuddo uttāno ti na[12] aññesaṃ khuddakamacchānam uttāno ti vattabbo. Evam eva ñāṇuppannassa[10] therassa paṭiccasamuppādo uttāno ti, na aññesam pi uttāno ti vattabbo.

Supaṇṇarājā[13] ca diyaḍḍhayojanasatiko. Tassa dakkhiṇapakkho paññāsayojaniko hoti. Tathā vāmapakkho pi.[14] Piñjavaṭṭi[15]-saṭṭhiyojanikā. Gīvā tiṃsayojanikā. Mukhaṃ navayojanaṃ. Pādā dvādasayojanikā. Tasmiṃ Supaṇṇe vātaṃ dassetum āraddhe sattaṭṭhayojanasataṃ ṭhānaṃ nappahoti. So evaṃ vadeyya, ayam ākāso ananto ananto ti vadanti kut' assa anantatā mayaṃ pakkhavātappasāraṇokāsam[17] pi na labhāmā ti. Tattha kayūppannassa[10] Supaṇṇarañño ākāso paritto ti, na aññesaṃ khuddakapakkhīnaṃ paritto ti vattabbo.[17] Evam eva ñāṇūppannassa[10] therass' eva paṭiccasamuppādo uttāno ti, na aññesam pi uttāno ti vattabbo.[18]

Rāhu asurindo pana pādantato yāva kesantā yojanānaṃ cattāri sahassāni aṭṭha ca yojanasatāni[19] hoti. Tassa dvinnaṃ bāhānam antaraṃ dvādasayojanasatikaṃ. Bahalattena chayojanasatikaṃ. Hatthapādatalāni[20] puthulato dviyojanasatāni. Tiyojanasatikā nāsikā, tathā[20]

1 S. timitimiṅgalo 2 S. timiramiṅgalo 3 B. timinando
4 P. & Si. drop it. 5 P. & Si. kampetvā 6 P. & Si. sattayojanasate
7 P. & Si. ṭhāne 8 P. & Si. pakkaṭṭhaṃ ; B. pakkudhati
9 B. drops it. 10 B. upapannassa 11 B. adds vattabbo.
12 P. B. & Si. put this na between ti and vattabbo.
13 B. Supaṇṇā 14 B. & S. drop it. 15 B. Piñchavaṭṭi
16 P. & Si. pakkhavātappaharaṇokāsaṃ 17 B. P. & Si. as in fn. 12
18 B. & Si. as in fn. 12. 19 S. drops yojana.
20 Si. drops here all the words from pādatalāni up to tathā. It is curious that P. reproduces it without any note.

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mukhaṃ. Ekekam aṅgulipabbaṃ paññāsa paññāsayojanaṃ. Tathā bhamukantaraṃ, nalāṭaṃ tiyojanasatikaṃ, sīsaṃ navayojanasatikaṃ. Tassa mahāsamuddam otiṇṇassa yojanasahassamatte[1] ṭhāne gambhīram udakaṃ jānuppamāṇaṃ hoti. So evaṃ vadeyya, ayaṃ mahāsamuddo gambhīro gambhīro ti vadanti kut' assa gambhīratā, mayaṃ jānupaṭicchādanamattam pi udakaṃ na labhāmā ti. Tattha kāyuppannassa Rāhuno mahāsamuddo uttāno ti na aññesam uttāno ti vattabbo. Evam eva ñāṇuppannassa therassa paṭiccasamuppādo uttāno ti na aññesam pi uttāno ti vattabbo. Etam atthaṃ sandhāya Bhagavā 'mā hevam Ānanda avaca, mā hevam Ānanda avacā' ti āha.

Therassa hi catūhi kāraṇehi gambhīro pi paṭiccasamuppādo uttāno ti upaṭṭhāsi. Katamehi catūhi. Pubbūpanissayasampattiyā titthavāsena sotāpannatāya bahussutabhāvenā ti. Ito kira satasahassime kappe Padumuttaro nāma satthā loke uppajji. Tassa Haṃsavatī nāma nagaram ahosi. Ānando nāma rājā pitā. Sumedhā nāma devī mātā. Bodhisatto Uttarakumāro nāma ahosi. So puttassa jātadivase mahābhinikkhamanaṃ nikkhamma pabbajitvā padhānam anuyuñjanto[2] anukkamena sabbaññutaṃ patvā anekajātisaṃsāran ti udānam udānetvā sattāhaṃ Bodhipallaṅke vītināmetvā paṭhaviyaṃ ṭhapessāmī ti pādam abhinīhari. Atha paṭhaviṃ bhinditvā mahantaṃ padumam uṭṭhāsi. Tassa dhurapattāni navutihatthāni kesaraṃ tiṃsahatthaṃ kaṇṇikā dvādasahatthā navaghaṭappamāṇā reṇu ahosi. Satthā pana ubbedhato aṭṭhapaṇṇāsahattho[3] ahosi. Tassa ubhinnaṃ bāhanam antaram aṭṭhārasahatthaṃ nalāṭaṃ pañcahatthaṃ hatthapādā ekādasahatthā. Tassa ekādasahatthena pādena dvādasahatthāya kaṇṇikāya akkantamattassa[4] navaghaṭappamāṇā reṇu uṭṭhāya aṭṭhapaññāsahatthaṃ padesam uggantvā okiṇṇamanosilāya[5] cuṇṇaṃ viya paccokiṇṇā.[6] Tad upādāya Bhagavā Padumuttaro tveva paññāyittha.

Tassa Devilo ca Sujāto ca dve aggasāvakā ahesuṃ. Amitā ca Asamā ca dve aggasāvikā. Sumano nāma upaṭṭhāko. Padumuttaro nāma Bhagavā pitu saṅgahaṃ kurumāno bhikkhusatasahassaparivāro Haṃsavatiyā rājadhāniyā [7]vasati.

Kaniṭṭhabhātā pan' assa Sumanakumāro nāma; tassa rājā Haṃsavatito vīsatiyojanasate padese[8] bhogagāmam adāsi. So kadāci karahaci[9]

1 B. & S. drop these words.
2 P. anuyutto
3 B. hatthubbedho
4 P. B. & Si. akkantamattāya
5 P. B. & Si. silā-
6 P. B. & Si. paccokiṇṇo
7 P. & Si. paṭivasati
8 P. B. & Si. ṭhāne
9 P. kadāci

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āgantvā pitarañ ca satthārañ ca passati. Ath' ekadivasaṃ paccanto kupito ti. Sumano rañño pesesi 'paccanto kupito' ti.[1] Rājā, 'tvaṃ mayā[2] tattha kasmā ṭhapito' ti paṭipesesi. So nikkhamma[3] core vupasametvā, 'upasanto deva janapado' ti rañño pesesi. Rājā tuṭṭho 'sīghaṃ mama putto āgacchatū ti' āha. Tassa sahassamattā amaccā honti. So tehi saddhim antarāmagge mantesi 'mayhaṃ pitā tuṭṭho sace me varaṃ deti kiṃ gaṇhāmī' ti. Atha naṃ ekacce hatthiṃ gaṇhatha, assaṃ gaṇhatha, rathaṃ gaṇhatha, janapadaṃ gaṇhatha, satta ratanāni gaṇhathā'ti āhaṃsu. Apare tumhe paṭhavissarassa puttā, tumhākaṃ dhanaṃ na dullabhaṃ, laddhan ti c'etaṃ, sabbaṃ pahāya gamanīyaṃ puññam eva ekam ādāya gamanīyaṃ, tasmā deve varaṃ dadamāne temāsaṃ Padumuttaraṃ Bhagavantam upaṭṭhātuṃ varaṃ gaṇhathā' ti. So tumhe mayhaṃ kalyāṇamittā, na mam' etaṃ cittam[4] atthi, tumhehi pana uppāditam evaṃ karissāmī' ti gantvā pitaraṃ vanditvā, pitarā āliṅgitvā,[5] matthake cumbitvā 'varaṃ te putta demī' ti vutte 'sādhu mahārāja,[6] icchām' ahaṃ mahārāja Bhagavantaṃ temāsaṃ catūhi paccayehi upaṭṭhahanto jīvitam avañjhaṃ[7] kātum imaṃ me[8] varaṃ dehī ti āha. 'Na sakkā, tāta, aññe vare demī' ti vutte [9] Deva, khattiyānaṃ nāma dve kathā n'atthi, etaṃ me dehi na [10]mam' aññena attho' ti. 'Tāta, Buddhānaṃ nāma cittaṃ dujjānaṃ, sace Bhagavā na icchissati mayā dinno[11] pi kiṃ bhavissatī' ti. So, 'sādhu deva, ahaṃ Bhagavato cittaṃ jānissāmī' ti vihāraṃ gato.

Tena ca samayena bhattakiccaṃ niṭṭhapetvā Bhagavā Gandhakuṭiṃ paviṭṭho hoti. So maṇḍalamāle sannisinnānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ santikam agamāsi. Te tam āhaṃsu 'Rājaputta, kasmā āgato 'sī' ti. "Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya, dassetha me Bhagavantan" ti. "Na mayaṃ rājaputta icchiticchitakkhaṇe Satthāraṃ daṭṭhuṃ labhāmā" ti. "Ko pana bhante labhatī" ti? "Sumanatthero nāma rājaputtā" ti. "So kuhiṃ bhante thero" ti; therassa nisinnaṭṭhānaṃ pucchitvā gantvā vanditvā "icchām' ahaṃ bhante Bhagavantaṃ passituṃ, dassetha me" ti āha. Thero "ehi rājaputtā" ti taṃ gahetvā, taṃ Gandhakuṭipariveṇe ṭhapetvā Gandhakuṭim abhiruhi. Atha naṃ Bhagavā, "Sumana, kasmā āgato 'sī"

1 P. & Si. drop paccanto kupito ti, 2 B. mayā tvaṃ
3 P. & Si. drop nikkhamma. 4 P. & Si. -mittā nāma na me taṃ cittaṃ
5 B. pitarā pi āliṅgetvā tassa
6 P. & Si. vutto; P. omits sādhu mahārāja.
7 B. avajjhaṃ 8 B. imam eva
9 S. & Si. drop it; P. has tāta, aññaṃ varehī ti. Khattiyānaṃ
10 B. me; P. māṃ 11 B. dinne

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ti āha. "Rājaputto bhante Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya āgato" ti. "Tena hi bhikkhu āsanaṃ paññāpehī" ti. Thero āsanaṃ paññāpesi. Nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane. Rājaputto Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā paṭisanthāram akāsi. "Kadā āgato 'si, rājaputtā" ti. "Bhante, tumhesu Gandhakuṭiṃ paviṭṭhesu bhikkhū pana "na mayam icchiticchitakkhaṇe Bhagavantaṃ daṭṭhuṃ labhāmā" ti maṃ therassa santikaṃ pāhesuṃ. Thero pana ekavacanen' eva dassesi, thero bhante tumhākaṃ sāsane vallabho maññe" ti. "Āma, rājakumāra, vallabho esa bhikkhu mayhaṃ sāsane" ti. "Bhante Buddhānaṃ sāsane kiṃ katvā vallabhā hontī"[1] ti. "Dānaṃ datvā sīlaṃ samādiyitvā uposathakammaṃ katvā, rājakumārā" ti. "Bhagavā, ahaṃ thero viya Buddhasāsane vallabho hotukāmo temāsaṃ me vassāvāsam adhivāsethā" ti. Bhagavā, "atthi nu kho tattha gatena attho" ti oloketvā 'atthī' ti "disvā suññāgāre kho, rājakumāra, Tathāgatā abhiramantī" ti āha. Kumāro "aññātaṃ Bhagavā aññātaṃ Sugatā" ti vatvā "ahaṃ bhante purimataraṃ gantvā vihāraṃ kāremi, mayā pesite bhikkhusatasahassena saddhim āgacchathā" ti paṭiññaṃ gahetvā pitu santikaṃ gantvā "diṇṇā me, deva, Bhagavatā paṭiññā mayā pahite Bhagavantaṃ peseyyāthā" ti pitaraṃ vanditvā nikkhamitvā yojane yojane vihāraṃ kāretvā[2] vīsatiyojanasatam[3] addhānaṃ gantvā attano nagare vihāraṭṭhānaṃ vicinanto Sobhasso nāma kuṭumbikassa uyyānaṃ disvā satasahassena kīṇitvā[4] satasahassaṃ vissajjetvā vihāraṃ kāresi. Tattha Bhagavato gandhakuṭiṃ sesabhikkhūnañ ca rattiṭṭhāna-divāṭṭhānatthāya kuṭīleṇa maṇḍape kārāpetvā pākāraparikkhepaṃ[5] katvā[6] dvārakoṭṭhakañ ca niṭṭhapetvā pitu santikaṃ pesesi, "niṭṭhitaṃ mayhaṃ kiccaṃ satthāraṃ pahiṇathā" ti. Rājā Bhagavantaṃ bhojetvā, "Bhagavā, Sumanassa kiccaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ tumhākaṃ gamanaṃ paccāsiṃsatī" ti āha. Bhagavā satasahassabhikkhuparivāro yojane yojane vihāresu vasamāno agamāsi. Kumāro "Satthā āgacchatī"[7] ti sutvā yojanaṃ paccuggantvā [8]gandhamālādīhi pūjayamāno vihāraṃ pavesetvā

"satasahassena me kītaṃ satasahassena māpitaṃ
sobhanaṃ nāma uyyānaṃ paṭiggaṇha mahāmunī" ti

vihāraṃ niyyādesi. So vassūpanāyikadivase dānaṃ datvā attano puttadāre ca amacce ca pakkosāpetvā āha, "ayaṃ Satthā amhākaṃ

1 B vallabho hoti.
2 P. & Si. kārento
3 B. visa- ; P. visaṃ
4 P. & Si. kinitvā
5 P. B. & Si. parikkhepe
6 Si. kārāpetvā
7 B. āgato
8 B. drops gandha-.

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santikaṃ dūrato va āgato Buddhā ca nāma dhammagaruno na āmisagarukā,[1] tasmā aham imaṃ[2] temāsaṃ dve sāṭake nivāsetvā dasasīlāni samādiyitvā idh' eva[3] vasissāmi, tumhe khīṇāsava-satasahassassa iminā va nīhārena temāsaṃ dānaṃ dadeyyāthā" ti.

So Sumanattherassa vasanaṭṭhānasabhāge yeva ṭhāne vasanto yaṃ thero Bhagavato vattaṃ karoti taṃ sabbaṃ disvā "imasmiṃ ṭhāne ekantavallabho eso[4] thero etass' eva me ṭhānantaraṃ patthetuṃ vaṭṭatī" ti cintetvā vupakaṭṭhāya pavāraṇāya gāmaṃ pavisitvā sattāhaṃ mahādānaṃ datvā sattame divase bhikkhusatasahassassa pādamūle ticīvaraṃ ṭhapetvā Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā "bhante yad etaṃ mayā magge yojanantarikaṃ yojanantarikaṃ vihāraṃ kārāpanato paṭṭhāya puññaṃ kataṃ taṃ n' eva Sakkasampattiṃ na Mārasampattiṃ na Brahmasampattiṃ patthayantena, Buddhassa pana upaṭṭhākabhāvaṃ patthayantena kataṃ, tasmā aham pi Bhagavā anāgate Sumanatthero viya Buddhassa upaṭṭhāko bhaveyyan" ti pañcapatiṭṭhitena nipatitvā vandi. Bhagavā "mahantaṃ kulaputtassa cittam ijjhissati[5] nu kho no" ti olokento "anāgate ito satasahass' ime kappe Gotamo nāmo Buddho uppajjissati, tass' eva upaṭṭhāko bhavissatī" ti ñatvā

"icchitaṃ patthitaṃ tuyhaṃ sabbe 'me va[6] samijjhatu
sabbe pūrentu saṅkappā cando paṇṇaraso yathā" ti āha.

Kumāro taṃ sutvā 'Buddhā nāma advejjhakathā hontī' ti dutiyadivase yeva tassa Bhagavato pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā piṭṭhito piṭṭhito gacchanto viya ahosi. So tasmiṃ Buddhuppāde vassasatasahassaṃ dānaṃ datvā sagge nibbattitvā Kassapabuddhakāle pi piṇḍāya carato therassa pattaggahanatthaṃ uttarisāṭakaṃ[7] datvā pūjam akāsi, puna sagge nibbattitvā tato cuto Bārāṇasīrājā hutvā aṭṭhannaṃ paccekabuddhānaṃ paṇṇasālāyo kāretvā maṇi-ādhārake upaṭṭhapetvā catūhi paccayehi dasavassasahassāni upaṭṭhānam akāsi. Etāni pākaṭaṭṭhānāni. Kappasatasahassaṃ pana dānaṃ dadamāno va amhākaṃ Bodhisattena saddhiṃ Tusitapure nibbattitvā tato cuto Amitodanasakkassa gehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā anupubbena katābhinikkhamane[8] sammāsambodhiṃ patvā paṭhamagamanena Kapilavatthuṃ āgantvā tato nikkhamante Bhagavati[8] Bhagavato parivārattham rāja-

1 S. āmisa-cakkhukā
2 S. repeats idheva.
3 B. drops it.
4 P. eva
5 B. samijjhissati
6 P. sabbam eva
7 Si. uttarasāṭakaṃ
8 Si. nikkhamante and then drops the following words up to Bhagavati.

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kumāresu pabbajitesu[1] Bhaddiyādīhi saddhiṃ nikkhamitvā Bhagavato santike pabbajitvā na cirass' eva āyasmato Puṇṇassa Mantāṇīputtassa santike dhammakathaṃ sutvā sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhahi. Evam eso āyasmā pubbūpanissayasampanno. Tass' imāya pubbūpanissayasampattiyā gambhīro pi paṭiccasamuppādo uttānako viya upaṭṭhāsi.

Titthavāso ti punappunaṃ gurūnaṃ santike uggahaṇa-savana-paripucchana-dhāraṇāni vuccanti.[2] So therassa ativiya parisuddho. Tenāpi 'ssāyaṃ gambhīro pi paṭiccasamuppādo uttānako viya upaṭṭhāsi.[3]

Sotāpannānañ ca nāma paccayākāro uttānako va hutvā upaṭṭhāti;[4] ayañ ca āyasmā sotāpanno.

Bahussutānañ ca catuhatthe ovaraṅke padīpe jalamāne mañcapīṭhaṃ viya nāmarūpaparicchedo[5] pākaṭo hoti. Ayañ ca āyasmā bahussutānam aggo.[6] Iti bāhusaccānubhāven' api 'ssa gambhīro pi paccayākāro uttānako viya upaṭṭhāsi.[3]

Tattha atthagambhīratāya dhammagambhīratāya desanāgambhīratāya paṭivedhagambhīratāyā ti catūhi ākārehi paṭiccasamuppādo gambhīro nāma, Tattha jarāmaraṇassa jātipaccaya-sambhūta-[7] samudāgataṭṭho gambhīro...pe[8]...saṃkhārānam avijjāpaccaya-sambhūtasamudāgataṭṭho gambhīro ti ayam atthagambhīratā. Avijjāya saṃkhārānaṃ paccayaṭṭho gambhīro...pe[8]...jātiyā jarāmaraṇassa paccayaṭṭho gambhīro ti ayaṃ dhammagambhīratā. Katthaci sutte paṭiccasamuppādo anulomato desiyati, katthaci paṭilomato, katthaci anulomapaṭilomato, katthaci majjhato paṭṭhāya anulomato vā paṭilomato vā anulomapaṭilomato vā, [9]katthaci antato paṭṭhāya anulomato vā paṭilomato vā,[9] katthaci tisandhi-catusaṃkhepo, katthaci dvisandhitisaṃkhepo, katthaci ekasandhi-dvisaṃkhepo ti ayaṃ desanāgambhīratā. Avijjāya pana aññāṇa-adassanasaccapaṭivedhaṭṭho[10] gambhīro, saṃkhārānam abhisaṃkharaṇāyūhanasarāgavirāgaṭṭho,[11] viññāṇassa suññatā abyāpāra-asaṅkanti paṭisandhipātubhāvaṭṭho, nāmarūpassa ekuppādavinibbhogā vinibbhoga-namanaruppanaṭṭho,[12] saḷāyatanassa

1 Si. & P. pabbajjantesu
2 B. vuccati
3 Si. viya hutvā upaṭṭhāti
4 S. uppaṭṭhāsi
5 B, paṭicchedo
6 P. B. & Si. aggo hoti, bahu-
7 P. -paccayā
8 B. drops pe.
9 P. Si. & B. drop these words.
10 Si. saccā-sampaṭivedhaṭṭho ; B. -vedhato
11 B. & Si. abhisaṃkharaṇāyūhanapabhavanidānaṭṭho viññāṇassa
12 S. vinibbhogānāmanaruppanaṭṭho

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adhipati-lokadvāra-khettavisayibhāvaṭṭho,[1] phassassa phusana-saṃghaṭṭana-saṃgati-sannipātaṭṭho, vedanāya ārammaṇarasānubhavana-sukha-dukkhamajjhattabhāva-nijjīvavedayitaṭṭho, taṇhāya abhinandita-ajjhosāna-samosaritatā[2] taṇhānadī-taṇhāsamudda-duppūraṇaṭṭho, upādānassa ādānaggahaṇābhinivesaparāmāsaduratikkammaṭṭho, bhavassa āyūhanābhisaṃkharaṇa-yoni-gati-ṭhiti-nivāsesu khipanaṭṭho, jātiyā jāti-saṃjāti-okkanti-nibbatti-pātubhāvaṭṭho, jarāmaraṇassa khaya-vaya-bheda-vipariṇāmaṭṭho gambhīro; evaṃ yo[4] avijjādīnaṃ sabhāvo yena paṭivedhena avijjādayo dhammā[5] sarasalakkhaṇato paṭividdhā honti so gambhīro ti ayaṃ paṭivedhagambhīratā ti veditabbo.

So sabbo[6] pi therassa uttānako viya uppaṭṭhāsi. Tena Bhagavā āyasmantam Ānandaṃ ussādento[7] *'mā h' evan'* ti ādim āha. Ayaṃ c' ettha adhippāyo, "Ānanda, tvaṃ mahāpañño visadañāṇo, tena te gambhīro pi paṭiccasamuppādo uttānako viya khāyati, tasmā mayham eva nu kho esa uttānako va hutvā upaṭṭhāti, udāhu aññesam pī' ti 'mā evaṃ' avacā" ti. Yaṃ pana vuttaṃ apasādento ti tattha ayam adhippāyo, "Ānanda, atha ca pana me uttānakuttānako viya khāyatī ti 'mā hevaṃ' avaca, yadi hi te esa uttānakuttānako viya khāyati kasmā tvam attano dhammatāya sotāpanno nāhosi mayā dinnanaye[8] ṭhatvā sotāpattimaggaṃ paṭivijjhi.[9] Ānanda, idaṃ nibbānam eva gambhīraṃ paccayākāro pana tava uttānako jāto, atha kasmā oḷārikaṃ kāmarāgasaṃyojanaṃ paṭighasaṃyojanam oḷārikaṃ kāmarāgānusayaṃ paṭighānusayan ti ime cattāro kilese samugghātetvā[10] sakadāgāmiphalaṃ na sacchikarosi, te yeva anusahagate cattāro kilese samugghātetvā anāgāmiphalaṃ na sacchikarosi, rūparāgādīni pañca saṃyojanāni bhavarāgānusayaṃ mānānusayaṃ avijjānusayan ti ime aṭṭha kilese samugghātetvā arahattaṃ na sacchikarosi, kasmā ca satasahassakappādhikam ekam asaṃkheyyaṃ pūritapāramino Sāriputta-Moggallānā viya sāvakapāramiñāṇaṃ na paṭivijjhasi, satasahassakappādhikāni dve asaṃkheyyāni pūritapāramino paccekabuddhā viya ca paccekabodhiñāṇaṃ na paṭivijjhasi, yadi hi vā te sabbathā va[11] esa uttānako hutvā upaṭṭhāti atha kasmā satasahassakappādhikāni cattāri aṭṭha soḷasa vā asaṃkheyyāni pūritapāramino sammāsambuddhā[12] viya sabbaññutañāṇaṃ na sacchikarosi, kim anatthiko si

1 P. visayī 2 S. samosaritalatā 3 S. abhisaṃkhāra-
4 B. ādaya; P. & Si. yo yo 5 B. drops it.
6 P. B. & Si. sā sabbā 7 B. ussārento
8 P. B. & Si. dinne naye va 9 B. paṭivijjhasi
10 B. samugghāṭetvā throughout 11 P. ca
12 S. buddhā

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etehi visesādhigamehi, passa yāvañ ca te aparaddhaṃ tvaṃ nāma sāvako padesañāṇe ṭhito atigambhīraṃ paccayākāram uttānako me upaṭṭhātī ti vadasi,[1] tassa te idaṃ[2] vacanaṃ Buddhānaṃ kathāya paccanīkaṃ hoti, tādisena nāma bhikkhunā Buddhānaṃ kathāya paccanīkaṃ kathetabban ti na[3] yuttam etaṃ, na nu mayhaṃ Ānanda idaṃ[4] paccayākāraṃ paṭivijjhituṃ vāyamantass' eva satasahassakappādhikāni cattāri asaṃkheyyāni atikkantāni, paccayākāraṃ paṭivijjhanatthāya ca pana me adinnaṃ dānaṃ nāma n'atthi apūritapāramī[5] nāma n'atthi, ajja paccayākāraṃ paṭivijjhissāmī ti ca pana me nirussāsaṃ[6] viya Mārabalaṃ vidhamantassa ayaṃ mahāpaṭhavī dvaṅgulamattam pi nākampi,[7] tathā paṭhamayāme pubbenivāsaṃ majjhimayāme dibbacakkhuṃ sampādentassa[8] pacchimayāme pana me[9] balavapaccusasamaye avijjāsaṃkhārānaṃ navahi ākārehi paccayo hotī ti diṭṭhamatte va dasahassīlokadhātu ayadaṇḍena[10] ākoṭṭita-kaṃsatāḷaṃ viya viravasahassaṃ[11] muñcamānā[12] vātāhatapaduminipaṇṇe udakabindu viya kampi, evaṃ gambhiro cāyaṃ Ānanda paṭiccasamuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca, etassa Ānanda dhammassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā saṃkhāraṃ nātivattatī" ti.

Etassa dhammassā ti etassa paccayadhammassa. *Ananubodhā* ti ñātapariññāvasena ananubujjhanā. *Appaṭivedhā* ti tīraṇapahāṇapariññāvasena appaṭivijjhanā.

Tantākulakajātā ti tantaṃ viya ākulajātā. Yathā nāma dunnikkhittaṃ musikacchinnaṃ pesakārānaṃ tantaṃ tahiṃ tahiṃ ākulaṃ hoti idam aggaṃ idaṃ mūlan ti, aggena vā aggaṃ mūlena vā mūlaṃ samānetuṃ dukkaraṃ hoti, evam eva sattā imasmiṃ paccayākāre khalitā ākulabyākulā honti na sakkonti taṃ paccayākāram ujuṃ kātuṃ. Tattha tantaṃ paccattapurisakāre ṭhatvā sakkā pi bhaveyya ujuṃ kātuṃ, ṭhapetvā pana dve Bodhisatte aññe sattā attano dhammatāya paccayākāram ujuṃ kātuṃ samatthā nāma n'atthi. Yathā pana ākulaṃ tantaṃ kañjiyaṃ datvā kocchena[13] pahaṭaṃ tattha tattha guḷakajātaṃ hoti gaṇṭhibaddhaṃ, evam ime sattā paccayesu

1 P. & Si. vadesi
2 P. & Si. imaṃ
3 P. & Si. drop na.
4 S. imaṃ
5 P. pāramitā
6 P. B. & Si. nirussāhaṃ
7 P. & Si. kampittha
8 P. & Si. visodhentassa
9 P. B. & Si. drop it.
10 B. -daṇḍakena
11 B. adds viravasataṃ ; P. virāvasataṃ virāvasahassaṃ
12 P. kurumānā
13 S. kicchena

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pakkhalitvā paccaye ujuṃ kātum asakkontā dvāsaṭṭhidiṭṭhigatavasena ākulakajātā[1] honti gaṇṭhibaddhā. Ye hi keci diṭṭhiyo[2] nissitā sabbe paccayākāram ujuṃ kātum asakkontā yeva.

[3]*Guṇagaṇṭhikajātā* ti [3]guṇagaṇṭhikaṃ vuccati pesakārānaṃ[4] kañjiyasuttaṃ. Guṇā[3] nāma sakuṇikā tassā kulāvako ti pi eke. Yathā tad ubhayam pi ākulam aggena vā aggaṃ mūlena vā mūlaṃ samānetuṃ dukkaran ti purimanayen' eva yojetabbaṃ.

Muñjababbajabhūtā ti muñjatiṇaṃ viya [5]babbajatiṇaṃ viya ca bhūtā tādisī jātā.[6] Yathā tāni tiṇāni koṭṭetvā katarajjuṃ jiṇṇakāle katthaci patitaṃ gahetvā tesaṃ tiṇānam idam aggam idaṃ mūlan ti aggena vā aggaṃ mūlena vā mūlaṃ samānetuṃ dukkaran ti, tam pi paccattapurisakāre ṭhatvā sakkā bhaveyya ujuṃ kātuṃ. Ṭhapetvā pana dve Bodhisatte aññe sattā attano dhammatāya paccayākāram ujuṃ kātuṃ samatthā nāma n'atthi. Evam ayaṃ pajā paccayākāram[7] ujuṃ kātum asakkontī diṭṭhigatavasena gaṇṭhikajātā hutvā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ saṃsāraṃ nātivattati.

Tattha *apāyo* ti nirayatiracchānayoni-pettivisaya-asurakāyā. Sabbe pi hi te [8]vuḍḍhisaṃkhātassa ayassa abhāvato apāyo ti vuccanti. Tathā dukkhassa gatibhāvato duggati. Sukhasamussayato vinipatitattā vinipāto. Itaro pana

khandhānañ ca paṭipāṭi dhātu āyatanāna ca
abbocchinnaṃ vattamānaṃ[9] saṃsāro ti pavuccatī ti

Taṃ sabbam pi nātivattati nātikkamati. Atha kho cutito paṭisandhiṃ paṭisandhito cutin ti evaṃ punappunaṃ cutipaṭisandhiyo gaṇhantā tīsu bhavesu catūsu yonīsu pañcasu gatīsu sattasu viññāṇaṭṭhitīsu navasu sattāvāsesu mahāsa mudde vātakkhittā nāvā viya yante yuttagoṇo viya ca paribbhamati yeva. Iti sabbam etaṃ Bhagavā āyasmantam Ānandam apasādento āhā ti veditabbaṃ.

Idāni yasmā idaṃ suttaṃ gambhīro cāyam Ānanda paṭiccasamuppādo ti ca tantākulakajātā ti ca dvīhi yeva padehi ābaddhaṃ tasmā gambhīro cāyam Ānanda paṭiccasamuppādo ti iminā tāva anusandhinā paccayākārassa gambhīrabhāvadassanatthaṃ desanam ārabhanto *atthi idappaccayā jarāmaraṇan* ti ādim āha.

2. Tatrāyam attho. Imassa jarāmaraṇassa paccayo idappaccayo,

1 P. & Si. gulakajātā
2 B. diṭṭhigata-nissitā
3 B. kūla- ; P. & Si. gulā
4 B. & S. pesakārakañjiya
5 B. & S. pabbaja ; cf. Mvyut. 224.235
6 B. & S. drop tādisī jātā.
7 P. & Si. paccayākāre
8 Si. vaḍḍhi-
9 Si. vattamānā

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tasmā idappaccayā atthi jarā-maraṇaṃ. Atthi nu kho so[1] jarāmaraṇassa paccayo yamhā paccayā jarāmaraṇaṃ bhaveyyā ti evaṃ puṭṭhena satā, Ānanda, paṇḍitena puggalena yathā taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīran ti vutte ṭhapanīyattā pañhassa tuṇhī bhavitabbaṃ hoti, abyākatam etaṃ tathāgatenā ti vā vattabbaṃ hoti, evam appaṭipajjitvā yathā cakkhu sassatam asasssatan ti vutte asassatan ti ekaṃsen'[2] eva vattabbaṃ hoti, evam ekaṃsen' eva atthī ti 'ssa vacanīyaṃ, puna kim paccayā jarāmaraṇaṃ ko nāma so paccayo yato jarāmaraṇaṃ hotī ti vutte jātipaccayā jarāmaraṇan ti iccassa vacanīyam evaṃ vattabbaṃ bhaveyyā ti attho. Esa nayo sabbapadesu.[3]

3. Nāmarūpapaccayā phasso ti idaṃ pana yasmā saḷāyatanapaccayā ti vutte cakkhusamphassādīnaṃ channaṃ vipākasamphassānaṃ yeva gahaṇaṃ hoti idha ca saḷāyatanapaccayā ti iminā padena gahitam pi aggahitam pi paccayuppannavisesaṃ phassassa ca saḷāyatanato atirittam aññam pi visesapaccayaṃ dassetukāmo, tasmā vuttan ti veditabbaṃ. Iminā pana vārena Bhagavatā kiṃ kathitan ti. Paccayānaṃ nidānaṃ kathitaṃ. Idaṃ hi suttaṃ paccaye nippaccaye[4] nijjaṭe niggumbe katvā kathitattā mahānidānan ti vuccati. Idāni tesaṃ tesaṃ paccayānaṃ tatha-avitatha-anaññatha-[5] paccayabhāvaṃ dassetuṃ jātipaccayā jarāmaraṇan ti, iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttan ti ādim āha.

4. Tattha *pariyāyenā* ti kāraṇena. *Sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabban* ti nipātadvayam etaṃ. Tass' attho sabbākārena sabbā sabbena sabhāvena sabbā jāti nāma yadi na bhaveyyā ti. Bhavādīsu pi iminā va nayena attho veditabbo.

Kassacī ti aniyamavacanam etaṃ. Devādīsu yassa kassaci. *Kimhicī* ti idam pi aniyamavacanam eva, Kāmabhavādīsu navasu bhavesu yattha katthaci. *Seyyathīdan* ti ayam idha nikkhittassa[6] atthavibhajanatthe nipāto. Tass' attho yaṃ vuttaṃ kassaci kimhicī ti tassa[7] atthaṃ vibhajissāmī ti. Atha naṃ vibhajanto devānaṃ vā devattāyā[8] ti ādim āha.

Tattha *devānaṃ vā devattāyā* ti yā[9] ayaṃ devānaṃ devabhāvāya khandhajāti yāya khandhajātiyā devā devā ti vuccanti. Sā ca[10] hi jāti sabbena sabbaṃ nābhavissā ti iminā va nayena sabbapadesu attho veditabbo.

1 B. & Si. drop it. 2 Si. ...antenn
3 S. sabbattha padesu 4 P. drops it.
5 P. B. & Si. have -thaṃ for tha.
6 S.-aniyamitaniyamanikkhitta attha-; B. aniyamitanikkhitta-
7 P. & Si. add te. 8 B. devatthāyū 9 S. drops it. 10 S. sace

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Ettha ca *devā* ti upapattidevā. *Gandhabbā* ti mūlakhandhādīsu adhivatthadevatā. *Yakkhā* ti amanussā. *Bhūtā* ti ye keci nibbattasattā. *Pakkhino* ti ye keci aṭṭhipakkhā vā cammapakkhā vā lomapakkhā vā. *Sirimsapā* ti ye keci bhūmiyaṃ sarantā gacchanti. *Tesan tesan* ti tesaṃ tesaṃ devagandhabbādīnaṃ. *Tathattāyā*[1] ti devagandhabbādibhāvāya. *Jātinirodhā* ti jātivigamā jāti abhāvā ti attho.

Hetū ti ādīni sabbāni pi kāraṇavevacanāni eva. Kāraṇaṃ hi yasmā attano phalatthāya hinoti pavattati tasmā hetū ti vuccati. Yasmā taṃ phalaṃ nideti idaṃ gaṇhatha nan ti appeti viya tasmā nidānaṃ. Yasmā phalaṃ tato samudeti uppajjati tañ ca paṭicca eti pavattati tasmā samudayo ti ca paccayo ti ca vuccati. Esa nayo sabbattha.

Api ca *yad idaṃ jātī* ti ettha yad idan ti nipāto. Tassa sabbapadesu liṅgānurūpato attho veditabbo. Idha pana yā esā jātī ti ayam ettha[2] attho. Jarāmaraṇassa hi jāti upanissayakoṭiyā paccayo hoti.

5. Bhavapade kimhicī ti iminā okāsapariggaho kato. Tattha heṭṭhā Avīcipariyantaṃ katvā upari Paranimmitavasavattideve anto karitvā Kāmabhavo ti veditabbo. Ayaṃ nayo upapattibhave, idha pana kammabhave[3] yujjati. So hi jātiyā upanissayakoṭiyā va paccayo hoti. Upādānapadādīsu pi kiṃhicī ti iminā okāsapariggaho va kato ti veditabbo.

6. *Upādānapaccayā bhavo* ti ettha kāmūpādānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ kammabhavānaṃ tiṇṇañ ca upapattibhavānaṃ paccayo tathā sesāni pī ti upādāna-paccayā catuvīsati bhavā veditabbā. Nippariyāyen' ettha dvādasa kammabhavā labbhanti. Tesam upādānānaṃ[4] sahajātakoṭiyā pi upanissayakoṭiyā pi paccayo.

7. *Rūpataṇhā* ti rūpārammaṇe taṇhā. Esa nayo saddataṇhādīsu. Sā pan' esā taṇhā upādānassa sahajātakoṭiyā pi upanissayakoṭiyā pi paccayo hoti. Esa paccayo taṇhāya.[5] *Yad idaṃ vedanā* ti ettha vipākavedanā taṇhāya upanissayakoṭiyā paccayo hoti aññā aññathā pī ti.

9. Ettāvatā pana Bhagavā vaṭṭamūlabhūtaṃ purimataṇhaṃ dassetvā idāni desanaṃ piṭṭhiyaṃ paharitvā kesesu vā gahetvā viravantaṃ[6] maggato ok kamento[7] viya navahi padehi samudācāratanhaṃ dassento 'iti kho pan' etam Ānanda vedanaṃ paṭicca taṇhā ti' ādim āha.

1 B. tadatthāyā
2 S. yā esā ti ayam assa
3 S. bhavo
4 S. upādānaṃ
5 Si. esa nayo taṇhāya pi
6 P. & Si. repeat it.
7 P. & Si. okkamāpento

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Tattha *taṇhā* ti dve taṇhā esanataṇhā ca esitataṇhā ca. Yāya taṇhāya ajapathasaṃkupathādīni paṭipajjitvā bhoge esati gavesati ayam esanataṇhā nāma. Yā tesu pi esitesu gavesitesu paṭiladdhesu taṇhā ayam esitataṇhā nāma. Tad ubhayam pi samudācārataṇhāya eva adhivacanaṃ. Tasmā duvidhā cesā[1] vedanaṃ paṭicca taṇhā nāma. *Pariyesanā* ti rūpādi-ārammaṇa-pariyesanā. Sā hi taṇhāya sati hoti. *Lābho* ti rūpādi-ārammaṇapaṭilābho. So hi pariyesanāya sati hoti.

Vinicchayo pana ñāṇataṇhādiṭṭhivitakkavasena catubbidho. Tattha sukhavinicchayaṃ jaññā sukhavinicchayaṃ ñatvā ajjhattaṃ sukham anuyuñjeyyā ti ayaṃ ñāṇavinicchayo. Vinicchayo ti dve vinicchayā, taṇhāvinicchayo ca diṭṭhivinicchayo cā ti evam āgatāni aṭṭhasatataṇhāvicaritāni[2] taṇhāvinicchayo. Dvāsaṭṭhidiṭṭhiyo diṭṭhivinicchayo. Chando kho devānam Inda vitakkanidāno ti imasmiṃ pana sutte idha vinicchayo ti vutto vitakko yeva āgato. Lābhaṃ labhitvā hi iṭṭhāniṭṭhaṃ sundarāsundarañ ca vitakken' eva vinicchinanti ettakaṃ me rūpārammaṇatthāya bhavissati ettakaṃ saddādi-ārammaṇatthāya ettakaṃ mayhaṃ bhavissati ettakaṃ[3] parassa[3] ettakaṃ paribhuñjissāmi ettakaṃ nidahissāmī ti. Tena vuttaṃ lābhaṃ paṭicca vinicchayo ti.

Chandarāgo ti evam akusalavitakkena vitakkitavatthusmiṃ dubbalarāgo ca balavarāgo ca uppajjati. Idaṃ hi idha taṇhā.[4] *Chando* ti dubbalarāgassādhivacanaṃ. *Ajjhosānan* ti ahaṃ maman ti balavasanniṭṭhānaṃ. *Pariggaho* ti taṇhādiṭṭhivasena pariggahaṇakaraṇaṃ. *Macchariyan* ti parehi sādhāraṇabhāvassa asahanatā. Ten' eva 'ssa porāṇā evaṃ vacanatthaṃ vadanti 'idam acchariyaṃ mayham eva hotu mā aññesam acchariyaṃ hotū' ti pavattattā macchariyan ti vuccatī ti.

10. *Ārakkho* ti dvārapidahanamañjusagopanādivasena suṭṭhu rakkhanaṃ. *Adhikarotī* ti adhikaraṇaṃ. Kāraṇass' etaṃ nāmaṃ. *Ārakkhādhikaraṇan* ti bhāva-napuṃsakaṃ. Ārakkhahetū ti attho. Daṇḍādānādīsu paraṃ nisedhanatthaṃ daṇḍassa ādānaṃ *daṇḍādānaṃ*, ekato dhārādino satthassa ādānaṃ *satthādānaṃ*. *Kalaho* ti kāyakalaho pi vācākalaho pi. Purimo purimo virodho viggaho, pacchimo pacchimo *vivādo*. *Tuvan tuvan* ti agāravavacanaṃ tuvaṃ tuvaṃ.

18. Idāni paṭilomanayenā pi taṃ samudācārataṇhaṃ dassetuṃ puna ārakkhādhikaraṇan ti ārabhanto desanaṃ nivatteti.[5] Tattha *kāmataṇhā* ti pañcakāmaguṇikarāgavasena uppannā rūpādi-taṇhā. *Bhavataṇhā* ti sassatadiṭṭhisahagato rāgo. *Vibhavataṇhā* ti uccheda-

1 P. B. & Si. pesā. 2 S. viparitāni.
3 B. drops it. 4 P. drops it. 5 S. nivat.

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diṭṭhisahagato rāgo. *Ime dve dhammā* ti vaṭṭamūlatanhā ca samudācāratanhā cā ti ime dve dhammā. *Dvayenā* ti taṇhālakkhaṇena[1] ekabhāvaṃ gatā pi vaṭṭamūlasamudācāravasena dvīhi koṭṭhāsehi vedanāya ekasamosaraṇā bhavanti. Vedanāpaccayena ekapaccayā ti attho. Tividhaṃ hi samosaraṇaṃ, osaraṇa-samosaraṇaṃ sahajātasamosaraṇaṃ paccayasamosaraṇañ ca. Tattha atha kho sabbāni tāni [2]kāmasamosaraṇāni bhavantī ti idam osaraṇa-samosaraṇaṃ nāma. Chandamūlakā āvuso ete dhammā phassasamudayā vedanāsamosaraṇā ti idaṃ sahajātasamosaraṇaṃ nāma. Dvayena vedanāya ekasamosaraṇā ti idaṃ pana paccayasamosaraṇan ti veditabbaṃ.

19. *Cakkhusamphasso* ti ādayo sabbe vipākaphassā yeva. Te ṭhapetvā cattāro lokuttaravipākaphasse avasesā battiṃsa phassā honti. Yad idaṃ phasso ti ettha pana phasso bahudhā vedanāya paccayo hoti.

20. *Yehi Ānanda ākārehi* ti ādīsu ākārā vuccanti vedanādīnam aññam aññam asadisa-sabhāvā. Te yeva sādhukaṃ dassiyamānā taṃ taṃ līnam atthaṃ gamentī ti liṅgāni, tassa tassa sañjānanahetuto nimittāni tathā tathā uddisitabbato uddesā, tasmā ayam ettha attho. Ānanda yehi ākārehi...pe...yehi uddesehi nāmakāyassa nāmasamūhassa paññatti hoti yā[3] esā ca vedanāya vedayitākāre vedayitaliṅge vedayitanimitte vedanā ti uddese sati, saññāya sañjānanākāre sañjānanaliṅge sañjānananimitte saññā ti uddese sati, saṃkhārānaṃ cetanākāre cetanāliṅge cetanānimitte cetanā ti uddese sati, viññāṇassa vijānanākāre vijānanaliṅge vijānananimitte viññāṇan ti uddese sati, ayaṃ nāmakāyo ti nāmakāyassa paññatti hoti, tesu nāmakāyapaññattihetūsu vedanādīsu[4] ākārādīsu asati, api nu kho rūpakāye adhivacanasamphasso paññāyetha yvāyaṃ cattāro khandhe vatthuṃ katvā manodvāre adhivacanasamphassavevacano manosamphasso uppajjati, api nu kho so rūpakāye paññāyetha pañca pasāde vatthuṃ katvā uppajjeyyā ti. Atha āyasmā Ānando ambarukkhe asati, jambūrukkhato ambapakkassa uppattiṃ viya, rūpakāyato tassa uppattim asampaṭicchanto 'no hetaṃ bhante' ti ādim āha.

Dutiyapañhe ruppanakāra-ruppanaliṅga-ruppananimitta-vasena rūpan ti uddesavasena ca ākārādīnam attho veditabbo. *Paṭighasamphasso* ti sappaṭigharūpakkhandhaṃ vatthuṃ katvā uppajjanakasamphasso. Idhā pi thero jambūrukkhe asati ambarukkhato jambupakkassa uppattiṃ viya nāmakāyato tassa uppattim asampaṭicchanto 'no hetaṃ bhante' ti ādim āha.

1 B. [illegible]-lakkhaṇavasena
2 P. & Si. drop kāma ; S. gāra
3 P. [illegible]
4 P. & Si. veditādi- ākārādisu

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ASPECTS OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM
AND
ITS RELATION TO HĪNAYĀNA

By

NALINAKSHA DUTT, M.A., PH.D. (CAL.), D. LIT. (LOND.)
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CORRECTION SLIP
(I.H.Q., 1932)

Page 86, lines 4 and 5, for 'A.D. 50 by tradition' read 'A.D. 50 by modern historians'.

Page 88, before the last line, read 'occurred on March 20-4 days (Ujjaini Civil Time) this year. There—'

Page 89, footnote, last but one line, for 'P.V. Neugebavers' read 'P.V. Neugebauer's'.

Page 91, line 3 for 'threw doubts on this statement !' read 'threw doubts on this statement :'

Page 92, last line, inscr., Kṛta year G. E.' read 'inscr., G. E.'

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1 b. [illegible]-lakkhaṇavasena
2 P. & Si. drop kāma ; S. gāra
3 P. [illegible]
4 P. & Si. veditādi- ākārādisu

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Some Problems of Indian Philosophy

In a most interesting discussion[1] Professor Jacobi has endeavoured to date with a measure of precision the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* and to assign it definitely to the period between 300 and 200 B.C. It would be so satisfactory to have a definite date for the Sūtra that it is well worth while to consider how far the evidence adduced is adequate to establish the principle contended for.

Professor Jacobi's contention rests essentially on comparison of the Sūtra with the doctrines of the grammarians Kātyāyana and Patañjali, his view being that there is evidence to show that the author of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* and Kātyāyana were of the same period, and that the Mīmāṃsā is definitely earlier than Patañjali. A certain element of doubt, of course, would remain as to the cogency of the upper date assigned, for the date of Kātyāyana is still not wholly certain, and there are those who believe that Pāṇini must be ascribed to an earlier date than even 350 or 400 B.C.[2] But the essential question is whether there is proof of priority to Patañjali as is claimed. We may at once admit that the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* shows close affinities with the doctrines

1 *Indian Studies in Honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (1929), pp. 145-165.
2 Compare Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 425, 426.

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of the grammarians. Professor Jacobi stresses the three doctrines common to both, the natural and permanent connection between the word and its meaning (*autpattikaḥ śabdasyārthena sambandhaḥ*, *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*, i. 1. 5) the eternal character of the word and of sound, which on utterance is manifested, not created (i. 1. 6-23), and the view that the word denotes, not the individual (*dravya*), but the species (*ākṛti*), which is set out in i. 3. 30-33. That these issues were first discussed in the schools of the grammarians may not be possible of strict proof; Kātyāyana is clearly familiar with issues which busied the Mīmāṃsakas such as Vedic prescriptions (*codanā*), which he deals with in his observations on Pāṇini i. 2. 64 (vv. 44 and 47), and in the same discussion of what the word denotes, mentions (v. 39) the Dharmaśāstra. But the suggestion is made by Professor Jacobi that weight attaches to the fact that, while the *MS.* and Kātyāyana use in their discussion of the denotation of the word the terms *dravya* and *ākṛti* for individual and species, later usage in philosophical works prefers the terms *vyakti* and *jāti* (*sāmānya*); now Patañjali has both sets of terms, and it may thus be held that he wrote later than the *MS.* This argument, however, can hardly be ascribed any weight. The fact that grammar and Mīmāṃsā are two distinct sciences renders it impossible to argue with any confidence from terminology; the *MS.* may well simply have adopted the terminology current in the school, and that terminology may have persisted long after the date of Patañjali. If any conclusions are to be drawn much stronger evidence has to be adduced.

Such evidence Professor Jacobi finds in the arguments used to establish the doctrine that the word denotes the species, not the individual. Kātyāyana, in his discussion of Pāṇini, i. 2. 64 meets the objection (v. 48) of an opponent of the view that the word denotes the species: *naikam anekādhikaraṇasthaṃ yugapat*, i.e., if there were only one, the species, it could not appear simultaneously in all the individuals pertaining thereto, which is elucidated by Patañjali by the observation that the one Devadatta cannot be at once at Srughna and Mathurā. The reply of Kātyāyana to this objection appears in v. 56 *ādityavad viṣayaḥ*. This means, as Patañjali explains, that the sun is perceived simultaneously in many places. But Patañjali continues with the

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observation that the application of this principle to the argument is inadequate; the sun is not seen contemporaneously by the same spectator in different places. He prefers, therefore, the explanation *Indravad viṣayaḥ*. Indra, invited to many hundreds of sacrifices, is perceived simultaneously at each. Patañjali thus shows himself dissatisfied with an explanation which Kātyāyana found adequate. Now in the *MS.* the issue is discussed not in respect of the meaning of the word but in respect of its eternity. The objection is raised that the same word is heard in different places (i. 19), and thus we have the same dilemma as in Kātyāyana; if the word is one, like the species, how is it present at the same time in different localities? The answer is (i. 1. 15) *ādityavad yaugapadyam*, that is, the simile of the sun is held sufficient to explain the simultaneous apprehension of the sound in diverse places. From this Professor Jacobi concludes that the *MS.* is older than Patañjali because it remains contented with the old, imperfectly thought-out, contention which satisfied Kātyāyana, while Patañjali throws it aside in favour of another version.

The contention is ingenious and interesting, but the immediate point arises; is there anything superior in the view of Patañjali which would cause the *MS.* to adopt his simile in place of that of Kātyāyana, assuming that the *MS.* was later in date? Clearly, unless the new explanation is obviously more helpful, there would be no ground for the *MS.* accepting it in place of the old. And it seems quite impossible to see any good reason for preferring the comparison with Indra to that with the sun. Patañjali does not seem to have noted that his new comparison is just as imperfect as the old; his objection that the sun simile does not assert that one spectator sees simultaneously the sun in different places applies precisely to the case of Indra. The god is seen at each sacrifice by the worshippers, but he is not seen by any single worshipper simultaneously at the many sacrifices, and, this being the case, there is no reason whatever why the *MS.* should adopt a different simile from the standing and effective one of the sun. On this score, therefore, the posteriority of the *MS.* to Patañjali is clearly incapable of proof, even leaving out of account altogether the absence of any reason to suppose that the *MS.* must have followed Patañjali if it was composed after his work. It must be added that it is by no

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means clear that Kātyāyana did not know the simile with Indra; if we trust Professor Kielhorn's view, we find it expressly set out by Kātyāyana in v. 40 in the earlier part of the same discussion, and Professor Jacobi is driven to assume that that *vārttika*, and probably v. 41 also, are later additions to the text. What really is curious is the inability of Patañjali to see that his own objection to the simile of the sun applies as well to that of Indra. What, however, appears clear is that the arguments for the age of the *MS.* derived from comparison with Patañjali are inadequate. It may be the case that the *MS.* goes back to before 200 B. C.; it remains, however, without any valid support from the new evidence suggested.

On the other hand, there is every reason to accept the view that the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* represents a definitely later stratum of thought. The primitive magic view of the essential connection of the name and the individual thing is found in the grammarians and in the *MS.* refined into the doctrine of the essential connection of word and meaning, and of the denotation of species by the word. On the other hand, in the *VS.*, vii. 2. 14-20 we find physical arguments adduced to destroy the doctrine of the natural connection of word and meaning and of the eternity of sound. While the *VS.* is far from lucid, and the absence of any early commentary adds to the uncertainty of its interpretation, it seems clear that Professor Jacobi is right in rejecting Professor Dasgupta's[3] ingenious effort to read into *VS.*, ii. 2. 36, 37 the doctrine of the eternity of sound, and his suggestion that the Vaiśeṣikas represented a school of Mīmāṃsā thought which supplemented a metaphysics to strengthen the grounds of the Vedas. The Vaiśeṣika again marks a definite advance beyond the standpoint of the Mīmāṃsā in its attitude towards Dharma. The Mīmāṃsā confines its attention to Dharma as the source of *abhyudaya*, the attainment of temporal benefits whether in the present or later lives; the Vaiśeṣika concerns itself (i. 1. 2) also with the summum bonum, *niḥśreyasa*, and in v. 2. 16-18 with the idea of release (*mokṣa*); in this connection (v. 2. 16-18) we find also the doctrine of Yoga, and it seems quite legi-

3 *History of Indian Philosophy*, i. 284. See also Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp. 229-232.

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timate to accept the view that the Vaiśeṣika no less than the Nyāya accepts Yoga practices (iv. 2.46) as an essential part of the road to salvation. In this tendency the Vaiśeṣika shows itself essentially in harmony with the movement of spirit which marks all Indian[4] mysticism, and stands out as a worthy exponent of the Jñānamārga as against the Karmamārga of the Mīmāṃsā. Another characteristic which can be adduced to support the early date of the Vaiśeṣika is the fact that it accepts the authority of the Veda, though it may be that Kaṇāda did not admit the existence of an Iśvara to reveal it, and was content with ascribing its revelation from time to time to persons distinguished from ordinary men (ii. 1. 18) by the fact that they were not enclosed in normal human bodies, but were *ayonija* (iv. 2. 5-10) and possessed complete insight. This acceptance of the Veda indicates clearly that, while the impetus to the introduction of ideas based on natural philosophy may conceivably have come, as Professor Jacobi assumes, from the Lokāyatas, that movement was not the dominating factor in the evolution of the Vaiśeṣika school.

The new evidence, while it does not help very definitely to date the Vaiśeṣika strengthens the impression that it is anterior to the Nyāya. The distance between it and the Mīmāṃsā induces Professor Jacobi to place the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* in the first century B. C. or the first century A. D. The latter date is probably not illegitimate, for the Nyāya was clearly aware of the doctrines of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, even if we cannot be certain that it knew Nāgārjuna, or that in turn Nāgārjuna contended against doctrines which are preserved in the existing *Nyāya Sūtra*.

The Vaiśeṣika is well aware of the doctrine of the multitude of souls and of their distinct existence, which remains in Mokṣa, despite the fact that there is *aikātmyam* (iii. 2. 19), which must denote that there is unity of character and no difference of species among souls, despite their being many. This doctrine, together with that of Yoga, is a significant reminiscence of the importance of that older Yoga philosophy which Professor Jacobi has striven to reveal as

4 Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Le *Dogme et la Philosophie du Bouddhisme* (1930), pp. 209, 210.

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underlying the later Yoga[5] known to us from the *Yoga Sūtra*, which with the *Yogabhāṣya* makes the *Pātañjala Yogaśāstra*, whose close relation with the Sāṃkhya is attested by the style *Sāṃkhyapravacana*. That the *YogaSūtra* is late has always been claimed by Professor Jacobi and it is difficult to resist the cumulative weight of evidence which he has adduced. The attempt to hold that Patañjali is identic with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, which is regarded as quite possible by Professor Dasgupta,[6] he has met with a philological argument of great interest,[7] and in all probability of decisive weight. He has compared the vocabulary of the Sūtra with that of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the result shows that, when we pass over technical terms of the Yoga which might quite well be missing in the *Mahābhāṣya*, of the 491 words left over, only 204 are found in the latter text. So marked a divergence of linguistic usage is frankly incredible if the author of the two texts were identical, and the identification, which rests on no early evidence—for the Maṅgala of the *Yogabhāṣya* is not explained by Vācaspati Miśra—no longer can stand in the way of the frank acceptance of Professor Jacobi's view that the *Yoga Sūtra* is the work of a period when the doctrines of Vasubandhu and Vijñānavāda of the Buddhists were well known and powerfully influenced the Yoga school. The view that Pāda IV of the Sūtra is a later addition as held by Professor Dasgupta[8] is certainly difficult to accept; apart from the fact that Pāda naturally implies a fourfold division, it is clear that the polemic included in IV is a natural part of the work, which could not properly have been omitted, while the subject matter covers points which could not easily be included in the first three parts. More serious is the suggestion of Professor Dasgupta[9] that the critical section of the Sūtra, iv. 16 which proves knowledge of the Vijñānavāda is not really a part of the text, but merely a sentence of the *Yogabhāṣya*, since Bhoja does not treat it in his commentary as part of the Sūtra. But this view will not

5 *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1929, pp. 581-624; 1930, pp. 322-332.

6 *Yoga Philosophy* (1930), p. 59.

7 *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VIII (1931), 80-88.

8 *Yoga Philosophy* (1930), p 52.

9 *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 1.

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stand examination of the text; iv. 15 runs *vastusāmye cittabhedāt tayor viviktaḥ panthāḥ;* 16 *na caikacittatantraṃ vastu; tadapramāṇakaṃ tadā kiṃ syāt?* The sense is clear; 15 asserts the difference of thought and thing because one and the same thing affects the different *cittas* in various ways; 16 denies that a thing can depend for its existence on a single *citta*, since, when it ceased to be the object of that *citta*, what would become of it? It is clear that the *na ca* connects the two *sūtras* indissolubly, and that it is far more difficult to interpret the text if an effort is made to relegate 16 to the *Yogabhāṣya*. Exactly how Bhoja took the sentence may be disputed, but Professor Jacobi seems right in holding that his mode of dealing with the passage can be explained without assuming that the *sūtra* 16 was not part of the original text. Bhoja, however, it must be admitted, is not an authority on whom to rely implicitly, for his own profession of purpose in composing the commentary implies that he exercised an independent judgment as to the soundness of his predecessors' views of the text, so that we cannot rely on him as expressing the authoritative tradition of the Yoga school. No doubt this merely proves that the Sūtra knew the doctrines of the Vijñānavāda, not that it used Vasubandhu, and, if this is to be established, further evidence is necessary. Professor Jacobi suggests that this can be found in the mode in which the Bhāṣya, and presumably the Sūtra in view of iii. 13, handles the doctrine of *pariṇāma*, the issue of future and past, in view of the Sāṃkhya principle of Satkāryavāda. He sees in this treatment the deliberate adoption of a Satkāryavāda. He compares the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu[10] where four theories of *pariṇāma* are set forth, with those of Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣa, Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva. Dharmatrāta's view recognises no change of *dravya*, but of *bhāva;* thus, when a golden plate is broken, there is no change of substance but of character. Ghoṣa holds a doctrine of time characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of a *dharma;* a *dharma* in its present existence is not wholly removed from contact with present and past characteristics, as a man who is enamoured of a woman is nevertheless not without capacity of love for others. Vasumitra's

10 V. 25, trans. by L. de La Vallée Poussin; Stcherbatsky. *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, pp. 78-80.

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doctrine is one of change of *avasthās;* when a *dharma* is in a condition in which it does not exercise its function, it is called future; present when it exercises it; past when the exercise is over; but its essence remains unchanged. This is illustrated by the fact that on an abacus a ball has different values according as it is laid in the place for units, hundreds, or thousands.[11] Buddhadeva holds that a *dharma* is named on the principle of its relation (*apekṣā*) to the preceding or following *kṣaṇa;* a woman can be called mother with relation to her children, but daughter with relation to her own mother. The *Yogabhāṣya* on iii. 13 follows closely these views, as is proved by the use of the same illustrations; the opinion of Buddhadeva is not indeed expressly dealt with, but his illustration is combined with that given for Vasumitra's doctrine of *avasthāpariṇāma,* which is the accepted doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins. The *Yogabhāṣya,* which recognising the three aspects of *pariṇāma, dharma-, avasthā-, lakṣaṇa-, pariṇāma,*" is clear that they all can be reduced to a *dharma-pariṇāma* in the widest sense, for all mutation in the Sāṃkhya view, which the Yoga adopts, may be treated as the rise of another aspect (*dharma*) in a permanent matter (*dharmin*) after the suppression of an earlier aspect.[12]

Though the *Yogabhāṣya* thus cleverly enough fits in the Buddhist views with the essential Sāṃkhya doctrine of the permanent substrate, it is clear that it is Sāṃkhya doctrine of mutation to a different form, which is preserved in the Bhāṣya on ii. 19. Here we have (1) *guṇānāṃ ṣoḍaśako viśeṣapariṇāmaḥ,* a view based on the five elements as *viśeṣas* as opposed to the five *tanmātras,* and the five organs of intellect and those of action with mind as eleven *viśeṣas* as opposed to *asmitāmātra;* (2) the *tanmātras* and *asmitāmātra* as the *ṣaḍ aviśeṣapariṇāmāḥ* as opposed to Mahān or Buddhi; (3) Mahān as the *aliṅgamātrapariṇāma* of *prakṛti;* (4) the last as the *aliṅgapariṇāma.* The essential feature

11 This is a very important piece of evidence as to knowledge of the place system of the value of numbers, on which see W. E. Clark, *Indian Studies,* pp. 235, 236.

12 *avasthitasya dravyasya pūrvadharmonivṛttau dharmāntarotpattiḥ pariṇāmaḥ.* So also *Nyāyabhāṣya,* iii, 1. 15, which, however, is not the source of *Yogabhāṣya.* See *SPAW.,* 1929, p. 585 n. 1.

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of mutation in this sense is the development of another entity (*tattvāntara*), but in the case of the *viśeṣas* there can be no mutation into another entity, and to the *viśeṣas* applies the doctrine of iii. 13. It is clear that the Buddhist doctrine has been superinduced, not very cleverly, on the Sāṃkhya foundation, and, though it is possible to dispute the view that this had happened by the time of the Sūtra, it is certain that it is most natural to assume that this was the case. The Sūtra shows other signs of contact with the *Abhidharmakośa* doctrines; its account of ignorance (ii. 3, 5) is parallel to the *Abhidharmakośa* view of the four *viparyayas* (v. 8), and it uses the curious Buddhist terms *ālambana*, 'object of *vijñāna*,' and *asampramoṣa* in the definition of forgetfulness. Moreover, its set of *bhāvanās* (*maitrīkaruṇāmuditopekṣāḥ*), and its five *upāyas* for the attainment of Yoga (*śraddhā, vīrya, smṛti, samādhi*, and *prajñā*), have close parallels in the *bhāvanās* or *brahmavihāras*, and the *pañcendriyāṇi* or *pañca balāni* of the Buddhists. Of more uncertain value is the suggestion, based on a notice of Vācaspati Miśra in the *Bhāmatī* (ii. 1. 3), that Vārṣagaṇya, an older contemporary of Vasubandhu, was the introducer of the Sāṃkhya doctrines into the Yoga as a precursor of Patañjali, while the author of the *Yogabhāṣya* is held to have used Dignāga in defining inference.[13]

On the whole, the evidence certainly favours the use not of an indefinite Vijñānavāda but rather of the doctrine of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. We may readily admit that Vijñānavāda ideas were current before these authors, and of course the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda* has an idealistic monism. But there is weight in the view current in Japan[14] that the text cannot safely be assigned to a period before Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, seeing that Nāgārjuna does not combat its doctrines and that its standpoint seems more advanced in the direction of Vedantic doctrine than the views of the great masters of the Vijñānavāda. On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the *Yoga Sūtra* criticism of idealism is due to the currency of the conception in the developed Vijñānavāda school. It is only in the light of the Mahāyāna doctrine of *tathāgatagarbha*, and the Yogācāra use of the term *bīja* in this

13 *SPAW.*, 1929, p. 590 n. 1; 1930, p. 329 n. 1.

14 See R. Grousset, *Les Philosophies Indiennes* (1931), ii. 7. and for other reasons, Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 228.

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connection, that we can understand the statement of Īśvara in *Yoga Sūtra*, i. 25; *tatra niratiśayaṃ sarvajñabījam*, "in him the germ of the omniscient reaches its highest stage."

How far is it possible to go beyond this comparatively late doctrine of Yoga, permeated by the influence of the Sāṃkhya and of the Buddhist schools? A most interesting suggestion is made by Professor Jacobi on the strength of an assertion ascribed in the *Yogabhāṣya*, iv. 10 to the Ācārya: *vṛttir evāsya vibhunaś cittasya saṃkośavikāśinī*. The sense of this seems to be that it is only the function of the all pervading *citta* which expands and contracts. The context suggests that this is parallel with the action of the lamp which can illumine a pot or a palace alike. The natural meaning of this statement must be that the Yoga of the Ācārya recognised a single *citta* of a cosmic character, not as the classical Yoga a multitude of individual *cittas*. Vācaspati Miśra tells us, no doubt rightly, that the Ācārya here is not Patañjali but Svayambhū, the mythical founder of the Yoga. Clearly we have an old doctrine that has passed away from the classical Yoga, which no longer uses the term *vṛtti*, which with the acceptance of a multitude of finite *cittas* became out of place. This cosmic *citta* is clearly allied to the cosmic Mahān or Buddhi of the Sāṃkhya and the equally cosmic Ahaṃkāra, and, like these, it points unmistakably to the derivation of the Yoga and Sāṃkhya ideas from the *brahman* speculations of the Upaniṣads. The Brāhmanical doctrine of the primeval being, whence develops matter, which then is permeated by Hiraṇyagarbha, is the source of the series of the Sāṃkhya, Puruṣa, Prakṛti and Buddhi, though the classical Sāṃkhya departs from this vitally by the doctrine of a multitude of spirits. Whence was this new doctrine derived? The source, it is held by Professor Jacobi, was popular religious feeling, which introduced into the intellectualism of Brāhmanical doctrine two vitally important principles, first, the doctrine of the personal immortality of the soul, and, secondly, the demand for moral doctrines as opposed to the unmoral attitude of Brāhmanical speculation. This popular feeling developed, in his opinion, towards the end of the period of the older Upaniṣads, when it reached such an intensity as to make a mark in philosophical thought. The nature of this popular belief may be guessed in part from the conception of the

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souls in Jainism, where the *jīvas* are either bound in transmigration (*saṃsāriṇaḥ*) or freed and perfect (*siddhāḥ*). The *jīva* in transmigration is essentially of the same dimensions as the body, a fact which is parallel to the expansion or contraction of the *vṛtti* of the *citta* of the early Yoga. The Sāṃkhya and Yoga, however, had to make fundamental changes in their views which were not necessary in Jainism with its adherence to primitive popular opinions. They had to discard their universal spirit and to replace it by innumerable individual spirits, *puruṣas* or *cittas*. To the *cittas* belong the capacity of equating themselves to their material framework, as with the *jīvas* of the Jains, while the *puruṣas* are accorded the *sūkṣmaśarīras*, composed of the *tanmātras*, with psychical elements added.

The introduction of moral elements is parallel to the insistence on morality which appears in Jainism, in Buddhism, and in Baudhāyana. The *Yoga Sūtra* list (ii. 30) of the *yamas* includes beside *ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya*, the peculiarly Jain virtue of *aparigraha;* moreover, the Yoga agrees with Jainism in its view of truth, in its stressing *ahiṃsā*,[15] and in the distinction of *aṇu-* and *mahā-vratas*.

The period of this working of the popular religion on philosophy is dated by Professor Jacobi on the strength of the view that Pārśvanātha, the founder of the Jain religion died in 727 B.C., and so must have been working about 750 B.C. In this point, however, it is impossible to feel any certainty; the tradition which places Mahāvīra's death at 477 B.C. is itself uncertain; but far more dubious is the assignment of 250 years between that event and the death of Pārśvanātha. This point, therefore, is valueless. Moreover there arises, it must be confessed, one serious question regarding the alleged influence of popular religion on Sāṃkhya and Yoga. The popular view demanded immortality for individual souls, but it can hardly be said that either Sāṃkhya[16] or classical

15 The suggestion (C. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, p. 32) that *ahiṃsā* was not in the original Jain teaching is wholly unsupported and quite improbable. Buddhism is much less rigid; L. de La Vallée Poussin, *La Morale Bouddhique*, pp. 61-65. Yoga and Buddhism agree in subordinating truth to non-injury; Dasgupta, *Yoga Philosophy*, p. 303.

16 Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System* (2nd ed.) pp. 97-98; Dasgupta, *Yoga Philosophy*, pp. 310-11.

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Yoga gave their souls any real existence after death. In both systems the fate of the soul is far from being such as to gratify the popular feeling whose existence is asserted. Yet another difficulty must be pointed out. Professor Jacobi holds that the Yoga from the first was theistic, but he does not explain how this element developed consistently with his view of the growth of the belief in the multiplicity of souls. No doubt various ways of reconciling the ideas are possible, but none exactly commends itself, as a logical and deliberate construction.

Professor Jacobi again holds that the Sāṃkhya in its classical form with a multitude of *puruṣas* is older than the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which in i. 4-6 enumerates the chief objects of the Sāṃkhya and in v. 2 refers to Kapila. He admits that this Upaniṣad, like the *Kāṭhaka*, accepts the *brahman* doctrine of the Upaniṣads, but regards this as a modification of the true Sāṃkhya view. It still seems to me that is unnecessarily ingenious,[17] and that the true view is that *Śvetāśvatara* is anterior to the period when the Sāṃkhya adopted the view of independent souls. If this is correct, then we cannot place the evolution of the classical Sāṃkhya before the composition of the "middle" Upaniṣads, but must assign it to the close of that period at soonest.

One further point of great interest is made by Professor Jacobi in his effort to show that the remarks of Vātsyāyana in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*, i. 29 as to the distinguishing doctrines of Sāṃkhyas and Yogas really nised that souls had distinct characteristics (*svaguṇaviśiṣṭāś cetanāḥ*).[19] The name of the latter should, it is clear, rather be Yaugas—whatever its origin, and a very interesting case is made out for believing that we here have a valuable piece of evidence that the early Yoga recognised that souls had distinct characteristics (*svaguṇaviśiṣṭās cetanāḥ*).[19] Such a theory, of course, would accord excellently with the idea of *Īśvara* as soul possessed of complete knowledge and complete power, conceptions strange to the Sāṃkhya, where a soul can only attain *samyagjñāna* or *vivekakhyāti*, and where *aiśvarya* is concerned with the supernatural powers (*siddhis*) of Yogins[20] and is very different from the power

17 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System* (2nd ed.) pp. 11-14.

18 See K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 855.

19 The Sāṃkhya view is *niratiśayāś cetanāḥ*.

20 Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72.

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of God, who guides nature, allotting to each man his deserts, and who is full of compassion.

If we accept this doctrine, it strengthens greatly the view that the Yoga differed essentially in inception and character from the Sāṃkhya by reason of the fact that it was essentially theistic. We need not seek outside Brahmanism for a parallel movement, for we have the root of theism in the doctrine of Hiraṇyagarbha or Brahman or Prajāpati, on the one hand, and the development of the religion of Viṣṇu and Śiva, on the other, as seen in the *Śvetāvatara Upaniṣad*. The Yoga thus reduces to philosophical form one aspect of current doctrine, just as in the recommendation of processes of Yoga it takes up one side of the life of the day, which again need not have been non-Brāhmanical, and in its meditation of Īśvara it takes up the *Śvetāśvatara* meditation on *brahman*. The whole conception of Yoga processes is doubtless ethnic in character; it may have been current in non-Brāhmanical circles, but equally it may have appealed to Brahmans as well. These doctrines, if combined with a belief in the qualitative distinction of souls, would make Yoga of a strong popular appeal, explaining the stress laid on it in the Epic. On this view the Yoga conception of soul is far more popular than that of soul in the Sāṃkhya, which should be taken as representing not concession to popular feeling but the development of philosophical speculation.[21] The Yoga accepts pretty much the normal idea of a soul, which accords sufficiently with its theistic outlook, but essentially in its early form we may take it that the Yoga school was not distinguished by careful thought, but by its Yoga practices, which remain valid whatever metaphysical doctrines may be held. In short, the Yoga may best be understood as a merger of Yoga practice with popular theology, and its affinity with the Sāṃkhya may be deemed to have been later superinduced.

This view of the original independence of the Yoga may be supported by other facts. Professor Jacobi[22] has pointed out that the *Yoga Sūtra* in Pāda IV contains a doctrine of great significance for our

21 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System*, pp. 87, 88.

22 *SPAW.*, 1929, pp. 611-615, Vācaspati (*Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*, p. 6) adopts the doctrine to the Nyāya, citing apparently another work of Patañjali; *SPAW.*, 1930, pp. 322, 323.

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understanding of the true Yoga idea of matter as current before the Sāṃkhya doctrines were superinduced. The Yogin, whose powers are the root of the Yoga system, can manifold himself into beings under his control, possessed of both bodies and *cittas*. The bodies he cannot create from his own; they are produced from the *prakṛtis*, which are not the Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya but the elements of the *bhūtas;* these *prakṛtis*, like the particles of matter in Jainism, must have been regarded by the Yogas as ever ready to form aggregates, when so directed by Īśvara, whose power operates when the merit of the Yogin removes the hindrances induced by demerit. The created *cittas* (*nirmāṇacittas*) are the product only of the aspect of the Yogin's *citta* as *asmitā*, and they are impelled to action not directly by the Yogin's own *citta*, but by a *citta* which he creates for that purpose, for the Bhāṣya (iv. 5) assures us *sarvacittānāṃ prayojakaṃ cittam ekaṃ nirmimīte*. This *citta* cannot be formed of anything save the *prakṛtis*, so that we must recognise that the *citta* of the Yoga was conceived as physical in character. The same view is contained in the Yoga doctrine that *dharmādharmau* (or *karman*) are the product of the *prakṛtis*[23] and we are, of course familiar with this idea from Jainism. If *karman* is material, the *saṃskāras* it involves in the *citta* are necessarily also material, and we have a consistent view of the physical character of the *citta*. The Yoga thus has a doctrine of *cittas* and *prakṛtis*, as against the Sāṃkhya doctrine of *puruṣas* and *prakṛti*, but there is a very important distinction. Both tend to reduce to one principle the inner and the outer worlds, but in the Yoga that principle is physical, in the Sāṃkhya rather psychical,[24] for the Ahaṃkāra is made the source on the one hand of the organs of intelligence and action with mind, and on the other of the five *tanmātras* whence are derived the *bhūtas*. In this point as in others the Sāṃkhya reveals itself as the outcome of philosophical refinement of a marked character. A similar refinement is seen in its treatment of the conception of the subtle body which accompanies the soul. The Yoga needs only a simple *sūkṣmaśarīra* of the *tanmātras*, but the Sāṃkhya requires the *tanmātras*, supplemented by *buddhi*,

23 See *Yogabhāṣya*, iv. 3.

24 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System*, p. 84.

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ahaṃkāra, manas, and the five organs of intelligence and the five of action.[25] It is this difference of view which explains the addendum made by the *Nyāyavārttika* to the list of distinctive doctrines of the Sāṃkhyas and Yogas in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*: *bhautikānīndriyāṇīti Yogānām abhautikānīti Sāṃkhyānām,* for the Sāṃkhya carry back the sense organs to the Ahaṃkāra.

It would be interesting to know if to the Yogas their *prakṛtis* were, as in the case of the Jains,[26] atomic, but this cannot be determined, for the mention in *Yoga Sūtra,* i. 40 of *paramāṇu* may be merely one of the many innovations of Patañjali, and the *Nyāyavārttika* shows (p. 252) that even in the Sāṃkhya school the idea of the atom had crept: *sattvarajastamasāṃ sarvāpakṛṣṭaḥ saṃghātaḥ paramāṇur iti kasyacid darśanam.* We must assume that to the early Yoga the distinction between physical and mental was still as vague as in the case of the Jains. In this view there is nothing improbable; it was only slowly that the conception of the distinction of the two things was realised in the Upaniṣads, and we must not confuse the early tenets of a school with the elaborate metaphysics of the later systems.

Though we may fairly accept the view of Professor Jacobi that the *Yoga Sūtra* is definitely influenced by the Vijñānavāda and probably is later than Vasubandhu, unhappily we are still without sufficient evidence of the date of the latter. Nor have matters been rendered more clear by the insistence of recent workers[27] on the historical character of Maitreya or Maitreyanātha as the real author of some of the works ascribed to Asaṅga, with the result that Asaṅga may be dated a generation at least later than the date hitherto apparently assured by the fact that the *Bodhisattvabhūmyādhāra* was rendered into Chinese in 413-421 A.D. But it must be noted that the theory of an earthly Maitreya is one open to grave suspicion, and that it seems more satisfactory with Professor de La Vallée Poussin[28] to believe that Maitreya is merely the

25 For further complications see Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95.

26 For Vasubandhu's view atoms see *Abhidharmakośa,* trans. L. de La Vallée Poussin, ii., 213, 214.

27 E.g., Tucci, *Some aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha) and Asaṅga* (1930).

28 Introd. to *Abhidharmakośa* (1931), p. XXVII.

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Bhagavat Maitreya who revealed to Asaṅga the truths which he set out in his writings. Further Professor Ui,[29] who believes in the historicity of Maitreya, still assigns Asaṅga to 310-390 A.D. and Vasubandhu to 320-400 A.D., dates a hundred years earlier than those preferred by Takakusu. It appears to me that we must place Asaṅga before 400 A.D. and that Vasubandhu must be similarly treated. The chief argument against this dating is unqestionably that of Takakusu;[30] we know that there were Chinese versions of the *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* of Dharmatrāta in 418, 426, and 434 A.D., while the much clearer *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu had to wait until 563 A.D. for a rendering? Would this have been the case had the Kośa been in existence at the earlier dates? One objection to this argument is, of course, that it proves too much; it tends to set Vasubandhu very definitely into the early part of the sixth century A.D. which is improbable. Other grounds are also important. Dharmatrāta may have possessed a long established fame which rendered it natural to translate his treatise rather than the more recent Kośa; more important still, Vasubandhu, though in his *Kośa* he sets out the system of the Vaibhāṣikas, in his Bhāṣya is critical and reveals Sautrāntika and Yogācāra influences. This may well have led to his work being deemed as too personal, too heretical, to justify its translation until in the course of time his fame as a Vijñānavādin led Paramārtha to carry out his rendering. On the whole, therefore, it seems still probable that Vasubandhu must be dated before 400 A.D. We know now definitely that we must distinguish between the author of the *Kośa* and an older Vasubandhu, known to the author of the *Kośa*, and perhaps not far removed in date if this older Vasubandhu was the preceptor of Manoratha, a contemporary of the later Vasubandhu. It may be added that the recent publication of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, restored by R. Iyengar, definitely makes Dignāga out as denying firmly the ascription to Vasubandhu of the much discussed *Vādavidhi*. Professor Tucci[31] suggests that Dignāga disliked the doctrine taught in the *Vādavidhi*, though he also raises the question

29 *Indian Studies*, p. 102.
30 *Indian Studies*, p. 86.
31 *IHQ.*, IV (1928), 636.

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whether there may not have been a tradition before Dignāga denying Vasubandhu's authorship. It seems to me that we cannot disregard the emphatic and deliberate statement of Dignāga, and that we must recognise the ascription to Vasubandhu as one of the many errors in these matters of the Chinese authors. The authority of Dignāga must rank far above them, and still more above that of Vācaspati, while Uddyotakara does not anywhere mention Vasubandhu as the author. Indeed even in the case of Vācaspati, that he ascribed the *Vādavidhi* to Vasubandhu is not absolutely proved, since the evidence consists of a disputed reading *Vāsubandhavalakṣaṇa* which has the variant *Saubandhavalakṣaṇa*. In any case, however, Vācaspati's evidence is of no weight on such an issue.

It remains to note that Professor Jacobi[32] has suggested that Dignāga cannot be placed very near in date to Vasubandhu on the ground that he, if a direct pupil of the teacher, could not have denied, as he did, the essential Vijñānavāda doctrine of *ālayavijñāna*. There seems, however, to be some mistake in this view, for the *Ālambanaparīkṣā*[33] does not suggest that Dignāga on this head really departed essentially from the doctrine of his teacher. The point is of some importance, for Professor Jacobi's view leads to the suggestion that the date of Dignāga can be referred to the sixth century A.D., which may be too late.

A. Berriedale Keith

32 *SPAW.*, 1930, p. 329, n. 1.

33 Compare Grousset, *Les Philosophies Indiennes*, ii. 75-80.

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The Eastern Cālukyas*

II

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 616-633)

Viṣṇuvardhana[1], the founder of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty in Andhra and Kaliṅga, was also known as Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. He assumed the titles of Viṣamasiddhi and Makaradhvaja. His own inscription[2] tells us that he bore the surname Viṣamasiddhi because "he acquired success by land and sea, in the woods and on the mountains under difficulties and against fortresses." He was also known as Bittarasa.[3]

Three inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana have been discovered. The earliest one, which was issued during his viceroyalty, has already been referred to above.

(i) The Chipurapalle copper plate.[4]

This inscription was found at Chipurapalle, the chief town of the subdivision of the same name, in the Vizagapatam District. It was issued in the eighteenth year, fourth month, and fifteenth day of the king's reign. It records that Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana Viṣamasiddhi, the dear younger brother of Satyāśraya (i.e. Pulikeśin II), from his residence at Ceṛupura, in the Plakiviṣaya, informed the cultivators of the village of Kālvakoṇḍa, in the Dimila Viṣaya, that he, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, granted the above mentioned village of Kālvakoṇḍa to some learned Brāhmaṇas. The dūtaka of the grant was Aṭavīdurjjaya, who was a member of the Matsya family.

Of the localities, mentioned above, Ceṛupura seems to be identical with Chipurapalle where the inscription was discovered. Dimila is the modern village of Dimile, in the Sarvasiddhi tāluka of the Vizagapatam District. The regnal year corresponds to 633 A.D.

* Continued from vol. VIII, no. 1, p. 29.

1 *IA.*, XIII, p. 213. 2 *EI.*, IX, p. 319; *IA.*, VII, p. 186.

3 *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 303. 4 *Ibid.*, XX, p. 16; Cf. plate XXVII *South Indian Palæography*, Burnell. Facsimile reads "Plaki" viṣaya, and not 'Pūki' as doubtfully suggested by Mr. Fleet.

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(ii) The Timmapuram inscription.[5]

This plate was found in the village of Timmapuram, in the Sarvasiddhi tāluka of the Vizagapatam District. It registers that Viṣṇuvardhana, from his residence at Piṣṭapura, granted four thousand "Nivartanas" in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumūlūra, in the Paḷaki Viṣaya, to forty Brāhmaṇas residing in (Poṭunūṅka).

Of the localities, Paḷaki is the same as Plaki of the Chipurapalle copper-plate. Piṣṭapura is evidently the modern Pithapuram, in the Godavari District.

The inscriptions of the subsequent Eastern Cālukya Kings state that Viṣṇuvardhana ruled over Veṅgimaṇḍala.[6] In the year twenty one of his reign (A.D. 629-30), Pulikeśin II granted some lands in the village of Irbuli, in Karmarāṣṭra. These lands were bounded on the north by the road to Koṇḍav (e) Drupur, and on the south by the road to Vīraparu. The executor of the grant was Pṛthivīduvarāja who is to be identified with Viṣṇuvardhana.[7]

Karmarāṣṭra, which was a Viṣaya, comprised the northern portion of the Nellore District and a part of the Guntur District.

From all these it appears that Viṣṇuvardhana held sway over a territory, which extended at least up to the Vizagapatam District on the north-east, and the part of the Nellore District on the south-west.

Viṣṇuvardhana had a general name Buddhavarman, the ornament of the Caturthābhijana i.e. of the family belonging to the fourth (Śūdra) caste. The latter was the founder of the Velanāṇḍu line of chiefs. He ruled over the country west of the hill (Giripaścimā śāsana) which contained seventy-three villages, and which he obtained through the favour of the King Kubja Viṣṇu along with his royal emblems.[8] The hill, in the Kistna District, and the group of seventy-three villages must have formed the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli taluka of the same District.[9] Buddhavarman's successors ruled over this province up to the 12th century A.D. as vassals of the Eastern Cālukyas. Kāla-

5 *EI.*, IX, p. 317.
6 *IA.*, XIII, p. 213, l. 8.
7 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 260.
8 *EI.*, VI, pp. 273, 275.
9 *EI.*, VI, p. 269.

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kampa of the Paṭṭavardhinī family was also a general of Viṣṇuvardhana. He fought on the side of his master, and takes credit for killing in battle one Daddara. A grant of Amma I states that,[10] "the chief of Paṭṭavardhinī family, which was (always) charged with appointments by the prosperous succession of our race, he who was famed by the name of Kālakampa, the follower of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, killed in battle with his permission (a king) called Daddara, whose army was difficult to be overcome, and seized his banners." Daddara's identity is not known. Kālakampa's successors were also appointed in the military service of the subsequent Eastern Cālukya rulers.[11]

There can hardly be any doubt that Viṣṇuvardhana ruled his kingdom as a vassal of his brother Pulikeśin. Pulikeśin's inscription dated A.D. 629-30, referred to above, bears testimony to that. The fact that the two brothers were in friendly terms can be gathered from Viṣṇuvardhana's inscription where he describes himself as the dear younger brother of Pulikeśin.

Viṣṇuvardhana was a great patron of learning. His court was graced by the famous poet Bhāravi.[12]

Viṣṇuvardhana was the contemporary of the Pallava Siṃhha-viṣṇu and the Western Gaṅga Durvinīta (A.D. 605-650).[13] The date of his accession can be determined with tolerable certainty. Viṣṇuvardhana II, the fourth ruler of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty, ascended the throne early in 663 A.D. A period of forty eight years elapsed between this date and the date of the accession of Viṣṇuvardhana. This fixes A.D. 615-16 as the first year of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana. The date cannot be pushed further back as Viṣṇuvardhana was governing Mahārāṣṭra as a Yuvarāja in the 8th year of Pulikeśins reign i.e. A.D. 615-16[14]. He ruled his kingdom for eighteen years[15] and concluded his reign in 633 A.D. He had two sons Jayasiṃha and Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, of whom the first one succeeded him to the throne.

10 अस्मत्कुल-कल्याणपरंपरानियोगाधिकृत पट्टवर्द्धिणी-वंशाग्रण्या कालकम्प इति विश्रुतेन कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनानुचरेण संग्रामे तदनुज्ञया दुर्द्धर्षबलं दद्दरनामानं विनिहत्य तच्चिह्नानि येन जगृहिरे । *SII*, vol. I, p 40.

11 *Ibid.* 12 *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1921, p. 28. 13 *Ibid.*

14 *IA.*, XX, p. 16. 15 *SII.*, I, p. 41.

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Jayasiṃha I, Pṛthvī-Vallabha, Sarvasiddhi (A.D. 633-663).

Jayasiṃha assumed the titles of Sarvasiddhi[16] and Pṛthvī-Vallabha.[17] Altogether five inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

(i) *Pedda-Maddali inscription.*[18]

A number of plates were found in the village of Pedda-Maddali, in the Nurzivid Division of the Kistna District. They were issued from the city of Udayapur. They record the grant of the village of Peṇukapaṛu, on the east of the village of Mardavalli (Maddāvalli), in the Gudrahāra Viṣaya. The Dūtaka was Śivaśarman. The grant was issued in the eighteenth year of the King's reign which corresponds to A.D. 650-51.

Of the localities, mentioned above, Gudrahāra Viṣaya is the modern Gudivada, the head quarters of the taluka of the same name, in the Kistna District. The village Mardavalli seems to have been the same as Pedda-Maddali where the record was unearthed.

(ii) *The Pulibumra plates.*[19]

The Pulibumra plates record that Jayasiṃha made a gift of the village of Pulibumra, in the Guddavāḍi Viṣaya, to the Brāhmaṇa Rudraśarman, a resident of Asanapura.

Of the localities, referred to above, Puilbumra is to be identified with Potamuru, in the Bhīmvaram tāluk of the Kistna District.

(iii) *The Pedda-Vegi plates.*[20]

A number of plates were discovered near the village of Pedda-Vegi, the ancient Veṅgipura, in the vicinity of Ellore. The inscription reports that Jayasiṃha granted the village of Kombaru, in the Kantheruvāṭi Viṣaya at a distance of a Gavyūti to the south of Vleṇṭūru, to Somaśarman, a resident of Kukkanūr, on the 'Viṣuvadina' of Kārttika—Pūrṇimā. The executor was the King's

16 *EI.*, XIX, p. 261. 17 *Ibid.*, p. 258. 18 *IA.*, XIII, p. 137
19 *EI.*, XIX, p. 254; *Jour. Andhra Hist. RS.*, IV, p. 76.
20 *EI.*, vol. XIX, p. 258.

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preceptor, Narasiṃhaśarman. Of the localities, Kantheruvāṭi is to be identified with the modern village of Kanteru, in the Guntur taluk of the Guntur District. Vleṇṭūru, probably a corruption of Velaṇṭūṛu, seems to be the same as the modern village of Vellaturu, in the Repalli taluka of the Guntur District. The village Kombaṛu is identical with the modern village of Komali in the same taluk.

(iv) *The Niḍupaṛu plate.*[21]

The Niḍupaṛu grant registers the fact that Jayasiṃha granted the village of Niḍupaṛu in the Gaṇḍeruvāṭi Viṣaya, north of the Vyaghra river, and on the bank of the Vanneṛu river, at a distance of two 'Gavyūtis', on the eastern side of the capital at Gaṇḍeru (Ganderu-rājadhānī), to Kāṭiśarman, a resident of Asanapura.

Gaṇḍeruvāṭi is the same as Kantheruvāṭi of the above inscription. Niḍupaṛu is the modern Nidamarru which is actually about two gavyūtis (i.e. eight miles) to the east of Kanteru. Gaṇḍeru, as it appears from the inscription, seems to have been the capital of the southern division of Jayasiṃha's kingdom, south of the Kistna.

(v) *The Mṛopaṛṛu inscription.*[22]

The Mṛopaṛṛu inscription was issued by Vallabha-Mahārāja Sarvasiddhi, who was the son of Viṣṇuvardhana and the grandson of Kīrtivarman. It evidently belonged to the reign of Jayasiṃha I. It records that the king granted the village of Mṛopaṛṛu in Canū(rapa)lli Viṣaya to a Brāhmaṇa, a Maṇḍaśarman, a resident of Vanapaṛṛu. The donee was greatly attached (bhakta) to Maṅgi-yuvarāja. This Maṅgi-yuvarāja, who later on ascended the throne of Veṅgi, was the grandson of Jayasiṃha's younger brother Indra Bhaṭṭāraka.

Nothing definite is known about the military achievements of Jayasiṃha. His own inscription states that he was one who reduced the circle of the Sāmantas, was a diplomat like Bṛhaspati, disciplined like Manu, righteous like Yudhiṣṭhira, knower of the truth of the meanings of many Śāstras.[23]

21 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 57.
22 *SE.*, 1920, p. 99, APP., A, No. 9.
23 *EI.*, V, p. 127.

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Jayasiṃha's father Viṣṇuvardhana was a vassal of the Western Cālukyas of Badami. In the 4th decade of the 7th century A.D. the Western Cālukyas of Badami suffered a terrible disaster at the hand of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. Pulikeśin II, who in the early years of his reign overran the Pallava dominion, was now violently attacked by the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I. A series of battles were fought in which Pulikeśin was ultimately worsted. Pulikeśin fled away from his capital, and the Cālukya kingdom was plundered by the Pallavas. The supremacy of the Western Cālukyas was later on re-established by Pulikeśin's son Vikramāditya I. During this period of turmoil Jayasiṃha seems to have entirely separated his Kingdom from that of his uncle. Henceforward nothing is known about the nature of the relation that existed between the Eastern and Western Cālukyas.

The Bezavada Plates[24] of Cālukya Bhīma I and almost all other Cālukya plates assign Jayasiṃha I a reign of 33 years. But the British Museum plates of Amma II give him a reign of 30 years. An inscription[25] of Viṣṇuvardhana II, son and successor of Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, who succeeded Jayasiṃha I, states that he made a grant of land on Wednesday, 13th March, A.D. 664, in the second year of his reign. It follows from this that he came to the throne before 13th March 663 A.D. Another record[26] of the same king reports that he issued a grant on February 17, A.D. 668, which is said to be his fifth regnal year. This shows that Viṣṇuvardhana must have ascended the throne before February 17, A.D. 664, which date falls in the first year of his reign. In view of the evidence supplied by this second grant the king's accession can by no means be pushed back prior to February 17, 663 A.D. Thus it may be concluded from these two records, that Viṣṇuvardhana ascended the throne between February 17, and March 13, A.D. 663. As Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka ruled only for seven days, Jayasiṃha I must have closed his reign betwen February 9 and March 13, A.D. 663. Jayasiṃha's accession to the throne took place in 663 A.D. This gives him a reign of thirty years. He was succeeded by his younger brother Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka.

24 *IA.*, VII, p. 17.
25. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 186.
26. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 191.

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Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, Indrarāja, Indurāja, Indravarman, Siṃhavikrama, and *Tyāgadhenu,* 663 A.D.

Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka who was also known as Indrarāja, Indurāja and Indravarman,[27] bore the titles of Siṃhavikrama and Tyāgadhenu.[28] An inscription of his reign has been discovered. It records that Mahārāja Indravarman, at the request of the chief Koṇḍivarman, granted to Ceṇḍiśarman, the village of Koṇḍanaguru, which was bounded on the north by Mujuṃnūru, on the east by Pagunūru, on the south by Cerupūru, and on the west by Irabbali. The executor was the king's eldest son who also bore the name Indravarman. The inscription was written by Kanakarāma.

Of the localities, Cerupūru seems to be identical with Cerupūru of the Chipurupalle copper plate of Viṣṇuvardhana I,[29] which was situated in the Plaki Viṣaya. The village is to be identified with the modern Chipurupalle in the Vizagapatam District. Hence Koṇḍanaguru may be assumed to have been situated somewhere near the Chipurupalle taluka of the Vizagapatam District. Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka was pretty old man when he assumed the royalty, as his grand-son Maṅgi Yuvarāja was fairly young during the reign of Jayasiṃha I.[30] He could not rule for a long time, and died after a reign of only seven days.[31] He had two sons Indravarman[32] and Viṣṇuvardhana, of whom the second one succeeded him to the throne.

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27 *EI.*, IV, p. 226; *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 2; *SII.*, I, p. 58; *IA.*, XX, p. 16.

28 *EI.*, VIII, p. 237; XVIII, p. 2. 29 *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 1.

30 The Godavari grant of the Rāja Pṛthivīmūla, the son of the Mahārāja Prabhākara, states that "Adhirāja Indra, who joined in a tumultuous combat, waged by all the kings who were gladdened by having assembled in the desire to up-root by force Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka" (*J. Bo. Br.*, vol. XVI, p. 119). Mr. Fleet remarks on this—"The reference here seems to be to Indra Bhaṭṭāraka of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty; the Adhirāja Indra being possibly the Mahārāja Indravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara (*IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 120), whose territory lay just to the north east of the Eastern Cālukya Kingdom." (*IA.*, vol. XX. p. 97.).

The Kaliṅga King Adhirāja Indra seems to have flourished much earlier than the Cālukya Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka. I agree with Dr. G. J. Dubreuil in identifying Adhirāja Indra's rival Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin King of the same name. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* Eng. ed., p. 91.

31 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 58. 32 *EI.*, vol. XVII, p. 4.

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Raziyya

Raziyya is the only female Muhammadan sovereign who sat on the throne of Delhi. Hers is a most atttractive but also a pathetic figure in Indian history. Endowed with many qualities and virtues, sagacious, just, beneficent, she yet failed to retain the sceptre of Hindustan for more than three years. Reviewing her career after the lapse of seven hundred years, we are struck by her boldness and determination, steadfastness and courage.

In the following pages we shall attempt to arrive at a just estimate of the illustrious queen.

Early years of Raziyya

Raziyya was the eldest daughter of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash. We know almost nothing about her early life. The contemporary Muhammadan chronicler, Minhaj-i-siraj, tells us that she enjoyed the esteem of her father and exercised much authority during his life-time.[1] Muhammad Qasim Firishta, who wrote much later says in addition to this that Raziyya was so immeasurably superior to any of her brothers that her father appointed her regent of the kingdom while he was absent from the capital on the occasion of the campaign in Gwalior in 1232 A.D.[2] So ably did she conduct the administration that the Sultan after returning victorious from the campaign, declared her his heir-apparent and ordered Taj-ul-mulk Mahmud, the secretary to write out this decree. To this proposal the Amirs raised vehement objections, urged upon the Sultan the impropriety of placing a lady on the throne but the Sultan quieted their discontent by giving them a brief but fitting address. "My sons" he said "are engrossed in the pleasures of youth and none of

1 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (henceforth abbreviated as *T.N.*), p. 632.

2 Firishta (henceforth abbreviated as *F.*), I, p. 218.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari (henceforth abbreviated as *T.A.*), p. 75 says the same thing: "I see my sons indulging in drinking and gaming.....I do not think that their administration will be able to support the burden of Empire. Raziyya although she is in appearance a woman, yet in her mental qualities, she is a man."

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them possesses the ability of managing the affairs of the country. Raziyya though a woman has a man's head and heart and is more than twenty such sons."[3] The Sultan therefore set aside the claims of his sons and nominated Raziyya to be his successor.

Accession of Raziyya

Sultan Altamash died on April 29, 1236. As soon as he closed his eyes, the courtiers, disregarding his wishes, raised to the throne a younger son of the Sultan, Ruknuddin Firuz.

Firuz was a young lad when he came to the throne and when he found himself master of a vast kingdom and all that it could offer, he gave himself up entirely to pleasures. "He opened," says the contemporary historian, "the doors of the treasuries and began to spend in the most profuse fashion and in an improper manner." So wanton was his extravagance and so excessive his appetite for pleasure that the "business of the country, the concerns of the state fell into a state of disorder and confusion." His mother Shah Turkan, an extremely ambitious and power loving woman, conducted the affairs of the state.[4] Having been originally a handmaid in the harem, she now began to ill-treat the other ladies of the harem for the slights she had endured during the period of servitude. She put many of them to death and even caused Qutbuddin, a son of the late Sultan to be blinded and murdered. Her cruelty and tyranny as well as the profligacy of her son caused wide-spread discontent and rebellion broke out in every part of the kingdom.

Malik Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, brother of the Sultan, rebelled in Oudh, seized the treasures of Bengal as they were being conveyed to the imperial treasury at Delhi and sacked and looted several towns of Hindustan. Izzuddin Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz of Multan, Saifuddin Kuji of Hansi, Alauddin Jani of Lahore, Muhammad Salari, governor of Budaun raised the standard of revolt and formed a confederacy.

When Firuz awoke from the blissful dream, the conflagration had spread far and wide. He marched out with an army to crush the hostile coalition but hardly had he gone beyond the neighbourhood of the capital

3 *F.*, I, p. 218. 4 *T.N.*, p. 632.

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when a mutiny broke out amongst his own troops. His minister Junaidi deserted him and joined the camp of the rebels. The mutinous troops seized the two secretaries of the Sultan, Taj-ul-Mulk Mahmud and Amir Fakhruddin and killed them along with a number of Tajik officials.[5]

While these things were taking place, the capital, Delhi, itself became the hotbed of intrigue and was rent by a strife between Shah Turkan and Raziyya. The contemporary historian tells us that in November 1236, "Raziyya entered upon open hostility with Shah Turkan" and Firuz was compelled to come back to the capital. It appears from this that Raziyya was watching events and finding in the adversity of Firuz her opportunity, she struck the blow. Shah Turkan had also planned the destruction of Raziyya but at this critical moment the people of Delhi rose in her defence, destroyed the royal castle, and imprisoned Shah Turkan. Meanwhile the mutinous Turkish soldiers came back to Delhi pledged to Raziyya their allegiance and placed her on the throne. She immediately sent a force against Ruknuddin. He was seized, imprisoned and put to death on November 9, 1236. Thus within six months of the death of her father she succeeded in seating herself on the throne of Delhi and making her father's will a reality by her tact.

Raziyya's Rule

Raziyya had triumphed over Firuz but she was only at the threshold of her difficulties. The confederacy formed by the governors of Hansi, Lahore, Multan, and Budaun had not been broken down and the confederates refused to submit to the rule of a woman; nor would the minister, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, who deserted Firuz, submit to and acknowledge her as his sovereign.

5 *T.A.*, *F.*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (henceforth abbreviated as *M.T.*) give a different story. According to them Taj-ul-Mulk Mahmud and other nobles detached themselves from the main army and returned to Delhi. It is to be noted that the account given by them is less trustworthy than that given in the *Nasiri*, because the latter is the contemporary account and has been borrowed by the later historians like Nizamuddin, Firishta and Badauni. Hence we place our reliance on Nasiri.

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These rebel governors assembled "from different parts before the gate of the city of Delhi and commenced hostilities against Sultana Raziyya." Nizamuddin Ahmed, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tells us further that they tried to stir up a general uprising against the Sultana. They sent emissaries to the heads of the various provinces and incited them to rise in insurrection against the queen.

At this juncture, amidst general turmoil and disturbance the queen remained firm. She resolved to strike the enemy. She had been besieged but like the Austrian queen Maria Theresa she sent appeals for help. The gallant Nusratuddin Shah, whom she made governor of Oudh, responded to her call and came out with an army to help her. Before he had crossed the Ganges the confederates fell upon, and defeated him. Nusratuddin worn out by age and illness died soon after.

Raziyya's fortunes now sank to the lowest ebb; her cause seemed almost hopeless; the newly-won sovereignty was about to slip into other hands. What could not be done by open warfare was now achieved by the tact and cleverness of the queen. She issued out of the city and as the contemporary historian tells us "ordered her tents to be pitched at a place on the banks of Jun."[6] Occasional conflicts now took place between the Turkish Amirs "who served at the stirrup of sovereignty and hostile Maliks."

While these skirmishes went on, Raziyya played her cards so well that she succeeded in sowing distrust and dissension amongst the members of the confederacy. She won over Izzuddin Muhammad Salari of Badaun and Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz of Multan. They went over to the queen's side and were even induced to support the arrest and imprisonment of their associates. This news ran apace and as soon as it reached the ears of Kuji, Jani and Junaidi they became perplexed and fled in any direction they could. The queen sent her cavalry in pursuit of these rebels. Saifuddin Kuji and his brother Fakhruddin were seized and put to death later on. Alauddin Jani was similarly beheaded near Pael.[7] The Vizier Junaidi fled to the Sirmur[8] hills and died there.

6 Jumna.

7 Pael, situated 34 miles North-West of the Patiala Town. *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XIX, p. 316.

8 Sirmur lying amid the Himalayas between 30° 20′ and 31° 5′ N. and

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Thus the rebellion was completely crushed and Raziyya stood without a peer.

Her administration

Firmly seated on the throne Raziyya's first task was to bring order into the administration. She conferred the office of Vizier on the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Khawaja Muhazzibuddin and invested him with the same title while the army was entrusted to Saifuddin Ibak who was given the title of Kauatlugh Khan. Ayaz was rewarded with the governorship of Lahore in addition to that of Multan.

The provincial governors who had set themselves up as independent rulers during the mis-government of Firuz were now reduced to submission and as the *Taz-kirat-ul-mulk* says, even the Malik of Lakhnawati became obedient to her authority. Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, governor of Lakhnawati, sent an embassy to the capital offering submission. The queen as a token of her goodwill presented him with a canopy and flags. Peace and order were restored throughout the whole of Hindustan as if by magic. As the contemporary historian says, "the whole kingdom became pacified and the power of the state widely extended. From the territory of Lakhnawati to Dewal and Damrilah all the Maliks and Amirs manifested their obedience and submission."

Rising of the Carmathian and Ismailians

Not long after she had taken up the reins of government, a formidable religious rising took place in Delhi. On Friday March 5, 1237 members of the Carmathian and Ismailian[9] sects congregated in Delhi from various parts of the country and incited by the preachings of one Nuruddin entered, 1000 strong, armed with sticks and sword, into the great mosque from two different directions. Their object was to "destroy the established faith" and set up their own religion. They

77° 5′ and 77° 55′ E on the West bank of the Jumna and south of Simla. *Imp. Gaz.* vol. XXIII, p. 21.

9 The Carmathian and Ismailians are two of the many sects among the Shiahs. According to tradition a poor man, Karmata, was the founder of the Carmathian order. Both the sects have a bitter hatred against men of other religions, specially, the Muhammadans.

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laid their sword upon every follower of the prophet whom they met. There was a great tumult; in the mean time the picked warriors of the city having assembled their followers rode forward and slaughtered them to a man. The strength of the new reign was thus early tested, by this rising. The queen then turned to the recovery of the places which had been lost to the Hindus during the short rule of Firuz.[10]

Raziyya had made Saifuddin Ibak-i-Bihak the commander of her armies, but he died, and Qutbuddin Husain succeeded to his place. The Queen sent him to relieve the fortress of Ranthambhor which had been besieged by the Hindus since the death of Altamash. At the approach of Qutbuddin's army the Hindus retreated; the Muhammadan officers came out of the fortress which was then dismantled.

Emboldened by the supperession of the Carmathian fanatics and the relief of Ranthambhor, Raziyya made innovations in her dress and mode of life. Hitherto she had governed the realm from behind the purdah. Now she tore off the purdah which hid her from the gaze of men, "laid aside the female dress, issued out of seclusion, donned the tunic, assumed the head-dress of a man and appeared among the people." The contemporary historian continues and remarks as if in a mood of surprise that "when she rode on an elephant, at the time of mounting it all people used only to see her."[11] The fearless Queen made a complete breach with the past. Time-honoured customs she trampled under foot, religious injunctions she disregarded, public opinion she flouted and ignored. And she became the wonder not only of her contemporaries but of later generations as well.

Raziyya seems to have made these changes deliberately. She knew where she stood, she had occupied the throne after overcoming tremendous opposition. If she showed the slightest disposition to weak-

10 *T.N.*, p. 646.

11 *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.* corroborate the statement. *T.A.*, p. 22 says "Sultana Raziyya came out of the purdah and wore the dress of a man. She put on the Kaba on her person and the Kulah on her head and sat on the throne; granted public audience." *F.*, vol. I, p. 218 says "Raziyya Begum on her accession changed her apparel, assumed the imperial robes and every day gave public audience from the throne. *M.T.*, p. 120 says, "Sultana Raziyya came out from the curtain of chastity and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety used to wear a tunic and kullah when seated on the throne."

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ness, the barons would bring back anarchy and disorder. By these changes she tried to show that she was no more *roi fainéant* but a strong and masterful ruler who would brook no opposition. Her innovations were actuated by political motives but her ambition over-reached itself. She transgressed the limits and committed a most fatal blunder by openly defying the Quranic injunctions and the Hadis. She roused widespread discontent which was further aggravated by the elevation of a foreigner Amir Akhur Habshi Yaqut to a very high rank.

The fall of Raziyya

Discontent soon led to rebellion. The first sign of disaffection appeared in Gwalior. After the reduction of the fortress by Altamash, Rashiduddin Ali was entrusted with its command. By the death of Rashiduddin Ali the command of the fortress fell upon Ziyauddin Junaidi, a kinsman of the late Vizier. In 1238 he became disaffected towards the queen. Troops were sent against him and on March 19, 1238 he along with the historian Minhajuddin was compelled to come back to Delhi.

Soon after a more formidable rebellion broke out in the Punjab. The queen had rewarded Ayaz with the governorship of Lahore at the very beginning of her reign. In 1238 this Ayaz began to display a hostile attitude and in the next year broke out into open rebellion. Raziyya rose to the height of the occasion; she personally advanced with an army into the Punjab. Ayaz, not daring to offer battle to the royal troops retreated towards the Indus. When he reached the neighbourhood of Sudharah he was faced by the army of Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh who 'driven from his territory of Kirman and Ghazni' was seeking an opportunity to carve out a kingdom to the east of the Indus.[12] In pursuit of the rebel Ayaz, Raziyya pushed on as far as the bank of the Ravi. Placed between the devil and the deep sea and finding his cause almost hopeless he submitted and implored forgiveness of the queen. She no doubt pardoned him but deprived him of the fief of

12 *T.N.*, p. 644, fn.

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Lahore which was placed in charge of Malik Kara Kush Khan.[13] After suppressing the rebellion Raziyya came back to Delhi, on March 15, 1240. But before a fortnight had elapsed she was compelled once more to draw the sword. During the absence of the queen in the Punjab, the courtiers had got up a conspiracy to bring about her ruin. As soon as the queen came back to the capital, Malik Ikhtiaruddin Altuniya, governor of Bhatinda, "secretly instigated and abetted by the Amirs of the court" rose into rebellion.[14] The Queen marched out against him on April 3, 1240, but when she reached Bhatinda the troops rose against her, slew Jamaluddin Yaqut, arrested and imprisoned her.

Meanwhile in accordance with the previous plan, Muizzuddin Bahram Shah was raised to the throne on April 22, 1240. When the Turkish Amirs and the soldiers came back to Delhi they pledged their allegiance to Bahram Shah but on condition of Ikhtiaruddin Aitigin being appointed regent for one year. Aitigin soon usurped all the powers of the state and strengthened his position by marrying the sister of the Sultan.

Malik Altuniya was bitterly disappointed. He found that the courtiers had reaped all the benefits while he had none. He was not the man to submit so tamely and began to wait and see. Soon he found his opportunity. Sultan Bahram Shah finding that he was a mere puppet in the hands of Aitigin, wanted to get rid of him. Soon an opportunity presented itself. On July 30, 1240 a discourse was arranged in the royal castle in which many of the courtiers including Aitigin were present. At the end of the discourse, the Sultan incited two Turks to stab Aitigin and Nizam-ul-mulk. The former was immediately killed and the latter was severely wounded. Bahram then appointed Badruddin

13 *T.A.*, *F.*, *M.T.* differ. Eech of them says that Ayaz behaved so admirable that the queen pleased with him "not only permitted him to retain his office as governor of Lahore but added to it that of Multan.....vacated by the removal of Mullik Kurragooz." *M.T.* (p. 120) says, "Sultana Raziyya having reduced him to obedience added Multan also to his Jaigir." *T.A.* says, "Sultana Raziyya made over the province of Multan.....also to Malik Izzuddin." We reject their evidence as being much later than that of the *Nasiri*.

14 *T.N.*, p. 645.

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Sunqar Lord Chamberlain, who now assumed the direction of the affairs of the state.

While Delhi had become the scene of such bloodshed and disturbance, Altuniya released Raziyya from prison and married her.[15] Taking advantage of the disturbance he marched towards the capital to reinstall the deposed queen now his wife, on the throne. Sultan Bahram Shah came forward with an army to check their advance;[16] a battle took place near Kaithal.[17] Altuniya was defeated. He and his wife fell captive into the hands of the Hindus and attained martyrdom on October 14, 1240.[18] Thus came to a tragic and untimely close the career of one of the most singular characters in history.

Character and Estimate of Raziyya

Raziyya was an accomplished and gifted queen. She possessed many qualities of head and heart and as we have seen, enjoyed greater esteem of her father. She possessed a considerable amount of education. She could read the *Quran* with correct pronunciation and with a distinct and sonorous voice.

Her brief reign was spent in continual fighting but during the brief interval of peace that she found after her accession, she revised the existing laws and confirmed those that had been abrogated during the misrule of Firuz. A woman she was but she sat on the throne, tried cases that were brought before her, and administered justice impartially between the high and the low.[19] When we examine her many sided qualities, the determination and energy that she displayed during her brief reign we are led to enquire into the causes of her sudden fall. Indeed the

15 *The Taz-kirat-ul-Mulk* and some other works say that Altuniya forced Raziyya into the marriage. See *T.A.*, p. 77n. There is no justification whatsoever for saying as Elphinstone does, that Raziyya captured Altuniya by her charms.

16 The three works *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.* say that Bahram Shah himself did not lead the army. We are however bound to prefer the testimony of *Nasiri* as being more trustworthy.

17 Kaithal is a place 38 miles distant from Karnal and about 100 miles north-west of Delhi *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. 7, p. 309.

18 *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.*, say that Raziyya after the first defeat gathered forces and fought a second time. It is on this occasion that she was slain by the Hindus.

19 *F.*, p. 218.

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melancholy end of such a gifted queen "just, beneficent, dispenser of justice and protector of subjects" caused surprise to the Muhammadan historians themselves who flourished after her.

In their eagerness to explain her fall they have most unjustly tarnished her fair name and cast blots upon her character. Thus the historian Muhammad Qasim Firishta concludes his chapter on Raziyya by saying "those reflect on the fate of this unfortunate princess will readily discover from whence arose the foul blast that blasted her prospects, what connection exists between the office of Ameer-ool Omrah of Delhi and an Abyssinian slave or how are we to reconcile the inconsistency of the Queen of a vast territory fixing her affections on so unworthy an object."[20] Ferishta evidently wants to ascribe the cause of her fall to her undue familiarity and love for Yakut. Similar views have been expressed by Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni, the authors of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*. Thus Nizamuddin says, Yakut "attained to such a pitch of intimacy (with the queen) that when Sultana Raziyya mounted he placed his hands under her arms and placed her on the animal she rode."[21] Abdul Qadir Badauni repeats the statement of Nizamuddin and says that Yakut "became her confidante and trusted adviser to such an extent that Sultana Raziyya whenever she rode a horse or an elephant used to rest upon his arms or his shoulder."[22]

While these are the views expressed by historians who flourished long after her, the contemporary chronicler Minhaj-i-Siraj does not speak ill of her. He mentions only that Yakut "acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultan." Throughout his narrative there is not even an indirect reference to an infamy of Raziyya. According to the strict canons of historical criticism we ought to rely on *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, because *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikhi-Ferishta* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* were later compositions and borrowed the facts of this period mainly from *Nasiri*.

It appears after a careful analysis of the evidence that the story of Raziyya's love for Yakut has no foundation in fact, but is the inven-

20 *F.*, p. 222.
21 *T.A.*, p. 76.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

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tion of later historians.[23] *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* does not mention it. Then again no man in his senses could believe that an intelligent woman, the mistress of a vast empire, would have allowed one of her officers practically to embrace her in public at the time of raising her on the elephant. She could have easily indulged herself in the chambers of the palace if she was so charmed with Yakut. What appears to be the case is that the simple statement of Minhaj was given a colouring and exaggerated by the later historians. Moreover her enemies must have given currency to many rumours and circulated them widely to bring about her ruin. The upshot was that popular sympathy was alienated from her, so that the centre contingent which had enthusiastically cheered and raised her up on the throne betrayed and deserted her in 1240. The truth is that Raziyya fell not through any weakness or defect in her character but because of the fact that she was a woman. Raziyya by showing favour to Yakut no doubt caused resentment but

23 Sir Welseley Haig, in the *C.H.I.*, p. 59, holds the same view. He says, "later historians suggest or insinuate that there was impropriety in her relations with him but the contemporary chronicler makes no such allegation, and it is unnecessary to believe that she stooped to such a connection."

Reverty says "the character of the princess has been assailed without just cause."

Thomas on the other hand is extremely severe. He says "it was not that a virgin queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in a submissive prince consort or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the palace harem, but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction and led her to prefer a person employed about her court, an Abyssinian." *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 106.

Iswari Prasad in his *History of Mediæval India* makes a curious jumble. In the footnote of p. 150, he says that it does not appear that Raziyya's fondness for Yakut was criminal. Again in footnote of p. 152 he says "whatever the truth may be, there is no doubt that Raziyya committed an act of unpardonable indiscretion in showing such preference for the Abyasinian. Conduct like this in an eastern country is sure to excite suspicion. The queen certainly transgressed the proper limits permitted to a lady of high rank in the east particularly when she was unmarried." Elephinstone (p. 368) says, "it does not appear that her fondness for Yakut was criminal." Lane-Poole holds that the relationship between Yakut and Raziyya was perfectly innocent.

Ibn Batuta, the traveller, refers to the story of undue relationship between the queen and Yakut. But his account on this point must be accepted with an amount of caution for he must have recorded what he heard amongst the people.

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certainly it was no offence. If she had really to rule she was bound to raise some nobles and degrade others. There was no other alternative. Yakut was the superintendent of the stables at the time of her accession and might have easily earned the favour of the queen by his fidelity and zealous service. Moreover as superintendent of the stables it was probably a part of his duty to be present on the occasion when the queen mounted an elephant.

Considering the circumstances of the case we are bound to admit that this story of love affair was fabricated by the later historians or they merely recorded the popular gossip which was current in the streets and bazars. Raziyya ruled only for three years, six months and six days but this short duration of her reign is not the real criterion of her abilities as a ruler. We ought to bear in mind certain facts when we try to arrive at an estimate of the queen.

In the thirties of the thirteenth century India was in a disorganised state. The Muhammadans had no doubt conquered the whole of Hindustan from the Punjab to Bengal but they had not yet consolidated their rule. The Hindus were ever ready to rise in rebellion and recover the territories that had been taken away from them.

In addition to the opposition of the Hindus the early Muhammadan rulers had a more difficult task to perform in keeping the turbulent and unruly Turkish Amirs in check. Like the feudal nobility of Europe they were ever intent on aggrandisement and intriguing for power. They submitted only to a strong and powerful ruler. If the ruler happened to be weak, they would inevitably begin the usual scramble for power.

Above all her greatest difficulty was the fact that she was a woman. Her sex was an insuperable obstacle. The Hadis gives defnite injunctions against the choice of a woman ruler. It was this which gave the Turkish Amirs the rallying cry and brought about her fall.

When we consider this multitude of difficulties we are really amazed to find that Raziyya could overcome tremendous opposition and rule even for three years. These three years were not years of rest. She was kept busy throughout. She crushed the insubordination of her officers, put down the uprisings of the Hindus and held sway over the undiminished empire bequeathed by her father. Among the woman

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rulers of the world, Raziyya certainly occupies an honourable place. She stands infinitely above Mary Tudor who has disgraced the pages of history by wanton bloodshed or of Mary Stuart who by her romantic adventures has scandalised her name. Hers is indeed a most pathetic figure. So many qualities were in vain only because she was a woman.[42]

NIRODE BHUSAN ROY

24 Firishta (Newal Kishore Press) says Sahebi-Najarān Kār Agahbajuz Ankh darsaruti-nasuān makluq bud, aibe daru namiaftand.

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Mahānāma in the Pāli Literature

There are four persons by the name of Mahānāma in the Pāli literature of whom one is a king; the second is said to be the resident monk of the Dīghasanda monastery at Anurādhapura, to whom king Moggallāna (497-515 A.C.) offered a monastery called Pabbata Vihāra built by him (*Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. 39. v. 42); the third is mentioned in the concluding lines of the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* as the author of that work who lived in the reign of Kumāra Dhātusena, son of king Moggallāna (515-524 A.C.); and the fourth occurs in the concluding passage of the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa* as the author of the original work. The last two of these four Mahānāmas were undoubtedly great Pāli scholars. Let us first see who were the three Mahānāma Theras.

The commentator of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* says that he finished his work in the third year after the death of king Moggallāna. So he must have lived at the time of king Moggallāna and his son Kumāra Dhātusena. His reference to the dead king Moggallāna but not to the reigning king Kumāra Dhātusena indicates his close association with the former. So it seems that he was the Thera Mahānāma to whom king Moggallāna presented a monastery called the Pabbata Vihāra. Again, as he was a resident of the Dīghasanda monastery he might have also been the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* as its commentator attributes that work to Mahānāma Thera of the Dīghasanda monastery. It is, however, difficult to identify these two theras because the thera Mahānāma to whom the Pabbata monastery was presented was living at the Dīghasanda monastery at the time when that presentation was made, and afterwards he must have been living at the new monastery built by the king. But the Thera Mahānāma who wrote the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* lived, according to his own words, in a monastery known as the Uttaramantī Pariveṇa. It is probable that the thera Mahānāma who resided at one time at the Dīghasanda monastery left it again for the Uttaramantī Pariveṇa where he wrote the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. It may also be that these two names, Dīghasanda Pariveṇa and Uttaramantī Pariveṇa

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referred to one and the same monastery where Mahānāma thera lived both during the life-time and after the death of king Moggallāna. The commentator of the *Mahāvamsa* says that Dīghasanda was a nick-name of a certain general of King Devānaṃpiya Tissa and that he built the monastery known after his name.

In the *Cūlavaṃsa* (ch. 38, v. 16-17) it is stated that king Dhātusena in his boyhood lived as a novice under a thera who was his mother's brother and who was residing at the Dīghasanda monastery. Here the name of the thera is not given. Is he the thera Mahānāma to whom king Moggallāna made a gift of the Pabbata Vihāra, and is he also the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*?

According to a statement in the *Cūlavaṃsa* (ch. 38, v. 59) it seems that king Dhātusena was a lover of history and he was instrumental for the compilation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The statement referred to is that king Dhātusena at the end of an anniversary celebration held in honour of the great Mahinda thera, who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon, ordered the promulgation of the chronicle of Ceylon throughout the Island, and for that purpose he gave a thousand coins. This indicates that a new work had come into existence which was not yet become popular, and this must have been the composition of Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda Pariveṇa. All these facts go to show that the thera Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda monastery who wrote the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the thera Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda monastery who was the favourite monk of king Moggallāna, son of king Dhātusena, and the resident thera of the Dīghasanda monastery were one and the same person. King Dhātusena is said to have come to the throne in 1006 B.E. (i.e. 463 A.D.) and king Moggallāna died in 1060 B.E. (i.e. 517 A.D.). Now from the accession of king Dhātusena to the death of king Moggallāna there were only 54 years. King Dhātusena did not die an old man. He met with an unnatural death at the hands of his eldest son, king Kassapa of Sigiriya fame. So when Dhātusena came to the throne he could not have been an old man. Then at the time of king Moggallāna's death the age of Mahānāma thera could be between 79 and 89.[1]

1 I am, however, not inclined to accept that the thera Mahānāma who wrote

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The view that the uncle of King Dhātusena was the author of the Mahāvaṃsa could be proved further by the following fact:

The *Mahāvaṃsa* stops abruptly in the middle of the 37th chapter without concluding it in the usual way with a verse in a different metre. This indicates that the author either could not finish his work owing to some unexpected trouble or died before he could complete it. Or, it might have been that the original work in Sinhalese ended there and he did not add anything to it. He only put into Pāli verse what he found in the original Sinhalese version and stopped there.

The first two arguments cannot be the reasons for this abrupt ending because he had only one verse to compose to conclude it in the usual way, and this he could have done very easily. If the last one was the actual reason, it is difficult to understand why he did not finish it in the usual way. Its commentator also has not given any reason for this abrupt ending. That the old Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* ended just at the point where the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* stops is proved by the earlier Pāli work, I mean, the *Dīpavaṃsa*. It also stops exactly at the same place. His abrupt ending, I think, is due to the fact that Mahānāma thera translated the Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* into Pāli but as he wanted to write the chronicle further and bring the history up to his time he did not conclude it in the usual way. But before he could do so his benefactor king Dhātusena was put to death by his own son, Kassapa, and consequently there was much trouble in the country and the bhikkhus could not fufil his desire and the work remained unfinished till thera Dhammakīrti took up the work after about seven centuries. This shows very clearly that king Dhātusena was instrumental for the writing of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and the chronicle of Ceylon which he ordered for promulgation was none but this work. Of course, the word used for the work in narration is *Dīpavaṃsa*. But I do not think that it was used to indicate the work now known by that name. It was not used here as the special title of a particular book, but as denoting "the Vaṃsa of the Dīpa," i.e. the chronicle of the Island. It

the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* was the same person as the author of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* because a work of the former kind cannot be expected from such an old person, however clever he might have been.

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could not be that king Dhātusena wanted to propagate that work called the *Dīpavaṃsa* because it was defective and the defects were well-known. And moreover it was already popular inspite of its defects. So it is certain that the chronicle which king Dhātusena wanted to promulgate was not the work which we now call *Dīpavaṃsa*. Therefore the *Dīpavaṃsa*, that is the chronicle of the island, which he wanted to propagate was either the Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* preserved in the Mahāvihāra or the new work in Pāli composed by Mahānāma thera. But, as that Sinahlese work was also already popular surely it must have been this new work that he wanted to propagate.

It should be noted here that the word *Mahāvaṃsa* was also not the name given to the book written by Mahānāma thera. It was always referred to by its commentator as the *Padyapadoruvaṃsa*. This term mean the *Mahāvaṃsa* in verse (Padyapada=metrical lines and uruvaṃsa=mahāvaṃsa). This name shows also the nature of the book. It is *Mahāvaṃsa*, but unlike the then existing *Mahāvaṃsa* it is in metrical form. This shows again that the history of Ceylon that existed in prose was known as the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the new work composed in Pāli was given the name of *Padyapadoruvaṃsa* just to distinguish it from the first one. I have found that the commentator has used this name in no less than 12 places but never the name *Mahāvaṃsa*.

It is noteworthy here that the author of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* in his opening verse uses the term *Mahāvaṃsa*. But the commentator says that the author referred by that word to the then existing Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* and not to the one composed in Pāli.

R. SIDDHARTHA

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Was Candragupta low-born ?

In a paper published in the *JBORS.* (1918, pp. 91 ff.), I tried to show that Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, was a high-born prince, being a descendant of the *pūrva*-Nandas or Earlier Nandas, as distinguished from the *nava*-Nandas or Later Nandas, Mahāpadma and his sons who were base-born according to the Purāṇas. This view was adopted by the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith in his *Oxford History of India* (Additions and Corrections) and the same scholar, in the 3rd edition of his monograph on *Aśoka*, published in 1920, abandoned his former description of Candragupta as "an illegitimate scion of the Nanda dynasty" and described him instead as simply "a scion of the Nanda dynasty." The older view, thus displaced by wieghty authority, has recently been pressed again for acceptance by Dr. O. Stein.[1] I propose therefore to consider the question once again, and place before scholars the results of my recent investigations.

I suggested in 1918 that the term *vṛṣala*, applied in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* to Candragupta, should be read as *vṛṣabha*, a reading actually found in a Ms. of the drama belonging to the Bengal Asiatic Society's collection.

On further study I find that *vṛṣala* is the correct reading. This follows from two passages in the drama :—

(1) In Act III, just after v. 15, we read—

तत् स्थाने खलु वृषलोऽद्यश्चन्द्रगुप्त इति

where vṛṣalo'dya is explained as vṛṣalaśabdena vaditum arhaḥ, and vṛṣabho'dya would not yield satisfactory sense. It is possible that the text is faulty here, and the real reading is neither vṛṣalo'dya nor vṛṣabho'dya, but something altogether different. Dr. O. Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 360) adopts the reading (1) tataḥ sthāne'sya (scil. Nandasya) vṛṣalo devaś' Candraguptaḥ.

1 *Journal of the Czecho-Slovak Oriental Institute* (Prague), vol. I, no. 3, pp. 354 ff.

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(2) In Act VI, v. 6, we read—

पतिं त्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनं
गता छिद्रेण श्रीर्वृषलमविनीतेव वृषली ।

where *vṛṣala* goes most consistently with *vṛṣalī*—a word signifying, by a *double entendre*, (1) consort of *vṛṣala*, (2) a woman who leaves her own husband and goes over to another (s.v. *Vṛṣalī* in *Śabdakalpadruma*).

There are, besides, other passages in the drama, clearly alluding to Candragupta's low origin. For instance, in Act II, v. 7, we read—

पृथिव्यां किं दग्धाः प्रथितकुलजा भूमिपतयः
पतिं पापे मौर्य्यं यदसि कुलहीनं वृतवती ?

where the Maurya is distinctly stated to be "of ignoble birth." (1) Cf. O. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 361, n. 2.

We have, moreover, definite references to Candragupta having been regarded as in some way connected with the Nanda family, though not as a direct legitimate descendant of the Nandas:—

(i) In Act I, after v. 13, we find Cāṇakya saying—

अहो राक्षसस्य नन्दवंशे निरतिशयो भक्तिगुणः । स खलु कस्मिंश्चिदपि जीवति नन्दान्वयावयवे वृषलस्य साचिव्यं ग्राहयितुं न शक्यते । अनयैव बुद्ध्या तपोवनगतोऽपि घातितस्तपस्वी नन्दवंशीयः सर्व्वार्थसिद्धिः । and

(ii) in Act II, after v. 19, we find Rākṣasa saying—

वयमेवात्र शोच्या ये नन्दकुलविनाशेऽपि जीवितुम् इच्छामः ।

which seem to show that the Nanda family had been entirely destroyed. But (iii) in Act IV, after v. 7, we find Bhāgurāyaṇa saying—

.....ततो नन्दकुलभक्त्या नन्दान्वय एवायमिति सुहृज्जनापेक्षया चामात्यराक्षसश्चन्द्रगुप्तेन सह संदधीत । चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि पितृपर्य्यायागत एवायमिति संधिमनुमन्येत ।

(iv) in Act IV, after v. 12, Rākṣasa is made to say—

तास्तु खलु नन्दकुलमनेन पितृकुलभूतं कृत्स्नं कृतघ्नेन घातितं.....चन्द्रगुप्तमेवानुवर्त्तन्ते ।

(v) in Act II, v. 8, we read—

इष्टात्मजः सपदि सान्वय एव देवः
शार्दूलपोतमिव यं परिपोष्य नष्टः ।

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(vi) in Act V. v. 5, we read—

भक्त्या नन्दकुलानुरागदृढ़या नन्दान्वयालम्बिना
किं चाणक्यनिराकृतेन कृतिना मौर्य्येण संधास्यते ।

(vii) in Act V. v. 19, we read—

मौर्य्योऽसौ स्वामिपुत्रः

coming from Malayaketu first, then being repeated by Rākṣasa.

It must, therefore, be conceded that, according to the drama, the Nandas overthrown by Cāṇakya were well-born, and that according to the drama, Candragupta was a base-born descendant of one of these well-born Nandas. What value should be set upon this view, we shall discuss later on. For the present, it may be noted that Dr .Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 360) accepts the Puranic tradition that the Nandas supplanted by the Mauryas were base-born, as against the view represented by the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*.

(II)

As regards vṛṣala, however, I do not think it means *Śūdra* in the drama. The royal dramatist, in a drama that is decidedly a masterpiece, would be guilty of gross impropriety if he made Cāṇakya address his own king, in season and out of season, as a *Śūdra*. The term vṛṣala is significantly applied to Candragupta by practically none of the *dramatis personae* except Cāṇakya: an apparent deviation from this rule occurs in a monologue in Act III, after v. 15, but there, as pointed out above, the transmitted text seems faulty, and the reading adopted by Dr. O. Stein (vṛṣalo devaś Candraguptaḥ) precludes any depreciatory sense being implied by the term *vṛṣala* which is combined here with the very respectful epithet *deva*. Had *vṛṣala* been a term of reproach, denoting *Śūdra*, the dramatist would surely have put it oftener in the mouths of characters belonging to the anti-Candragupta party than in an isolated allusion by Rākṣasa, in course of his anguished utterances (Act VI, v. 6) where, again, as pointed out above, the allusion is needed only to achieve a *double entendre*. Most instructive in this connexion is the dialogue, in Act I, after v. 19, between Cāṇakya and a *cara* (agent):

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चाणक्यः। भद्र, वर्णयेदानीं स्वनियोगवृत्तान्तम्। अपि वृषलमनुरक्ताः प्रकृतयः ?

चरः। अह इस। अज्जेण खु तेसु तेसु विराअकारणेसु परिहरिअन्तेसु सुगहीदनामहेए देवे चन्दगुत्ते दिढ़मनुरत्ता पकिदिओ।

Translation

Cāṇakya Well, now, tell me how you were engaged yourself; are the people well-disposed towards Vṛṣala?

Cara What then? As a result of Your Excellency's having baffled all sources of disaffection, the people are firmly attached to His Sacred Majesty (*deva*) Candragupta, of well-adopted designation (sugṛhītanāmadheya).

Vṛṣala, therefore, appears to have been, according to the dramatist, applied by Cāṇakya to Candragupta as a *personal name*, his style, on coronation, being *Candragupta*, with a variant in *Candra-Śrī*.[2] We are not called upon to interpret personal names: to take an instance near at hand, the minister Rākṣasa need not be connected with the demoniac progeny of Rāvaṇa. And it is quite likely that, in reality, Candragupta had no such personal name: *vṛṣala* may have been no more than a 'permanent epithet' traditionally applied to him, and the dramatist, or the tradition he followed, may have converted the epithet into a name. Jaina accounts point that way. If we trust these accounts and picture Candragupta as embracing Jainism, we may imagine him being traditionally described by the orthodox community as a *vṛṣala* or a "heretic." What the orthodox Hindu community understood by the term a few centuries before the composition of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* may be gathered from the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, VIII, 16.

वृषो हि भगवान् धर्म्मस्तस्य यः कुरुते ह्यलम् ॥
वृषलं तं विदुर्देवास्तस्माद्धर्मं न लोपयेत् ॥

2 The author of the Medinī-lexicon looked upon *vṛṣala* as another name of king Candragupta.

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Translation

"The exalted *dharma* is known as vṛṣa; whoever opposes it would be known to the devas as vṛṣala. Hence, *dharma* should not be made to vanish."

Again, in the same Code, X. 43-4, we read—

कैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ ४३
पौण्ड्रकाश्चोड्र-द्रविड़ाः कम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदा पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खसाः ॥ ४४

Translation

"Gradually, by non-performance of ceremonies, and as a result of not seeing Brāhmaṇas, the following Kṣatriya tribes have been reduced to the vṛṣala state:

Pauṇḍrakas, Uḍras, Draviḍas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas."

The process of transformation from the Kṣatriya-caste to the *vṛṣala*-state is here conceived to be simply through unorthodox living, away from Brāhmaṇas. A *vṛṣala*, therefore, need not have been a Śūdra by caste; he is merely a man who has fallen away from *dharma*, that is to say, from Brāhmaṇic *dharma*. Yet another piece of evidence pointing in the same direction is furnished by the *Kauṭlīya Artha-śāstra*, a treatise for which the latest date proposed is the 3rd century A.D. In the *Kauṭilīya*, III, 20, we are told

.....शाक्याजीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्य्येषु भोजयतश्शत्यो दण्डः ।

Translation

".....Whoever gives feasts, in ceremonies connected with the gods and the ancestors, to Śākyas, Ājīvikas, etc., who are vṛṣalas and ascetics, is to be fined one hundred (paṇas)."[3]

3 Shamasastry's translation is faulty: it implies a conjunctive particle after *vṛṣalapravrajitān*, which expression, in the text as it stands, is in apposition to the expression *Śākyājīvakādīn*.

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Vṛṣala here denotes 'heretic' or 'outcaste' and cannot possibly mean 'Śūdra' by caste. It is true that, in later usage, the word acquired the meaning 'Śūdra.' But the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* probably belongs to the Gupta period (see. *infra*, p. 8, n. 1); and there is not an iota of evidence to show that the word *vṛṣala* had already changed in meaning from 'heretic' or 'outcaste' to 'Śūdra, by caste.'

(III)

I have so far discussed Candragupta from the standpoint of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, on the assumption that this drama possibly transmits genuine tradition regarding the Mauryan monarch. I shall now proceed to show that this assumption even is not justified.

In the first place, it is a mere drama. The exigencies of art notoriously distort facts. Secondly, it is several centuries later than Candragupta. Thirdly, it has a set purpose, namely, of proving the superiority of Cāṇakya to every other character in the drama. For this purpose, even Candragupta, his king, is made to look like an imbecile—a puppet in his hands. There is little that is kingly in Viśākhadatta's Candragupta. This fact induces a suspicion. Viśākhadatta was himself a prince; this is a claim corroborated by the general trend of the drama, the reader's interest being throughout kept alive by a skilful exhibition of political intrigue and state-craft hardly feasible in a writer not born in the purple. He moreover belonged very probably to the

There is a passage in the *Suttanipāta* (Vasalasutta, v. 21—v. 27) which runs as follows:

na jaccā vasalo hoti na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo/
kammunā vasalo hoti kammunā hoti brāhmaṇo//

The statement implies, because it contradicts, an existing opinion that one could be by birth (*jāti*) a *vṛṣala* or a brāhmaṇa; so that the term *vṛṣala*, like the term Brāhmaṇa, must have already come to be regarded as a caste-designation—a view taken exception to in this passage. But a scrutiny of the *Vasalasutta* as a whole reveals that verses 21 to 27 are a later addition. The previous verses 1 to 19 all terminate with *taṃ jaññā vasalo 'ti*, the last being

yo buddhaṃ paribhāsati athavā tassa sāvakaṃ
paribbājaṃ gahaṭṭhaṃ vā taṃ jaññā vasalo 'ti.

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Gupta period.[4] The Imperial Guptas apparently believed in the greatness of Candragupta and could scarcely have believed in his ignoble origin; for, no less than two of their conquering monarchs are known to have adopted the style *Candragupta*. Why was Prince Viśākhadatta seeking to belittle the Mauryan model of his contemporaries, the Imperial Guptas? Is it not possible, or even likely, that the princely dramatist was intent on impressing a moral by telling a tale?

Whatever the author's object might have been, the drama, in its details, cannot be relied on for a reconstruction of Mauryan history. It mentions unhistorical royal names, simply to achieve verisimilitude. It abounds in anachronisms. Numerous peoples are named—Śakas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Hūṇas—who could not have, in Candragupta's time,

Here is attained a climax in the rising series of damning definitions of a *vṛṣala*. Rhetorically, this verse ought to close the series. Its propriety as a terminal verse will be evident when we remember that the verses defining a *vṛṣala* are alleged to have been called forth from the Buddha himself by the brāhmaṇa Aggika-Bhāradvāja abusing him as a *vṛṣala*. "Do you know who is a *vṛṣala*, or what goes to the making of a *vṛṣala?*" asks the Buddha. The brāhmaṇa Aggika-Bhāradvāja replying in the negative, the Buddha proceeds to explain, with verses 1 ff., what sinful acts make a person *vṛṣala*. Since an abuse of the Buddha furnished the occasion for the verses, they would most appropriately close on the the same note—abuse of the Buddha as in verse 19. To clinch the series, verse 20 is added:—

yo vā anarahā saṃto araham paṭijānāti/
coro sabrahmake loke esa kho vasalādhamo//

Anger has here reached its height; and there should be no more to be said. Accordingly, we find a half-verse added, by way of summing up *ete kho vasalā vuttā mayā vo ye pakāsitā*. There could be no clearer indication that the *Vasalasutta*, as originally composed, ended here. The succeeding verses (21 to 27) must consequently be considered a late addition. It will be observed that, in the original portion, a *vṛṣala* is defined broadly as a sinning man—sinning against *dharma* as understood by the Buddhists. This is of a piece with the *Mānava* definition, cited above, that *vṛṣa* is *dharma* and he who goes against *dharma* (as understood, of course, by the followers of the Mānava school) is called a *vṛṣalā*.

I may add that Mr. Munindra Lal Barua, M.A., first drew my attention to the *Vasalasutta* and suggested to me that it might have a bearing on my discussion of the meaning of *vṛṣala*. I have used Mr. P. V. Bapat's edition of the *Suttaṅipāta* (Poona, 1924).

4 *JBORS.*, 1928, p. 236. A later date, if preferred, will reduce its evidentiary value for the Maurya period.

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taken part in the conflicts portrayed in the drama.[5] It makes Hellenistic astrology flourish in Mauryan India. It pictures *Suruṅga* in actual use in the days of Candragupta, a contingency legitimately ruled out of court by Dr. O. Stein himself.[6] Finally, it goes against the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.*

The evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* has been conveniently ignored by Dr. Stein. It was indeed not fully marshalled out in my paper published in *JBORS.*, 1918. But the little that was set forth therein sufficed to weigh considerably with the late Dr. Vincent Smith. I have developed the argument in another paper, justifying the conclusion that whereas pre-Kauṭiliyan political philosophers, who were partisans of the low-born Nandas, had avowed preference for a strong, though low-born, king, with no hereditary right to the throne, Kauṭilya definitely declares himself in favour of a high-born king, with a hereditary right to the throne (*Artha-ś.*, Bk. VIII, ch. 2). Dr. Stein, it is true, considers the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* to be a production, not from the pen of Candragupta's minister, but from the pen of some writer of a much later date, probably the 3rd century A.D. The problem is too vast to be envisaged within the compass of this paper and must be reserved for separate treatment. I may say however that a careful study of this remarkable book on politics leaves no reasonable doubt that it has a nucleus of original matter, dating back beyond Aśoka, around which has gathered a mass of accretions of a somewhat later date. Supposing with Dr. Stein, that the *Kauṭilīya* as a whole belongs to the 3rd century A.D., it must be conceded that the writer, who had opportunities for looking back upon the careers of Mahāpadma Nanda and Candragupta Maurya and Kauṭilya, as depicted by the then current tradition, represented the minister of Candragupta to have been strongly against low-born monarchs and definitely in favour of a high-born, hereditary king. Does it not follow that, even as late as the composition of the *Kauṭilīya,* Candragupta was believed to have been a high-born monarch? For, if a contrary tradition were current, the 'Paṇḍit' of the 3rd century A.D., who is supposed to have composed the *Kauṭilīya* and to

5 Cf. O. Stein, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 354, 359.

6 *Zeit. f. Ind. u. Iran*, 1925, pp. 280 ff.

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have modestly ascribed its authorship to the traditional minister of Candragupta and whose intelligence is manifest from the treatise, would make himself appear utterly foolish, were he to represent that very minister as supporting the claims of a high-born, hereditary prince, against a low-born, non-hereditary monarch. It cannot be urged that the hypothetical 'Paṇḍit' is giving here a view that is reasonable *per se*, not pausing to ponder over the propriety of its ascription to Kauṭilya. That he did pause and ponder is clear from the circumstance that he ascribes an opposite view to the professors who preceded Kauṭilya and Kauṭilya is represented to contradict them—a symptom, not of carelessness, but of meticulous reflection.

(IV)

Dr. Stein has found fault with me for my reliance on the mediaeval productions, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, in reconstructing the history of Candragupta Maurya. Strictly speaking, since we have absolutely no records contemporary with the founder of the Maurya dynasty, neither myself nor even Dr. O. Stein can pretend to vouch for the accuracy of any particular reconstruction which must necessarily be based upon later evidence. Although the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* were actually composed about 1100 A.D., they claim to be based upon Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which is referred to the time of "Sātavāhana," a dynasty that flourished between the 3rd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D.[7] Dr. Stein himself (*op. cit.*, p. 358) cites both these "works of fiction" to show that King Nanda's Śūdra origin was "apparently already a tradition in

7 Keith (*Classical Skt. Lit.*, p. 90) finds it "impossible to place Guṇāḍhya with any certainty before the fifth century A.D., unless we hold that Bhāsa (fourth century) derived from him, and not from tradition, some of his themes." He urges (*ibid.*) that "Sātavāhana is a dynastic name which may denote any of several kings" but does not seem to recognize the conclusion of archæologists that the last of the 'several king' belongs to the 3rd cent. A.D. Keith seems right when he agrees with Bloch, *ibid.*, that the Sātavāhanas were at first patrons of Prākṛt and only gradually adopted Sanskrit as a court-language; so that Guṇāḍhya may be placed between the 2nd and 3rd Cent. A.D.

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Guṇāḍhya's time." Curiously enough after thus appreciating the evidentiary value of these documents, he sets out to find fault with me (*ibid.*, p. 360) over my citation of the very same sources in my reconstruction of Candragupta's history. On the question of reliability of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, it is worth noting that Prof. Keith[8] believes in the fidelity of Kṣemendra to his original inasmuch as his *mañjarī* of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* can be tested for the epics. Prof. Lévi[9] also gives excellent grounds for connecting the *Bṛhatkathā*, in point of time, with Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150 A.D.). In his Introduction to the German translation of the *Kauṭilīya*[10] Dr. J. J. Meyer has also reiled on the *Bṛhatkathā*.[11]

(V)

Dr. Stein has overlooked (p. 360) my interpretation of the Purāṇic statement: ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोनयः। "After the Nandas, the kings of the earth will be Śūdras." Had that been the meaning, we would have to look upon the Brāhmaṇical Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, who succeeded the Mauryas, as Śūdras. The statement implies merely that it was not until Mahāpadma (Nanda) that a king of Śūdra origin sat on an Indian throne; it contains no implication that the Mauryas were Śūdras.

(VI)

Dr. Stein, in dissecting the evidence afforded by the *Bṛhatkathā* in its two Sanskrit redactions, opines that the expression *pūrva-Nanda-*

8 *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, p. 276.

9 *Etudes Asiatiques*, 25th anniv. of L'école francaise d'extrème orient.

10 Leipzig, 1927.

11 Both Kṣemendra and Somadeva apparently worked with a "Kasmirian" recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*. That recension has added to the original *Bṛhatkathā* some episodical matter discernible even to an ordinary reader, notably Books V, VI, IX, XI, XIV, XVI in the *Mañjarī;* there is no reason to suppose that, so far as the tale of the Nandas was concerned, any considerable modification had been made.

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suta applied to Candragupta refers to his connexion with the *real* Nanda, that is, before his dead body was (as the story relates) possessed by Indradatta. But, if this were so, how is it that the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* always refers to the real Nanda simply as *Nanda*, and how is it that the *pūrva-Nanda* is mentioned only in connexion with Candragupta? Dr. Stein demurs to my drawing a parallel between the expressions *pūrva-Nandāḥ* and *nava-Nandāḥ* meaning, respectively, "the Earlier Nandas" and "the Later Nandas." He says (p. 361): "The correlative for *pūrva* is *uttara* or *para*, and never *nava* which means in connection with Nanda only: 'the new Nanda' i.e., the supposed Nanda." But the expression *nava-Nanda* finds no place in the *Bṛhatkathā* account: it occurs in the dynastic enumeration presented by some *Purāṇas* and in the Sinhalese Chronicles. Its perverted sense as "the nine Nandas" did not grow up "within a generation between the 11th and 12th century A.D.," as Dr. Stein would have me admit (p. 360); it "grew up" much earlier as the Sinhalese Chronicles testify, but it failed to obscure the tradition, handed down to the *Bṛhatkathā* (2nd-3rd century A.D.) as preserved to us in the Sanskrit redactions, that Candragupta was a *pūrva-Nanda-suta*. It is indeed significant that the *Bṛhatkathā* does not speak of "nine" Nandas; the stream of tradition represented by it was obviously not yet contaminated by the perverted interpretation of *nava* as "nine". To the mediaeval Sanskrit redactors of the *Bṛhatkathā*, that interpretation was probably not unknown. We must admire their good sense in not permitting themselves to import it into the Paiśācī account they were working upon. They found, in the Paiśācī original, some expression which, they thought, could be best rendered as *pūrva-Nanda-suta*. We do not know, of course, what the original expression actually was. But we have no reason to doubt that they give us a *bona fide* rendering, in *pūrva-Nanda-suta*, particularly since the rendering is found in *Kṣemendra* as well as in *Somadeva*. The context, speaking as it does, of the succession of Candragupta, the *pūrva-Nanda-suta*, to a king named simply as Nanda, condones the inference that Candragupta is alluded to here as a descendant not of Nanda but of a "previous" or an "original" Nanda as distinguished from the Nanda uprooted by Cāṇakya. It is quite usual to speak of "previous" kings as *pūrva;* the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* itself (Act

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I, after V. 21) furnishes an example: Cāṇakya: *bhoḥ śreṣṭhin alam āśaṃkayā. bhītāḥ pūrva-rāja-puruṣāḥ.....deśāntaraṃ vrajanti.* The same drama (Act IV, V. 15) speaks also of:.....*Maurye nave rājani.* When, therefore, Mahāpadma usurped the throne, he would naturally be regarded as a new king and hence described as a *nava rājā;* while his predecessors would be known as *pūrva-rājānaḥ.* And, when he and his successors proceeded to affect the style "Nanda" which his predecessors had adopted, people would naturally distinguish him and his successors as *nava-Nanda-rājānaḥ* from his predecessors who would be described as *pūrva-Nanda-rājānaḥ.* The fame of Mahāpadma as a powerful warrior-monarch added to his ruthless policy towards other rulers, probably helped to cast into the shade of oblivion the name and fame of his immediate predecessors; it is by a lucky chance that we find preserved to us, in the *Bṛhatkathā,* an allusion to the Earlier Nandas. We need not be puzzled to explain why Candragupta, although he belonged to the (Earlier) Nanda stock, did not continue this dynastic style; the style, having been affected by the low-born Mahāpadma and his line, had acquired odious associations. In the same way, in our own days, the name of the House to which the Sovereign of England belongs was changed, after the Anglo-German war, from "Hanover" to "Windsor."

(VII)

Upon the status of the Mauryas, Buddhist evidence throws some light which we cannot well ignore. In the *Divyāvadāna,* for which a date later than the 3rd century A.D. cannot be proposed, we come across two stories pointing to a kṣatriya-origin for the Mauryas. In one of them it is related how Vindusāra came to marry the Brahmin lady who was later to become mother of Aśoka. Soothsayers had foretold her imperial dignity. Her father assisted in fulfilling the prophecy by taking her to Vindusāra's court. Ladies of the royal harem took due note of the beauty of this new arrival, grew jealous and conspired in assigning to her the menial duties of a barber, hoping thereby to create an insurmountable barrier between her and the king. Even then, the prophecy must come true. Knowing her future, she improved her hand

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in shaving the king who naturally one day offered her a boon. With astonishing alacrity, she desired union with him. "How can that be?," asked Vindusāra, "you are a barber-woman, while I am a king, a kṣatriya, duly anointed." Thereupon she revealed her history, and Vindusāra made her his chief queen.[12]

The other story is to this effect. Aśoka was ill, and doctors had failed. His queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, clever and unscrupulous, requested a doctor to bring to her any patient who might be similarly affected. The request is met; and the unfortunate man's stomach ripped open, only to expose a big worm (tapeworm?). To kill this worm, various pungent agencies are applied without avail till onion is given a trial, and at its touch the worm dies. This discovery leads the queen to entreat Aśoka to eat onions and be cured. But the king avows his prejudice: "How can I, a kṣatriya, eat onions?" To this his consort replies with commendable tact: "You can do so, to save your life, certainly. Onion is here no more than a medicine." The persuasion prevails, and Aśoka is whole again.

It will be observed that, in both accounts allusion is made to the kṣatriya-status of the Mauryas, not aggressively but incidentally, showing that the stories were no more fabrications designed to glorify Aśoka or his ancestors, if indeed caste counted for much in Buddhist eyes. They have on the contrary the ring of a genuine tradition. They were at any rate accepted as genuine traditions in Buddhist circles, already before the 3rd century A.D.

(VIII)

To conclude. The *Purāṇas*, which betray the age of their redaction by bringing down the dynastic account to the 836th year after the coronation of Mahāpadma (425 A.D.) and no further[13], know nothing about Candragupta's low birth but assert that his immediate predecessors, the *nava-Nandas*, were Śūdra-born on the mother's side. These nava-Nandas had, according to the *Purāṇas*, themselves been preceded by two

12 Cf. Rajendralal Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 6.

13 *JASB.*, 1925, pp. 211 ff.

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kings named *Nandi*-vardhana and Mahā-*Nandi*. The *Bṛhatkathā*, as preserved in two Sanskrit redactions, agreeably to the *Purāṇas*, represents as a Śūdra the Nanda king who immediately preceded Candragupta; but it does not ascribe a Śūdra origin to Candragupta himself who is moreover described as a scion of the *pūrva-Nandas*, that is, as I think, the earlier Nanda-line represented by *Nandi*-vardhana and Mahā-*Nandi*. The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* ascribes (Bk. VIII, ch. 2) to Candragupta's minister a view *highly hostile to low-born and non-hereditary monarchs*. The *Divyāvadāna* represents both Vindusāra and Aśoka, the son and grandson of Candragupta, (as we know from other sources) as kṣatriyas. Would it be wise to discard these converging testimonies and pin our faith on a picture drawn in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, a drama abounding in historical absurdities? The play makes Candragupta's immediate predecessors the Nandas, high-born, against every evidence, a position rightly rejected by Dr. O. Stein. When it makes Candragupta himself low-born, does it deserve greater reliance? I leave it to the scholars to judge.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB

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Hindu Theatre

(An interpretation of Bharata's second Adhyāya)

In this paper† I shall try to reconstruct the technical architectural nature of Hindu Theatre as detailed by Bharata. The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is very much confused and often inaccurate or inadequate, so is the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*,[1] recently being published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Yet both the text and the commentary together give us some detailed idea about the professional theatre of those days.

Dr. P. K. Acharya has not given any useful information about the architecture of the Hindu theatre, in his excellent *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*.[2] In the vast architectural literature known to the ancient Indians,[3] there does not seem to be any work, with the single exception of *Śilparatna*, which treats of the theatre and its details. I shall herein try to describe the theatre, as far as possible, in Bharata's own words, putting the necessary explanatory notes from Abhinavagupta within [ ] brackets: and I shall reserve my discussions and comments for the supplementary notes at the end of this article. I subjoin three plans of the three varieties of the theatre as described here.*

† After submitting in January last, this paper for publication to the editor, I have come across an article 'Theatre Architecture in Ancient India' by Mr. V. Raghavan, printed in a recent issue of 'Triveni' published in last May or June. It will be seen that our treatment of the subject runs on independent lines: the view about the Raṅgaśīrṣa taken by Mr. Raghavan, though highly plausible, is not clearly seen from the text.

1 I have relied upon the edition in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, which also publishes, for the first time, a portion of the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*.

2 *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1927, Allahabad. (Henceforth abbreviated as DHA).

3 DHA in Appendix 1 notes more than one hundred and seventy works dealing, more or less, with architecture.

* These were drawn, according to my suggestions, by Mr. K. C. Pandya, B.E., for which kindness I am indebted to him. I am also obliged to Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University for going through this paper and making certain suggestions.

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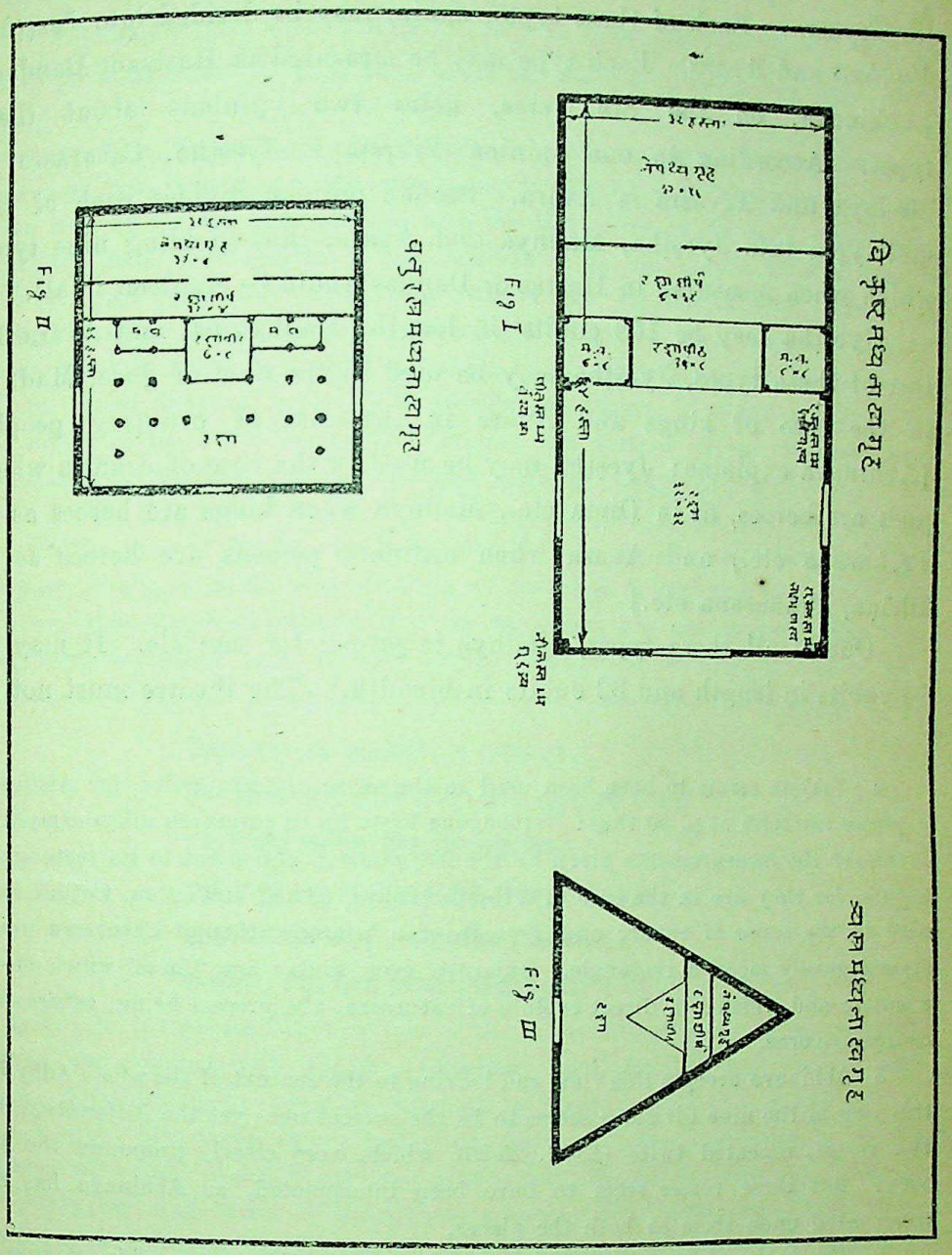

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The Theatre

There are three types of the theatre (1) Vikṛṣṭa[4], (2) Caturasra and (3) Tryasra. Each of these types, again, may be divided into *Jyeṣṭha*, *Madhya* and *Avara*. Each type may be measured in Hastas or Daṇḍas. [Abhinava, on the 8th verse, notes two opinions about these types. According to one opinion Vikṛṣṭa is Jyeṣṭha, Caturasra is Madhya and Tryasra is Avara. Second opinion divides each of the first types into Jyeṣṭha, Madhya and Avara, thus yielding nine types which when measured in Hastas or Daṇḍas would be eighteen in all.[5]]

Jyeṣṭha may be 108 cubits[6] in length, Madhya 64, and Avara 32. Out of these types, Jyeṣṭha may be used in the case of gods, Madhya in the case of kings and Avara in the case of ordinary people. [Abhinava explains: Jyeṣṭha may be used in the case of dramas where gods are heroes, as in Ḍima etc., Madhya when kings are heroes as in Prakaraṇa etc., and Avara when ordinary persons are heroes as in Bhāṇa, Prahasana etc.]

Out of all these types, Madhya is proper for mortals. It may be 64 cubits in length and 32 cubits in breadth.[7] The theatre must not be

4 Vikṛṣṭa seems to have been used in the sense of rectangular, for Abhinava explains the term at p. 50 thus: 'vibhāgena kṛṣṭo na tu catarasru dikṣu sāmyena.' Moreover the measurements given by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also point to its rectangular nature, for they are in the case of Vikṛṣṭamadhya, 64×32 and so on. Caturasra is used in the sense of square and Tryasra of a triangle, though Caturasra would etymologically mean a rectangle. Gujarāṭī, even to-day has 'Coras' which means a square and which is a direct evolute of caturasra, the process being, caturasra= caurassa=coras.

5 Abhinava accepts this view and looking to the context of the whole Adhyāya, this view of the nine divisions seems to be the correct one; yet the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has two verses, repeated twice (13-14, 25-26), which, very clearly propound the first view. But these verses seem to have been interpolated, as Abhinava has not commented upon them at both the places.

6 The table of these measurements as given in the text is this—8 aṇus=1 raja: 8 rajas=1 vāla: 8 vālas=1 likṣā: 8 likṣas=1 yūkā: 8 yūkās=1 yava: 8 yavas =1 aṅgula: 24 aṅgulas=1 hasta: 4 hastas=1 daṇḍa. This list substantially agrees with the one given in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

7 The above-mentioned (note 5) nine varieties will be these: Vikṛṣṭajyeṣṭha= 108×64; Vikṛṣṭamadhya=64×32; Vikṛṣṭāvara=32×16. Caturasrajyeṣṭha= 108×108; Caturasramadhya=68×64; Caturasrāvara=32×32. Tryasrajyeṣṭha,

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bigger than this, because otherwise, it will loose its accoustic properties. If the Maṇḍapa is very extensive, words uttered would become faint and indistinct.

In constructing such a house, the soil must be first examined. It must be even, steady, hard and black or white. The whole field must

Tryasramadhya, Tryasrāvara. (I have not given the measurements of the Tryasra type as no clear indication of the same is seen in the text.) All these measurements given here by me are in accordance with the 10th verse of the text. That verse explicitly states that Jyeṣṭha is 108, Madhya is 64 and Avara is 32 cubits in length, which apparently means that each of the Jyeṣṭha types, should begin with 108 cubits. According to this understanding I have given the measurements above, but they are quite irrelevant looking to the whole discussion in the paper. In the second Adhyāya, verses 20-90 describe the theatre of 64×32 cubits, which the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* calls Vikṛṣṭa; and further on the text says that there must be Madhya type only amongst mortals. Connecting both these statements I take this type of 64×32 to be Vikṛṣṭamadhya type. Then verses 91-105 describe the type of 32×32, which the author calls by the name of Caturasra: this also, I take to be Caturasramadhya on the same understanding. But it will be noted that the measurements given by me above, are not in conformity with the Caturasramadhya type as just noted. Both these statements can be harmonised, I think, in only one way. I quote three verses in this connection.

विकृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्र्यस्रश्चैव तु मण्डपः ।
तेषां त्रीणि प्रमाणानि ज्येष्ठं मध्यं तथावरम् । ८ ।
प्रमाणमेषां निर्दिष्टं हस्तदण्डसमाश्रयम् ।
शतं चाष्टौ चतुःषष्टिर्हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदेव वा । १० ।
अष्टाधिकं शतं ज्येष्ठं चतुःषष्टिस्तु मध्यमम् ।
कनीयस्तु तथा वेश्म हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदिष्यते । ११ ।

It will be remembered that in two of the verses taken by us as interpolated, Vikṛṣṭa was equated with Jyeṣṭha, Caturasra with Madhya and Traysra with Avara. That statement would be relevant by itself, but if it is taken in connection with these three verses just cited, there will be good harmony in the whole construction. Verse 9 expressly states that Jyeṣṭha etc. are the pramāṇas of Vikṛṣṭa etc. and verses 10 gives these measurements. Connecting both these verses we may say that Vikṛṣṭa has the Jyeṣṭha measurements, which is 108 cubits; therefore its varieties should begin with 108 thus: Vikṛṣṭajyeṣṭha=108×64, Vikṣṛṭamadhya=64×32, Vikṛṣṭāvara=32×16. So also connecting verses 9 and 10, Caturasra will have Madhya masurements i.e. its varieties will begin with 64 thus: Caturasrajyeṣṭha=64×64, Caturasramadhya=32×32, and Caturasāvara=16×16. I think that this is the only way to harmonise these otherwise conflicting statements.

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be ploughed with a plough, and bones, nails, skulls and such other things must be taken out. Then in Puṣya constellation, it must be measured with a white string, which may be made of Kārpāsa, Balva, Muñja or Valkala and must have no joints.

In dividing the Vikṛṣṭamadhya type of 64 × 32 cubits the following points should be noted. Its entire length of 64 cubits may be divided into two equal parts. These parts again should be divided into two. In this last Raṅgaśīrṣa[8] should be constructed.[9]

Thus after the foundation, walls may be constructed and the columns may be placed in Rohiṇī or Śrāvaṇa constellation. In this (I understand Raṅga by this and not the whole field) in the Agni corner the Brāhmaṇastambha may be placed at the bottom of which white

8 Abhinava explains Raṅgaśīrṣa thus: (p. 57 *praviśatāṃ pātrāṇāṃ cāntasthānaṃ* and further on as (p. 63) *tatpātrāṇāṃ viśrāntyai āgacchatāṃ ca guptyai raṅgasya śobhāyai raṅgaśiraḥ kāryaṃ.*

9 This is not quite clear. Abhinava says: After dividing the length of 64 cubits into two, the field of 32 cubits should also be divided into two, thus getting two divisions of 16×32. Out of these two, dividing the latter division of 16×32 into two, Raṅgaśīrṣa may be made of eight cubits in length. Behind it the Nepathyagṛha of 16×32 may be made. But if we follow this, we must divide the portion (in Fig. 1), where I have shown the Nepathyagṛha, into two and make Raṅgaśīrṣa in the back portion of these divisions and must place Nepathyagṛha itself outside it i.e. outside the field of 64×32. Moreover, according to this the plan of the audience-hall will be of 48×32. All this seems to be improper; therefore, sticking to the original and interpreting it rather freely, I have supposed the divisions as shown in Fig. 1. I, therefore, note here the original verses and the commentary thereon:

चतुःषष्टि करान् कृत्वा द्विधाभूतान् पुनस्ततः ।
पृष्ठतो यो भवेद्भागो द्विधाभूतस्य तस्य तु ।
सममर्द्धं विभागेन रङ्गशीर्षं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

द्वात्रिंशत्करम् क्षेत्रम् गृहीत्वा मध्ये सूत्रम् विस्तारेण दद्यात् तस्य मध्ये विस्तारेण सूत्रम् दद्यात् । ततः षोडशहस्तौ द्वौ भागौ भवतः । पृष्ठगतं भागमर्द्धेन विभज्याष्टहस्तं रङ्गशिरः ।

On the whole the arrangement seems to be like this: 32×32 cubits=Raṅga. Then there will be portion of 8×32 which will contain Raṅgapīṭha (8×16) and the Mattavāraṇīs (8×8 each). Behind it there will be Raṅgaśīrṣa (8×32) and behind it Nepathyagṛha of 16×32. It will be noted that further on (verses 91-105) the same plan is followed in Caturasramadhya type. Thus the arrangement outlined here seems to be satisfactory.

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things like milk, ghee etc. may be thrown: in the Nairṭya, the Kṣatriyastambha with everything red, like clothes, garlands etc.: in the Vāyavya, the Vaiśyastambha with everything yellow and in the Iśāna, the Śūdrastambha with everything dark, blue may be placed. Moreover at the bottom of each column various metals, too, were to be placed. Then the columns, doors, walls and the toilet-room may be constructed.

On both the sides of Raṅgapīṭha, two Mattavāraṇīs[10] may be constructed (Fig. 1). It should have four columns. [Abhinava explains: The Mattavāraṇīs may be square in form and 8×8 in measure. Apart from these two Mattavāraṇīs, Raṅgapīṭha will be 8×16.] These two Mattavāraṇīs and Raṅgapīṭha should be higher (than the auditorium) by one and a half cubit.[11] After thus constructing the Mattavāraṇīs

10 The text is not clear as to the use of Mattavāraṇīs. Dr. Acharya (*DHA.*, p. 492) has a word 'Mattavāraṇa' which he takes to be 'entablature.' But it does not fit in here. It is quite evident that the Mattavāraṇīs were some special portions of Raṅgapīṭha. They do not serve the purpose of the modern wings, for that is the sense assigned to Raṅgaśīrṣa by Abhinava as quoted above.

11 In this connection the Nāṭyśāstra has: (2, 67-68a)

रङ्गपीठस्य पार्श्वे तु कर्त्तव्या मत्तवारणी ।
चतुस्तम्भसमायुक्ता रङ्गपीठप्रमाणतः ।
अध्यर्धहस्तोत्सेधेन कर्तव्या मत्तवारणी ।
उत्सेधेन तयोस्तुल्यं कर्तव्यं रङ्गमण्डपं ।

Abhinava has the following to comment:

अन्येषाम् हस्तमानोऽत्र (?) यथा रङ्गपीठापेक्षया च सार्धहस्तपरिमाण उच्छ्रायः कार्यो मत्तवारणयाः तयोरिति द्विवचनं ज्ञापकं तं चरितार्थमितीह नोपेक्षित इति तस्या एव यावानुत्सेधस्तावान् रङ्गपीठस्य । तेन ब्रह्मभूभागापेक्षया सार्धहस्तप्रमाणोन्नतं रङ्गपीठमित्युक्तं भवति । तेन मत्तवारणयालोकेनात्यर्थं रङ्गपीठस्य दुष्प्रेक्षता । एतच्चोत्सेधेनेत्येकवचनेनन सूचितम् । अन्यथोत्सेधाभ्यामित्युच्यते ।

The interpretation of the text is rendered doubtful by the word 'raṅgamaṇḍapa' used in 68a. What does it refer to—raṅgapīṭha or the auditorium? Commentary of Abhinava apparently notes two distinct interpretations: according to one the Mattavāraṇīs were one and a half cubit higher than the Raṅgapīṭha; according to the other view, which seems to be Abhinava's also, Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇis had the same height. This second view on the whole seems to be the correct one, for it would be rather unnatural to find Raṅgapīṭha, which would be the centre of all action, to be lower than the Mattavāraṇis. Moreover, if

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and Raṅgapīṭha Raṅgaśīrṣa with six planks should be constructed.[12] [Abhinava explains: In the wall, common to Nepathyagṛha and Raṅgaśīrṣa two pillars, having a mutual distance of 8 cubits should first be placed. By their side two other pillars, with a mutual distance of 4 cubits should be placed. These will be four: and the upper and lower planks: thus six.] At this place (of six planks) two doors (for the exit to, and entry from, the Nepathyagṛha) should be made.

In filling up the ground, earth without logs and grass may be used. This black earth must be dug with a plough drawn by two white bulls. The driver and the carriers should not be deformed. Thus the Raṅgaśīrṣa should be made. Surface should not be kūrmapṛṣṭha or matsyapṛṣṭha. Raṅgaśīrṣa, clean like the surface of a mirror, is praised. In this (surface of the Raṅgaśīrṣa) vajras should be paved in the East, vaidūryas in the South, pravāla in the North and gold in the middle.[13]

After thus completing the Raṅgaśīrṣa, woodwork may be commenced. It must have ūha, pratyūha, sañjavana, various birds and beasts, sālabhañjikā, nirvyūha, kuhara, vedikā, various other arrangements, yantra, jāla, gavākṣa, pīṭha, dhāraṇī and kapotāli. It should be decorated by various columns supported on different kinds of pavements.

After the woodwork, the walls should be completed. In doing so

the Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇis had the same height, it would fit in with two other points. The graded seats of the auditorium require the last row of the seats to be equal in height with the Raṅgapīṭha, according to Abhinava: and our suggestion that the Mattavāraṇīs may have been used as Kakṣās would also have some value only if we take it to have the same height as the Raṅgapīṭha.

Incidentally, I note that Raṅgaśīrṣa was higher than the Raṅgapīṭha in the Vikṛṣṭamadhya type and of the same level in the Caturasramadhya type. See verse 104 (Second Adhyāya).

12 The purpose of Raṅgaśīrṣa has alrady been explained (note 8). Also it seems that there was no wall between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa and that there was a curtain instead (see above). Moreover in Adhyāya fifth verse seventh it has been pointed out that musicians also should sit in the Raṅgaśīrṣa thus: Mārdaṅgika facing the east, between the two doors of the Nepathyagṛha: Pāṇavika on his left: Gāyana (ka?) on the south of the Raṅgapīṭha, facing the north: Gāyākīs in front of him on the north, facing the south, and Vaiṇika on their left, and on their right two Vaṃśakārikas. (These places have been shown by the respective figures in Fig. 1.).

13 For pavement comp. *DHA.*, p. 137.

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it should be noted that neither a column nor a nāgadanta nor a window nor a koṇa nor a pratidvāra should come just opposite a door.[14]

The whole nāṭyamaṇḍapa must be cave-like[15] and it must have two bhūmis. [There were various opinions about these two bhūmis. According to one view they were Raṅgapīṭha's higher and lower portions, like the modern cellar. (?) Second view was this: there must be another wall running all round the Mattavāraṇīs, just as there are two walls with an intermediate passage for circumambulation in a temple. These were the two bhūmis. According to still another view there was another maṇḍapa on the terrace: while others took it as a dvibhūmi, for the text reads thus: *kāryaḥ śailaguhākāro dvibhūmir nāṭyamaṇḍapaḥ*. Abhinava's view seems to be like this: From the Raṅgapīṭha, whence the seats for the audience commence, to the exit-door bhūmis should be made, each one higher than the former, the last having a height equal to the height of the Raṅgapīṭha, so that the rows of the seers may not cover one another.] There must be windows with gentle ventilation in the maṇḍapa so that it will be nirvāta, and the uttered voice will be properly heard. After constructing the walls in such a manner that they may not hinder the accoustic properties of the hall, they (walls) may be besmeared.[16] Outer side may be white-washed; and after the inside of the walls is besmeared, sprinkled over, and properly levelled, paintings may be drawn on them. Males, females, creepers etc. may be painted thereon.

Thus the Vikṛṣṭamadhya theatre[17] should be constructed. Now we shall discuss the nature of the Caturasramadhya type.[18]

All the sides must be of 32 cubits each. (Fig. 2) All the details mentioned in the case of the Vikṛṣṭamadhya may be resorted to in the Caturasramadhya too. The walls may be made of bricks. On the Raṅgapīṭha there must be ten columns strong enough to bear the burden of the maṇḍapa. [Abhinava explains: The whole field (32 × 32)

14 Comm.....*dvāreṇa viddhaṃ parasparasammukhībhūtamadhyaṃ na kuryāt*.

15 This shape is apparently preferred for accoustic properties.

16 Cf. Comm. *bhittilepo bhaṅga(śaṅkha)vālukāśuktikālepaḥ*.....

17 Cf. note 7

18 Cf. note 7

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should be divided, in its length and breadth, in eight parts thus making 64 squares, (4×4 each). In the middle of it, Raṅgapīṭha (8×8) should be made.[19] Behind it, there will remain a field, 12 cubits in breadth and 32 cubits in length, out of which Raṅgaśīrṣa (4×32) should be made. Behind it there may be made the Nepathyagṛha (8×32)] (Fig. 2).

In this, four columns should be placed with regard to Raṅgapīṭha, at its four corners. Then one, four cubits distant from the Agni corner, on the south of it; and one, four cubits distant from the Nairṭya corner, also on the south of it. Thus two. So also in the north. Then on the East (of the Raṅgapīṭha), two more columns each four cubits distant from the Iśāna and Agni corners respectively. Thus ten. (These ten columns have been shown in Fig. 2).

Outside these columns, seats of wood or bricks, for the spectators may be arranged like the series of steps. Each row must be one cubit higher than the preceding one, so that the spectators may have a complete view of the Raṅgapīṭha.

In this Raṅga, first six columns and then eight columns should be placed. [Abhinava explains: Two columns mutually eight cubits distant and respectively four cubits distant from the two columns placed on the south of the Raṅgapīṭha should be placed. Then one column should be placed four cubits distant from and on the south of the eastern column put by the side of the Āgneya column. Thus in the north too. Thus six] (These six columns are shown in Fig. 2).

Abhinava explains the details about the other eight columns thus: one column, on the north of the southern wall, four cubits distant from the wall and the column already placed, should be placed in the eastern

19 In explaining the view of the Upādhyāya regarding columnation, Abhinava calls Raṅgapīṭha to be of 8×32, which seems to include the Mattavāraṇīs. But previously he gives 8×8 as the measurement of the Raṅgapīṭha. If now we want to apply the proportional measurement of Vikṛṣṭ type to the Caturasra type (Cf. verse 92) and if the Raṅgapīṭha is to be 8×8, then the Mattavāraṇīs must measure 4×8 each. But verse 103 is clear in saying that Mattavāraṇīs should be constructed according to the measurement given before (*pūrvapramāṇanirdiṣṭa kartavyā mattavāraṇi*). What is this *pūrvapramāṇa*? It cannot be the one given in the Vikṛṣṭa type that is 8×16. I have, however, shown the Mattavāraṇīs in Fig. 2, as I understand them to be.

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direction. So also on the south of the north wall. Then two columns according to the parts of the Raṅga, four cubits distant from the eastern wall. Thus eight.[20] (These eight columns are shown in Fig. 2).

The above view about the column-arrangement seems to be that of Śaṅkuka and others. Abhinava has also noted that according to some other writers these last columns should be in the Nepathyagṛha. Abhinava, moreover, quotes some verses incorporating the view of the Vārtikakṛt: but these verses, as printed, are so fragmentary in character that it is very difficult to get any clear idea about the columnation therefrom.

Calling this theatre (prekṣamaṇḍapa) 'candrasahodara', according to the view of the Upādhyāya, Abhinava explains his (Upādhyāya's) view about the columnation thus: The theatre is divided in three parts, adhobhūmi[21] raṅgapīṭha and raṅga. The first ten columns should be placed in the *adhobhūmi*. I do not attempt to give its details here as, once more, the commentary is fragmentary at this place. Then the next six columns should be placed on the Raṅgapīṭha thus: four columns, mutually four cubits distant, should be placed at the four corners of the Raṅgapīṭha, which is 8 × 32. Then other two. Thus six. These (six) should be eight cubits distant. Then two tulās should be made in the Raṅgaśīrṣa which will be 4 × 32. In each of these tulās four columns, mutually eight cubits distant, should be placed. Thus eight."[22]

Then the Nepathyagṛha may be constructed. Then one door for entering into Raṅgapīṭha should be placed. Another door for the

20 It will be seen that this accounts for six and not eight columns. We have shown the seventh and eighth columns in Fig. 2 by interrogative marks.

21 It has been mentioned before (cf. note 11) that Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇīs must be higher than the Raṅga, and Raṅgaśīrṣa even higher than the Raṅgapīṭha, and as Raṅga (auditorium) is separately mentioned in the view, I take Adhobhūmi to be Nepathyagṛha. But this whole portion of the commentary is so hopelessly confused that, though I have ventured the above suggestion, no coherent interpretation seems possible at this stage.

22 As the details of the first ten columns, according to Upādhyāya are not explicit, I have not given a separate figure for them. On the whole Abhinava's first view, according to which we have drawn the Fig. 2 seems to be reasonable.

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entrance of the people should be placed in front. The second door should be in the front of the Raṅga.[23]

23 The text has this:

द्वारं चैकं भवेत्तत्र रङ्गपीठप्रवेशनम् ।
जनप्रवेशनम् चान्यदाभिमुख्येन कारयेत् ।
रङ्गस्याभिमुखं कार्य्यं द्वितीयं द्वारमेव तु ।

कद्याविभागेन तावत् द्वै(द्वे) द्वारे तेन द्वारमितिजातावेकवचनम् । एकशब्दश्च राश्यभिप्रायेण राशिकरणे च निमित्तं पात्रप्रवेशोपायनं तथा च कद्याध्याये वक्ष्यति "ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते । तयोर्भाण्डस्य विन्यास (१३-२) इति । (जन)प्रवेशनं च तृतीयद्वारं नेपथ्यगृहस्य येन भार्य्यामादाय नटपरिवारः प्रविशति । अन्यत्तु द्वारमाभिमुख्येन पूर्वस्यां दिशि कुर्य्यात् द्वारवृत्त्या सामाजिकप्रवेशनार्थम्..... । एवं चतुर्द्वारं नाट्यगृहम् ।

This means that according to Abhinava's view there were four doors thus: two as explained above (in the nepathyagṛha wall), one by which *bhāryāmādāya naṭaparivāraḥ praviśati* and one in the auditorium. This is one view. But Abhinava also notes another view thus (p. 68):

रङ्गपीठस्य यत्पृष्ठं रङ्गशिरस्तत्र द्वितीयमिति राश्यापेक्षयैकवचनम् । तेन द्वारद्वयमेव रङ्गशिरसि नेपथ्यगतपात्रप्रवेशाय । चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा) अर्थम् (?) जनप्रवेशनद्वारं च त्रीणि वा कार्याणि मतान्तर इति संगृहीतं भवति ।

The text, I think, should be read thus.....

नेपथ्यगतपात्रप्रवेशाय । चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा)र्थम (?) जनप्रवेशनद्वारम् ।

This view, then, recognises only three doors,—2 from the Nepathyagṛha and one in the auditorium.

But let us have a clearer view of the text itself regardless of the commentary. All the views are agreed as regards the two doors in the Nepathyagṛha wall. Here again, two more doors are prescribed, one as Nāṭyaśāstra calls it 'raṅgapīṭha'praveśanaṃ' and another in the auditorium. Now the 'raṅgapīṭha-praveśanaṃ dvāram' should mean a door in the wall between Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa; for the first two doors which are in the wall between Nepathyagṛha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, would lead to Raṅgaśīrṣa and not to Raṅgapīṭha; but here is an explicit statement that it should lead to Raṅgapīṭha, which forces us, I think, to take a door somewhere in the wall between Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa. There is an injunction in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself that some characters should enter by southern door and some by northern door (13-41). To which of two doors does this refer? Not to the doors in the Nepathyagṛha wall, for they will lead to Raṅgaśīrṣa and not to Raṅgapīṭha. Now if we understand one more door in the wall between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, as above, that will not help, for how can the actors enter from two different doors as noted above, if there was one door only, leading to Raṅgapīṭha? Therefore, I venture to make a suggestion. If we take this singular in 'eka dvāraṃ' as a collective use, as is done by Abhinava,

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In the Caturasra, the Raṅgapīṭha should be of 8 cubits (8 × 8). Also two Mattavāraṇīs of the same measure as given before, should be made by the side of the Vedikā.[24] Raṅgaśīrṣa should be raised in the Vikṛṣṭa type and even in the Caturasra type.

Now the characteristics of the Tryasra type. It should be tryasra i.e. triangular: in the middle of which the Raṅgapīṭha should be triangular only. In such a theatre, the door also should be in the same corner: and the other (door) should be made at the back of the Raṅgapīṭha. With regard to the walls, columns etc. in this type of the theatre the details as given for Caturasra should be followed.

Side-lights

1 It has been noted before that the *Śilparatna* has some discussion about the theatre. But when we compare the description given above with that of the *Śilparatna*, it will, at once, be seen that the *Śilparatna* tries to describe the Nāṭyamaṇḍapa which was usually attached to the Royal palace, while the *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the usual theatres which were mostly meant for the ordinary people. It is a recognised fact that the rich ancient Indian kings had pleasure-gardens, small theatres etc. attached to their spacious palaces, generally

we may understand two doors which would lead to Raṅgapīṭha. These two doors would be distinct from the two doors in the Nepathyagṛha wall; and these two doors leading to Raṅgapīṭha, would most probably be in the partition wall between the two Mattavāraṇīs and Raṅgaśīrṣa (for there was no wall between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, as it had a curtain). Thus we can explain the two different doors for the entrance of the actors, because at 13, 41 *Nāṭyaśāstra* uses the terms *pārśvadvāramathottaraṃ* and *pārśvadāraṃ tu dakṣiṇaṃ*, which would suggest two doors on the two sides evidently leading to the two Mattavāraṇīs, which formed a part of the Raṅgapīṭha. This may also explain Kakṣāvibhāga (see above.).

If we believe in the suggestion made above that the curtain had no place in our ancient theatre but was added later on, then the view of three doors to our theatre would be the earlier one, as, then, the two doors in the Nepathyagṛha wall would naturally lead the characters in the presence of the audience. The view of five doors—2 in the Nepathyagṛha wall, 2, in the wall between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, and one in the auditorium—would be later i.e. would refer to that time when the curtain was added to our theatre.

24 Cf. note 19.

25 *Śilparatna*, TSS., 1920, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī.

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for the diversion of their queens. That the *Śilparatna* describes such a theatre, is borne out by the following:[26]

प्रासादसम्मुखे कुर्यान्मण्डपानां चतुष्टयम् ।
मुखमण्डपमादौ तु प्रतिमामण्डपं ततः ।
स्नानमण्डपमन्यं हि नृत्तमण्डपमेव च ।

Here nṛtta is meant as nāṭya, though often it would seem that only nṛtta was meant. I am appending herewith the relevant verses from the *Śilparatna* (See Appendix I.). Inspite of the text being hopeless, it will be seen that the general plan described therein corresponds to the plans as given by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

2 I have noted three types of theatre as described by Bharata. The *Bhāvaprakāśanaṃ*, however, has the following three types: Caturasra, Tryasra, and Vṛtta. They are defined by Śāradātanaya thus:

परमण्टपिकैः षड्भिः पौरजानपदैः सह ।
राज्ञः सङ्गीतकं यत्र वृत्ताख्यो रङ्गमण्टपः ।
वारकन्याऽमात्यवणिक्सेनापतिसुहृत्सुतैः ।
यत्र सङ्गीतकं राज्ञः चतुरस्रः स कथ्यते ।
ऋत्विक्पुरोहिताचार्यैः सहान्तःपुरिकाजनैः ।
महिष्या सह यत्र स्यात्त्र्यस्रोऽसौ रङ्गमण्टपः

But no measurements are given in this connection by the author. Evidently these are the types of theatres attached to Royal palaces.

3 It seems that *Mānasāra*,[28] a very comprehensive treatise on Indian Architecture, has a chapter on this type of theatre attached to Royal palaces. Dr. P. K. Acharya summarises the chapter as follows:

"It (madhyaraṅgavidhāna) is provided with dwarf pillars or pilasters (aṅghri-pāda) and consists of various members (masuraka, vedi, māṇeka, kuṭṭima, upapīṭha etc.) and with eight or sixteen kṣudra-nāsī. The upper portion is adorned with figures of leographs (vyāli)

26 *Loc. cit.*, p. 199.
27 *Bhāvaprakāśana*, GOS., 1930.
28 *Mānasāra*, ed. by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1914.

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and crocodiles (makara). From the last but one verse of the chapter it is evident that there must be a close connection between the mukta-prapāṅga, on the one hand and the siṃhāsana, the makara-toraṇa and kalpa-vṛkṣa, on the other hand, the latter three subjects being discussed in the immediately preceding and the following chapters.

.....it will be seen that the materials used for the mukta-prapāṅga etc. are wood, stone, brick (terra-cotta?) and various kinds of metals (loha, literally iron).''

The above account however, does not furnish any specific details about the theatre.

Before concluding this paper, I wish to place before the learned world two or three points for clarification:

1 The question whether our theatre had a roof or it was, like the Greek theatre, open overhead, has not been touched by the *Nāṭya-śastra;* but there are indications which would force us to admit the existence of some kind of roof. In the section on column-arrangement the *Nāṭyaśāstra* requires the columns to be *śastā maṇḍapadhāraṇe* (2, 94) and *dṛḍhānmaṇḍapadhāraṇe* (2, 97), which would indicate that there was a roof. This is corroborated by the fact that Bharata praises a :śailaguhākāra' (2, 84) theatre, which, too, would suggest a roof: and Abhinava, in explaining, why the theatre should not be too wide or too narrow, stresses on the point of its properties of resounding (*anuraṇana*, p. 54), which again points to a roof. The Nāṭyaśāstra itself frequently uses the term *nāṭyamaṇḍapa* for the theatre. All this, I think, shows that there was a roof to our theatre.

2 The position of curtain in our theatre is doubtful, for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has no specific statement with regard to it. Neither the term 'paṭī' nor the term 'yavanikā' occurs in the second Adhyāya, though 'yavanikā' is apparently, known to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as it occurs at 5, 11-12. Of course this may suggest an earlier character of the contents of the second Adhyāya. Though I do not know on what grounds Keith and others put the curtain between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, I have come across a reference in Abhinava's commentary explaining its position thus: *yavanikā raṅgapīṭhatacchirasormadhye* (p. 212), but there is no reference which gives it a character of parting from the

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middle. I think, this character given by European scholars to 'paṭī,' in explaining stage-direction 'apaṭikṣepeṇa', has no ground. Moreover it is believed that the word 'yavanikā' takes its origin from the practice of using foreign cloth for the curtain. In this connection Dr. S. K. De writes to me: "I have found in some Mss. and printed texts of some Sanskrit dramas, the word 'yavanikā' is given as 'yamanikā'. I suppose that this is the true form of the word, as the word then etymologically, would mean 'a covering or a curtain' from root yam, to restrain." I think that the above suggestion is probable for there is no sense in deriving 'yavanikā' from the above-mentioned practice. If the idea of curtain was not borrowed from the Greeks, why should the material be borrowed? There is, by the way an attempt made to derive 'yavanikā' from root yu, yunoti āvṛṇoti anayā iti (Commentary to *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, ed. by T. M. Tripathi, p. 359).

In this connection there is one other doubtful point. Had our theatre more than one curtain at any time or was the curtain ever raised? Dāmodaragupta in the *Kuṭṭanīmataṃ* describes the performance of Ratnāvalī, wherein, the following occurs: The king with Vidūṣaka is on the raṅgapīṭha. Two maids come and after much dancing and delivering the message to the queen, go way *babhūvatur javanikāntarite*). After that the queen's entrance is thus described: *apanītatiraskariṇī tato'bhavannṛpasutā samaṃ ceṭyā*. What does this mean? The commentator says: *apanītā tiraskariṇī dūrikṛtā pātrācchādakajavanikā yayā tādṛśī abhavat.*[29]

Was the curtain, then, actually dūrīkṛta or apanīta? It seems the word apanīta, in the text, is unmistakable. May it be that the curtain was actually removed wholly at some time in the progress of the act? We often find in the extant Sanskrit dramas the stage-direction 'nepathye.' Now if the curtain, which was supposed to be between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, was down all the while what would be the propriety of

29 The *Nāṭyaśāstra* has a doubtful phrase, which too, seems to be pointing to the curtain being removed or it may even refer to a drop curtain, I am not sure. But here is the reference *dhruvāyām saṃvṛtāḥāṃ paṭe caivāpakarśatā(te)kāryaḥ praveśaḥ pātrāṇāṃ nānārtharassaaṃbhavaḥ* XII, 2-3; and because the absence of the curtain would also be indicated by the practice of the musicians sitting in the Raṅgaśīrṣa: there will be no sense in their sitting behind the curtain.

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the word 'nepathye'? Nepathyagṛha, as we know, was situated behind Raṅgaśīrṣa; and as Raṅgaśīrṣa would be divided from Raṅgapīṭha by the curtain, it would be the place where, if the curtain was down all the while, speeches from behind the curtain should be uttered. But this apparently cannot be meant by the word 'nepathye', which must refer to Nepathyagṛha. Therefore the stage-direction 'nepathye' must have come into vogue at a time when the curtain was raised: or may it not, more probably, be reminiscent of a time when our theatre had no curtain, which then we shall have to take as added later on? This last alternative is more probable because according to the original plan of the theatre as given in the second Adhyāya, it had no place in the theatre, and because the absence of the curtain would also be indicated by the practice of the musicians sitting in the Raṅgaśīrṣa: there will be no sense in their sitting behind the curtain.

That there was no drop-curtain to our theatre seems to be clear enough, though the reference from Bharata, just quoted would suggest otherwise, from the peculiar ending of the acts in our extant dramas. Our acts never ended with any incident which may be called dramatic or sudden as is often the case in our modern dramas. Prof. Hudson has drawn attention to the similar condition of the Greek theatre and the acts in all our Sanskrit dramas end usually by some description of the time of the day or by some other quiet suggeston to the characters on the stage to exit. This peculiar time endings of our acts are due to the absence of the drop-curtain.

3 There is one passing reference in *Nāṭyaśāstra* which puzzles me to some extent. In 13th Adhyāyā, which has been designated by Abhinava as Kakṣyādhyāya, though in the printed copies we find it called as Karayuktidharmīvyañjaka, it is stated:

ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते ।
तयोर्भाण्डस्य विन्यासो मध्ये कार्यः प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
कक्ष्याविभागो निर्देश्यो रङ्गपीठपरिक्रमात् ।
परिक्रमेण रङ्गस्य ह्यन्या कक्षा भवेदिह ।
कक्ष्याविभागे ज्ञेयानि गृहाणि नगराणि च ।
उद्यानारामसरितस्त्वाश्रमा अटवी तथा ।

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पृथिवीसागरश्चैव त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
वर्णनैः सप्तद्वीपाश्च पर्वता विविधास्तथा ।
आलोकश्चैव लोकश्च रसातलमथापि वा ।
दैत्यानामालयश्चैव गृहाणि च वनानि च ।
नगरे च वने चापि वर्षे वै पर्वते तथा ।
दूरं वा सन्निकृष्टं वा देशन्तु परिकल्पयेत् ।
पूर्वं प्रविष्टा ये रङ्गे ज्ञेयास्तेऽभ्यन्तरे बुधैः ।
पश्चात् प्रविष्टास्ते ज्ञेयाः कक्षाभावे तु मध्यतः ।
तेषां तु दर्शनेच्छुः सन् प्रविशेद् रङ्गमण्डलम् ।
दक्षिणाभिमुखः कूर्या.....दालनिवेदनम् ।

While explaining the two doors from Nepathyagṛha, Abhinava points out that these should be placed kakṣyāvibhāgena. What is this kakṣyā? Was Raṅgapīṭha actually divided into certain parts to represent different places, as enumerated above in verses 4-7? But then the third verse which seems to mean that in the absence of kakṣāvibhāga it should be shown or represented (nirdeśya) by means of circumambulation on the raṅgapīṭha or raṅga, which term is here used in the sense of raṅgapīṭha. The usual stage-direction 'parikramya', so frequently seen in our Sanskrit dramas would support this. The same absence of kakṣāvibhāga is indicated by verse 8, wherein it is stated: "As there are no kakṣās, those characters who enter first should be considered as in the inner apartment, those who enter afterwards would be in the outer apartments and those who enter still later should stand facing the south." This too would point to the absence of kakṣā. Also the statement in verse 6 that those places should be known by varṇanā suggests kakṣābhāva, but verse 4 again raises a doubt, for we are to understand gardens etc. by kakṣāvibhāga. But if there were no kakṣās, as it seems, why then does Abhinava prescribe doors kakṣāvibhāgena? Or was the kakṣāvibhāga imaginary? Or may it, after all be the function of the Mattavāraṇīs, which were in a sense distinct from the Raṅgapīṭha and yet formed a part of it? If we accept Abhinava's second view that Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇīs had the same height this would be rendered possible.

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APPENDIX I

1 I append, here, the relevant verses from the *Silparatna* (TSS), p. 201, verses 60-67.

अथ नाट्यमण्डपः

पर्यन्ते प्रतियोनिभाजि वहिरूर्ध्वे वोत्तरस्याथवा
मध्य(सूत्र)स्थे दलिते ततो विभजिते सम्यक् चतुर्वर्गकैः ।
स्यादंशः पदकायतिस्तु विततिर्द्वाभ्यां पदाभ्यां युतं
तच्छिष्टा ततिरुत्तरं नटनधाम्नो द्वित्रिसंख्यं मतं ॥ ६० ॥
पदं तिस्रः स्तूप्यो विततिदलस्योत्तरतला-
दुपर्युत्थाधः स्याद्विपदमिति ततस्तु चरणः ।
पदं चाधिष्ठानं पदगणनालिन्दचरणा-
न्तराण्यारूढाङ्घ्र्याद्यखिलमुचितं मण्डपमपि (?) ॥ ६१ ॥
एकैकाष्टसु दिक्षु पार्श्वयुगगे द्वे द्वे च भागद्वये
द्वयष्टौ दीर्घलुपा विदिग्गतलुपास्वाबद्धमूलाः पुनः ।
कल्प्याश्छेदलुपाद्वयीषु सचलक्षास्तासु (?) कोणोन्मुखा
द्वेधा सर्वलुपान्तरं तु पदमात्रं चित्रपट्ट्युज्ज्वलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
रङ्गं स्वयोनिपरमार्ध इहार्णवाश्रं
वेदाङ्घ्रिरुत्तरलुपाद्युचिताङ्गशोभि ।
पश्चान्मृदङ्गपदमस्य ततोऽपि पश्चा-
न्नैपथ्यधाम च विभागविदा निधयेम् ॥ ६३ ॥
रङ्गस्य नीप्रविततिः समसिन्नि मध्य-
स्तूप्या स्वमूलसदनस्य तु पश्चिमायाम् ।
स्तूपी च सङ्गमवशात् कुरलेन कल्प्या
प्रायेण हारविततिः श्रुतिहस्तदैर्घ्या ॥ ६४ ॥
अथवाष्टाविंशतिभिश्चत्वारिंशतिभिः पुनः ।
विंशद्भिर्वाथ विभजेत् पर्यन्तार्धं पदाप्तये ॥ ६५ ॥
देवस्याग्रे दक्षिणतो रुचिरे नाट्यमण्डपे ।
नाहार्धे चतुर्विंशांशे विस्तारं दशभागतः ॥ ६६ ॥
षोडशांशे षडंशा वा कुर्याद्वा सुरमन्दिरे ।
मानुष्यराजधान्यादौ युक्त्या लक्षणसंयुतम् ॥
सर्वं समाचरेन्नाट्यमण्डपेषु यथोचितम् ॥ ६७ ॥

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2 In the course of our survey we have seen that rich kings had small theatres attached to their palaces. *Saṅgītaratnākara* has a description of the seat-arrangement in such a theatre, which will be of interest in the present paper. I therefore, quote below the verses describing the seat-arrangement. (*Saṅgītaratnākara*, ASS, VII, 1351-61.).

विचित्रा नृत्यशाला स्यात्पुष्पप्रकरशोभिता ।
नानावितानसंपन्ना रत्नस्तम्भविभूषिता ॥ १३५१ ॥
तस्यां सिंहासनं रम्यमध्यासीनः सभापतिः ॥
वामतोऽन्तःपुराणि स्युः प्रधाना दक्षिणेन तम् ॥ १३५२ ॥
पृष्ठभागे प्रधानानां कोशः श्रीकरणाधिपः ॥
तत्संनिधौ तु विद्वांसो लोकवेदविशारदाः ॥ १३५३ ॥
रसिकाः कवयोऽप्यत्र चतुराः सर्वरीतिषु ॥
मान्यान् ज्योतिर्विदो वैद्यान्विद्वन्मध्ये निवेशयेत् ॥ १३५४ ॥
स्याद्वामेतरभागे तु मन्त्रिणां परिमण्डलम् ॥
तत्रैव सैन्यमान्यानामन्येषामुपवेशनम् ॥ १३५५ ॥
विलासिनो विलासिन्यः परितोऽन्तःपुराणि च ॥
पुरतोऽपि नृपस्य स्युः पृष्ठभागे तु भूपतेः ॥ १३५६ ॥
चारुचामरधारिण्यो रूपयौवनसंभृताः ॥
स्वकङ्कणझणत्कारनिर्वाणिजनमानसाः ॥ १३५७ ॥
अग्रिमा वामभागे स्युरग्रे वाग्गेयकारकाः ॥
कथकावन्दिनश्चात्र विद्यावन्तः प्रियंवदाः ॥ १३५८ ॥
प्रशंसाकुशलाश्चान्ये चतुराः सर्वमातुषु ॥
ततः परं तु परितः परिवारोपवेशनम् ॥ १३५९ ॥
अधिष्ठितं सदः कार्यं दक्षैर्वेत्रधरैर्नरैः ॥
अङ्गरक्षास्तु तिष्ठेयुः सर्वतः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥ १३६० ॥
संनिवेश्य सभामेवं नेता संगीतमीक्षते ॥ १३६१ ॥

The arrangement will be somewhat like that as in the annexed chart:

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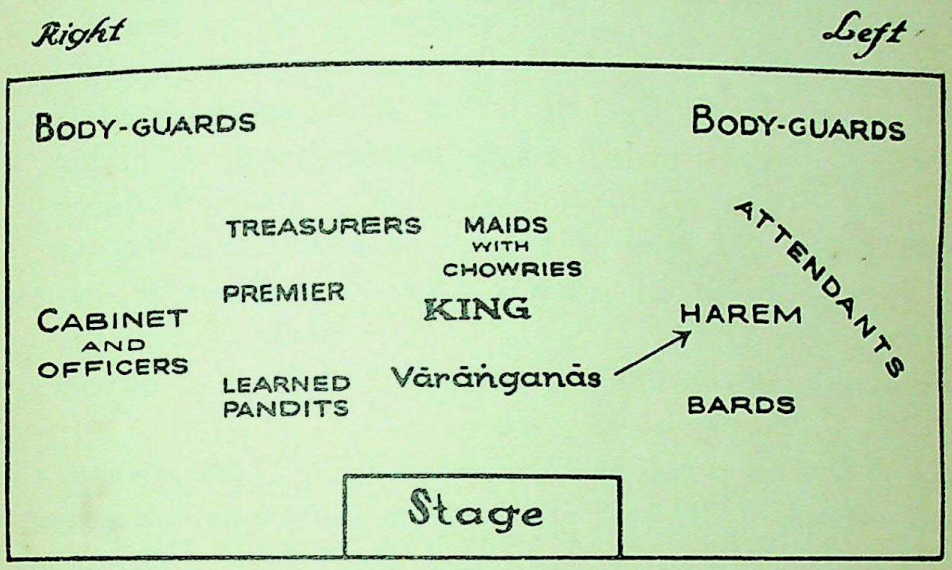
APPENDIX II

(Here I have given the senses ascribed to various technical terms used during the course of this paper, mostly according to *DHA*.).



I.H.Q., September, 1932.

stambha=column. For detailed information about stambha see *DHA*, under that word.

tulā=A balance, a moulding of the column, a mouth, a beam, but none of these senses is suitable here.

dvāra=door, for some interesting details about door see *DHA*, under that word.

D. R. MANKAD

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आवाष्टत सदः काय दक्षवत्रवरगर. ॥
अङ्गरक्षास्तु तिष्ठेयुः सर्वतः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥ १३६० ॥
संनिवेश्य सभामेवं नेता संगीतमीक्षते ॥ १३६१ ॥

The arrangement will be somewhat like that as in the annexed chart:

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APPENDIX II

(Here I have given the senses ascribed to various technical terms used during the course of this paper, mostly according to *DHA*.).

ūha=uppermost portion of a column.

pratyūha=lowermost portion of a column. But ūha and pratyūha, are apparently supplementary to one another e.g. inverse and obverse sides of a carved lotus may represent ūha and pratyūha, respectively.

sañjavana=A rectangular shape.

sālabhañjikā=Statuettes.

nirvyūha=A cross circle.

kuhara=A window, interior window.

vedikā=Pedestal.

yantra=An architectural member of the bed-stead, a band, so *DHA*; but here, obviously, it must refer to some other design.

jāla=latticed window.

gavākṣa=a sort of latticed window, with designs like the eyes of a cow.

pīṭha=pedestal, so *DHA*, but it seems that there must be some difference between vedikā and pīṭha. May not vedikā be a portion lower than pīṭha?

dhāraṇi=a type of pillar, a roof, a tree, a kind of tree of which pillars are constructed.

kapotāli=a pegion-house, crown-work, fillet, gable-edge, cornice.

nāgadanta=*DHA* believes this to be a type of window resembling the hood of a serpent. Abhinava says: 'nāgadantaṃ stambhordhvanīca-sthāṃśakaṃ putrikādhāraṇārthaṃ gajamukham iti kecit.'

koṇa=a kind of house, so *DHA*. (?)

pratidvāra='avāntara dvāra' so Abhinava.

stambha=column. For detailed information about stambha see *DHA*, under that word.

tulā=A balance, a moulding of the column, a mouth, a beam, but none of these senses is suitable here.

dvāra=door, for some interesting details about door see *DHA*, under that word.

D. R. Mankad

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Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha*

In the *Mahābhārata*, at least in its present final form, Kṛṣṇa, though not the hero, is the most striking figure. He appears almost on every important occasion to help, advise, instruct or console the Pāṇḍavas and most of their important achievements are represented to be due to his guidance. In fact, he has been so intricately connected with the Pāṇḍavas that it is now almost impossible to conceive a form of the *Mahābhārata* without Kṛṣṇa. To say that he was not present in the original *Mahābhārata* and was added only in the later editions of the work is merely a guess-work, practically unsupported by the extant evidence.

However, a close and critical study reveals the absence of a harmonious uniformity in the narration of various details of Kṛṣṇa's life and it appears, however indistinctly, that Kṛṣṇa has passed through different stages of development in the *Mahābhārata*. Of course, the aim of the author or the authors of the *Mahābhārata* in its present form was certainly to represent Kṛṣṇa as the god of gods and therefore essentially divine, born amongst men as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Supreme God. It naturally follows that one of this description must be invested with all supreme and divine powers and attempts are throughout visible representing Kṛṣṇa in such colours. Yet there are in the *Mahābhārata* descriptions and allusions, though very rare, where Kṛṣṇa appears in a form which is not quite in harmony with the supremely divine character attributed to him and which, in fact, is nothing but purely human. Perhaps these descriptions and allusions represent the primitive stage in the development of Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* and it seems that supreme divinity came to be associated with him only later on. This is, however, a hypothesis and requires verification by further research.

Naturally enough, such passages are very few in the present *Mahābhārata*, the wonder rather being how the authors, who were all ardent devotees of Kṛṣṇa, could permit even these to remain as they are.

* The references, unless otherwise mentioned, are to the *Mahābhārata* (Kumbhakonam Edition).

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The story of Jarāsandha and his hostility with Kṛṣṇa comes from these rare passages and a brief account thereof is likely to prove interesting.

The *Mahābhārata* account of Jarāsandha comes mainly from three sources: (1) The story of his previous achievements and conflict with Kṛṣṇa as narrated by Kṛṣṇa[1] himself to Yudhiṣṭhira and also by Vaiśampāyana[2] to Janamejaya directly; (2) the account of his slaughter by Bhīmasena as narrated by Vaiśampāyana[3] to Janamejaya; and (3) other details about him gathered from stray references.

The occasion of Kṛṣṇa's narration to Yudhṣṭhira of Jarāsandha's achievements etc. is this: Having advised Yudhiṣṭhira to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice with a view to raising his deceased father Pāṇḍu from the inferior Yamasabhā to the superior regions in the heaven, Nārada leaves[4] for the city of the Dāśārhas. Yudhiṣṭhira, thinking that the most proper advice on the matter would come from all-knowing[5] Kṛṣṇa, sends his messenger Indrasena to Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa readily comes and, after due formalities, Yudhiṣṭhira requests him to say sincerely[6] if

1 II. 14ff. 2 II. 23. 3 II. 20ff.

4 The purpose of this visit of Nārada to Dvārakā is not mentioned here. The *Bhāgavata*, X. 70, however, refers to it and there Nārada is shown as informing Kṛṣṇa about Yudhiṣṭhira's decision to hold the Rājasūya and as pressing him to approve of his decision and to attend the sacrifice.

5 II. 13 42ff. where Kṛṣṇa is referred to as सर्वलोकात्पर, अप्रमेय, अज नृषु कामाज्जात etc. Further, नास्य किंचिदविज्ञातं नास्य किंचिदकर्मजम्। न स किंचिन्न विषहेदिति कृष्णममन्यत ॥ Kṛṣṇa is further referred to as गुरु द्रु तगुरु। He is thus exalted in the work almost at every place where he appears or is alluded to.

6 II. 55ff.

युधि० उवाच—प्रार्थितो राजसूयो मे न चासौ केवलेप्सया।
प्राप्यते येन तत्ते हि विदितं कृष्ण सर्वशः ॥
यस्मिन्सर्वं संभवति यश्च सर्वत्र पूज्यते।
यश्च सर्वेश्वरो राजा राजसूयं स विन्दति ॥
तं राजसूयं सुहृदः कार्यमाहुः समेत्य मे।
तत्र मे निश्चिततमं तव कृष्ण गिरा भवेत् ॥
केचित्तु सौहृदा देवे (-देव?) न दोषं परिचक्षते।
स्वार्थहेतोस्तथैवान्ये प्रियमेव वदन्त्युत ॥
प्रियमेव परीप्सन्ते केचिदात्मनि यद्धितम्।
एवंप्रायाश्च दृश्यन्ते जनवादाः प्रयोजने ॥

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Yudhiṣṭhira really possessed the fitness to hold the proposed gigantic sacrifice, with the remark that Kṛṣṇa's word would decide the matter, Kṛṣṇa replies that Yudhiṣṭhira certainly possesses the requisite fitness, yet he cannot possibly begin the Rājasūya unless and until he vanquishes Jarāsandhā, the paramount monarch of Magadha. Kṛṣṇa then gives an account of Jarāsandha's achievements[7] and further, at Yudhiṣṭhira's query, narrates[8] his origin etc. Later[9] Janamejaya's curiosity, too, is roused as to the cause of the conflict between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha and Vaiśampāyana quenches it by repeating with some changes the account given by Kṛṣṇa and supplementing it with an account of the origin etc. of Kṛṣṇa himself. The following is a brief account of Jarāsandha based on these passages in the *Māhābhārata*:

He was son of king Bṛhadratha of Magadha born of his two queens as the result of a boon granted by sage Candakauśika. Each queen brought forth a half portion of the boy which she, in disappointment, threw away. Jarā, a Rākṣasī, joined together the two halves to form a human baby which she delivered over to Bṛhadratha. Sage Caṇḍakauśika is said to have conferred on the boy several boons including invincibility in battles, partiality for Brāhmaṇas, extraordinary hospitability, a personal view (साक्षाद्दर्शन) of God Śiva, etc.

Jarāsandha then succeeded his father to the throne and set on the task of subjugating other kings. He vanquished all mighty kings in all directions including the Bhojas, the descendants of Aila, Ikṣvāku, Yayāti, etc., while some became his dependent allies.

त्वं तु हेतूनतीत्यैतान्कामक्रोधौ व्युदस्य च ।
परमं यत्तमं लोके यथावद्वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

7 II. 14ff.

8 II. 17. 12ff. The query referred to is—

कृष्ण कोऽयं जरासन्धः किंवीर्यः किंपराक्रमः ।
यस्त्वां स्पृष्ट्वाग्निसदृशं न दग्धः शलभो यथा ॥ ११ ॥

The query, at least "किंवीर्यः किंपराक्रमः" does not look appropriate in view of Yudhiṣṭhira's previous admission (II. 15. 7) of having suffered from Jarāsandha's terror.

9 II. 23.

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'Śiśupāla,' says[10] Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira, 'relying wholly on (the strength of) Jarāsandha, has become a mighty general (सेनापतिः). Vakra, lord of Karūṣa, attends on him as a disciple. Two more great valiants, viz. Haṃsa and Ḍibika,[11] have joined him. Bhagadatta, the aged mighty king of the Yavanas, a friend of your father, pays homage to Jarāsandha by words and deeds, though in his heart he is as affectionate to you as he was to your father.....The vain Cedi king Puruṣottama (Śiśupāla?),[12] who was not (or could not be) formerly killed by me as he had joined Jarāsandha, regards himself as the best among men. Strengthened by the same alliance the Pauṇḍraka king Vāsudeva who foolishly puts on my badges[13] has attained supremacy over the Vaṅgas, the Puṇḍras and the Kirātas. Similarly has the mighty, learned and splendidly-equipped king Bhīṣmaka become an adorer of Jarāsandha out of an offensive disregard for us who are his devoted relations, always yield to him and do only what pleases him. The Bhojas, the Pañcālas, etc., terror-stricken, are said to have left their kingdoms and run away to escape in all directions.

Kaṃsa had married Jarāsandha's two daughters, Asti and Prāpti[14] by name. Strengthened by this connection, Kaṃsa tormented his own kinsmen and gained power. The elderly Bhojas, subjected to the cruelty of Kaṃsa and Jarāsandha, entered into a matrimonial alliance[15] with Kṛṣṇa's party with a view to securing safety to their clan (ज्ञाति).

10 II. 14. 10.

तं स राजा जरासन्धमाश्रित्य किल सर्वशः ।
राजन्सेनापतिर्जातः शिशुपालः प्रतापवान् ॥

11 The name appears differently as Ḍivika (II. 14. 39 etc), Ḍimbika (II. 14. 13 etc.), Ḍibhika (II. 20 1 etc.) etc.

12 II. 14. 18ff.

जरासन्धं गतस्त्वेव पुरा यो न मया हतः ।
पुरुषोत्तमविज्ञातो (?) योऽसौ चेदिषु दुर्मतिः ॥
आत्मानं प्रतिजानाति लोकेऽस्मिन्पुरुषोत्तमम् ।

The passage is rather obscure.

13 II. 14. 19.

आदत्ते सततं मोहाद्यः स चिह्नं च मामकम् etc.

14 This name appears as Prāsti in II. 14. 32.

15 The matrimonial alliance was made by giving to Akrūra the daughter of Āhuka (II. 14. 34).

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Kṛṣṇa says that he and Balarāma have acquitted themselves of this task by defending the Bhojas, when tormented by Jarāsandha and have besides killed Kaṃsa and Sunāman.

Observing Jarāsandha ever active in making fresh attacks, the eighteen families of the Bhojas thought it was impossible for any human agency to exhaust Jarāsandha's splendid forces and so they seem to have decided [16] not to face him in an open contest. "Jarāsandha," says Kṛṣṇa, "could not be killed by me during the course of the eighteen rigorous battles that I fought with him." Jarāsandha had gathered further strength in his unparalleled ministers, Haṃsa and Ḍibika, who are said to be अशस्त्रनिधनौ i.e., proof against death from weapons. However, in the eighteenth battle some one uttered[17] 'Haṃsa is slain,' on hearing which Ḍibika instantly died in bereavement. On learning of the occurrence Haṃsa too left the field and drowned himself in the Yamunā and Jarāsandha, extremely dispirited at the loss of the ministers, withdrew and returned to his capital leaving Kṛṣṇa and his party to enjoy freely at Madhurā (=Mathurā).

The Yādavas, however, could not enjoy his absence for long. Soon they heard Kaṃsa's widow[18] urging her father to avenge her husband's death. With their past bitter experience of Jarāsandha fresh in their mind they received the news very painfully and, in accordance with their previous resolve not to face him on battle-field, decided to leave Madhurā for safety. So[19] they all fled one by one and took

16 II. 14. 37ff.

भये तु समतिक्रान्ते जरासन्धे समुद्यते ।
मन्त्रोऽयं मन्त्रितो राजन्कुलैरष्टादशावरैः ॥ etc.

17 The lines II. 14. 43-46 are obscure and contradictory as will be shown in a subsequent footnote.

18 II. 14. 49ff.

यदा त्वभ्येत्य पितरं सा वै राजीवलोचना ।
कंसभार्या जरासन्धं दुहिता मागधं नृपम् ॥ etc.

Only one is mentioned here and not two (Asti and Prāsti) as in II. 14. 32.

19 Just below (II. 14. 77), however, Kṛṣṇa seems to say that they shifted from Mathurā to Dvārakā being alarmed at Jarāsandha's cruelty in confining other kings.

"वयं चैव महाभाग जरासन्धभयात्तदा ।
मथुरां संपरित्यज्य गता द्वारवतीं पुरीम् ॥"

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shelter in the west making their new settlement near Raivataka mountain at Kuśasthalī (i.e. Dvārakā) which they strongly fortified. 'Thus' says Kṛṣṇa, "we, the offenders of Jarāsandha, left his vicinity, took shelter in Gomanta (Raivataka?) and have since become strong on account of our jointness".[20] Kṛṣṇa further gives a description of the fortifications of Dvārakā and of the strength of the Yādavas and says[21] that the Pāṇḍavas are ever a great support to his party.

Vaiśampāyana, however says[22] that when Kṛṣṇa killed Kaṃsa and reinstalled Ugrasena as king, Jarāsandha raised a huge army, took Kṛṣṇa captive and enthroned his daughter's son on the kingdom of Mathurā. Since then Jarāsandha had been offending Ugrasena and the Vṛṣṇis and this was the cause of the enmity between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha.

At the time of Kṛṣṇa's narration of Jarāsandha's achievements to Yudhiṣṭhira, Jarāsandha had confined several mighty kings in his capital Girivraja with a view to sacrificing them in honour of God Śiva whose favour had enabled Jarāsandha to vanquish them. As has been pointed out in a previous footnote, Kṛṣṇa in II 14-77 seems to say that it was this cruelty of Jarāsandha that made Kṛṣṇa and his party shift from Mathurā to Dvārakā, if the word तदा there is taken to refer to the time of this incident just mentioned. The Pāṇḍavas too seem to have been frightened by Jarāsandha's achievements and cruelty.[23]

In reply to a query of Yudhiṣṭhira who is astonished to find Jarāsandha not having already been slain by Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa says [24] that he

20 II. 14. 56.

एवं वयं जरासन्धादभितः कृतकिल्बिषाः ।
सामर्थ्यवन्तः सम्बन्धाद्गोमन्तं समुपाश्रिताः ॥

21 II. 14. 67,..... पाण्डवैश्चापि सततं नाथवन्तो वयं नृप।

22 II. 23. 32ff.

23 II. 15. 7ff. Yudhiṣṭhira says to Kṛṣṇa:—

वयं चैव महाभाग जरासन्धभयात्तदा ।
शङ्किताः स्म महाभाग दौरात्म्यात्तस्य चानघ ॥ etc.

Here 'वयम्' perhaps refers to the Kauravas in general, although they were not seriously affected by Jarāsandha's achievements (*vide* V. 51. 38ff.).

24 II. 19. 26ff.

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had to neglect or postpone action against Jarāsandha for political reasons. The reasons meant seem to be that Jarāsandha and his allies were extremely powerful, his ministers were very highly skilful in politics and Kṛṣṇa's men (the Kukuras, the Andhakas, the Vṛṣṇis, etc.), powerful as they were, did not dare to resist them.

Winding up his narration, Kṛṣṇa says that Jarāsandha's supremacy has been accepted on all hands and that Yudhiṣṭhira cannot possibly commence the Rājasūya until he vanquishes Jarāsandha. Other powerful kings like Duryodhana, Śiśupāla etc. are likely to yield to Yudhiṣṭhira out of their regard for him. Jarāsandha, however, cannot be made to do so and therefore it is primarily necessary to kill him and to rescue the unfortunate kings confined by him in Girivraja whereby Yudhiṣṭhira's supremacy would be established.

Yudhiṣṭhira praises Kṛṣṇa for his unique advice but prefers giving up the proposed plan of the Rājasūya thinking his forces to be incompetent to vanquish Jarāsandha in view of the fact that even Kṛṣṇa was frightened by Jarāsandha.[25] Kṛṣṇa, however, presses, at Arjuna's suggestion, to try their valour against Jarāsandha and says that, Kaṃsa as well as Haṃsa and Ḍibika having already been slain, the time is now quite ripe to kill Jarāsandha. He adds that as it is impossible to kill Jarāsandha on battle-field, Bhīma, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa himself should secretly approach Jarāsandha with the challenge of a combat which he would surely accept and, through vanity, would elect to have an encounter with Bhīma. He adds that recourse to tactics[26] is necessary in the case and assures Yudhiṣṭhira about Bhīma's competence to kill Jarāsandha in the encounter and ultimately prevails upon Yudhiṣṭhira in sending Bhīma and Arjuna with him.

Blessed by Yudhiṣṭhira, the three depart, robed in Kuśa garments as snātaka Brāhmaṇas, and, after passing through several regions, reach the Goratha Mountain whence they can view Jarāsandha's capital. The Brāhmaṇas in the capital are brisk in pacifying the evil omens that have been appearing there lately foreboding disaster to Jarāsandha. The three enter the capital, snatch garlands from Jarāsandha's people in their way and, weaponless as they are, force

25 II. 15ff. 26 II. 20. 2ff.

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their way to Jarāsandha's palace, causing alarm to the citizens. They forcibly enter the palace, through an unusual passage (अद्वारेण), ascend three stories, approach Jarāsandha and call on him with the slighting word भोः . Jarāsandha, thinking them to be Brāhmaṇa guests, rises to welcome them. Kṛṣṇa attributes religious silence to the two brothers who, he says, would break it in the midnight when they would speak to Jarāsandha.

Jarāsandha accordingly rises in the midnight and, though he smells fraud from their robes inconsistent with their alleged vow, offers worship to them. They reject it, Kṛṣṇa saying that they cannot accept worship from an offender and, on Jarāsandha's query, adding that the offence referred to is his cruel confinement of the kings in Girivraja. Kṛṣṇa asks Jarāsandha to release the kings instantly and after revealing the identity of himself and the two brothers, challenges him in an encounter with any of the three in case he does not choose to release the kings.

Jarāsandha[27] refuses to liberate through fear the kings he has confined for some religious purpose and accepts the challenge. He makes ready to fight, installs his son Sahadeva as king and elects to encounter with Bhīma.[28]

The encounter commences on the first day of Kārtika and goes on ceaselessly for fifteen days and nights. Observing Jarāsandha fatigued on the night of the fourteenth day, Kṛṣṇa who has been throughout

27 II. 22. 37ff. The verses 27-36 appear as interpolated and are not in harmony with the spirit of the verses 37ff. occurring in all recensions. Jarāsandha calls Kṛṣṇa as born in the race of cowherds, showers abuses on him for having made a cowardly escape by shifting from his birth-place to the seacoast, says that he (i.e. Jarāsandha) is not of the common rank like Kaṃsa, Pralamba, Bāṇa, Muṣṭika, Indratapana, Keśi, Pūtanā and Kālayavana slain by Kṛṣṇa and expresses delight in having now been enabled to pay off his debt to his son-in-law by killing Kṛṣṇa along with Bhīma and Arjuna. Kṛṣṇa asks him to cease boasting and to come to action, saying he has no doubt about Jarāsandha being killed.

28 II. 22. 41ff. It is said that Kṛṣṇa due to his regard for Brahmā's commands, did not want himself to kill Jarāsandha, recollecting that he was destined to be killed by some one else than the Madhus. II. 24. 5., which occurs as an interpolation, says that Jarāsandha refused to fight with Kṛṣṇa as he was a cowherd and with Arjuna as he was a boy.

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guiding Bhīma beckons to him now to exhaust the foe's energies and thus to hasten his death.[29] Bhīma does accordingly and ultimately breaks Jarāsandha into two pieces, causing terror to all.

The three leave the dead body at the Kuladvāra and Kṛṣṇa drives in Jarāsandha's supreme chariot[30] to the Girivraja prison and sets free the kings confined there. The liberated kings express their excessive gratefulness to Kṛṣṇa and readily agree to please him by assisting Yudhiṣṭhira in his impending performance of the Rājasūya. Kṛṣṇa accepts, though reluctantly,[31] the jewels conferred on him by the kings with a view to saving them from disappointment. Kṛṣṇa then grants safety to Sahadeva, Jarāsandha's son, who requests Kṛṣṇa to forget the past and pays homage through him to Yudhiṣṭhira. The three then return to Indraprastha and Yudhiṣṭhira attributes the entire achievement to Kṛṣṇa's guidance. Having thus made Yudhiṣṭhira fit enough to hold the Rājasūya, Kṛṣṇa leaves for Dvārakā to be able to return in time to join the Rājasūya.

(*To be continued*)

S. L. Katre

29 Further (II. 25. 1 ff.) Kṛṣṇa also informs Bhīma that Vāyu, Bhīma's father, has forecasted Jarāsandha's death at the hands of Bhīma, this being the reason why Jarāsandha survived even Balarāma's strokes and was spared at Gomanta.

30 II. 25. 25ff. The acquirement of this chariot, which Yudhiṣṭhira, on their return to Indraprastha, dedicates, by way of gratefulness, to Kṛṣṇa, is regarded by the three, especially by Kṛṣṇa, as a unique achievement.

31 II. 25. 52.

रत्नभाजं च दाशार्हं चक्रुस्ते पृथिवीश्वराः ।
कृच्छ्राज्जग्राह गोविन्दस्तेषां तदनुकम्पया ॥

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Some Problems of Sāṅkhya Philosophy and Sāṅkhya Literature

The subject has been copiously dealt with by eminent scholars but none of the views offered by them may be accepted as conclusive.

The problems of Sāṅkhya Philosophy are closely connected with those of its literature—so much so, that no treatment of one is possible without the other. For the sake of convenience I am taking up the question of the Sāṅkhya literature first.

The difficulty presents itself mainly with regard to its chronology. That the Sāṅkhya-kārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, otherwise known as *Sāṅkhya-saptati* and *Kaṇaka-saptati*, *Suvarṇa-saptati or Hiraṇya-saptati* in its Chinese version, is the earliest available as well as the most popular text-book of the Sāṅkhya school, is beyond any question. It has been commented upon by Gauḍapādācārya (7th century A.D.) and Vācaspati Miśra (9th century A.D.), of whose age and identity there is no contention. But it has got two other well-known commentaries, viz. the *Māṭhara Vṛtti* by *Māṭharācārya* and *Jaymaṅgalā* by Śaṅkarācārya. According to Prof. Gopi Nath Kaviraj the colophon wherein the name Śaṅkarācārya occurs is an interpolation and Śāṅkarācārya is a misnomer for 'Śāṅkarārya', a man of unknown age and identity. Leaving aside, therefore, the question of this last-named commentator for discussion, I may venture to propose that the *Māṭhara-vṛtti* is the earliest known commentary on the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, as handed down to us. Prof. Sylvain Lévi informs us from Chinese sources that there were three learned men at the court of Kaniṣka[1] in the 2nd century A.D. Thus Aśvaghoṣa was his Guru, Māṭhara his prime minister and Caraka his chief physician. If that be so, then it is quite plausible to seek an identification of the Vṛttikāra 'Māṭhara', with the prime minister Māṭhara of Kaniṣka, and this identification seems to be somewhat justified when we see that Caraka with whom Māṭhara is said to be contemporaneous, gives a clear exposition of the Sāṅkhya system in his *Śarīra-sthāna*.[2] Not only

2 Canto XII.

1 *JBORS.*, 1923.

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this: Aśvaghoṣa also in his *Buddha-Carita* eulogises and enunciates the Sāṅkhya Philosophy through the mouth of a Sāṅkhya teacher named 'Arāḍa'.[3] These three learned men, of whom one is an expounder of Sāṅkhya and another its great admirer, flourished at the same court and at one and the same time. Is it not possible, therefore, that the third man Māṭhara was no other person but the Vṛttikāra, Māṭhara, himself? It may be contended, however, that 'Māṭhara' is but a Gotra-name, and not the name of any person, and hence any conclusion on the basis of a Gotra-name would be unjustifiable. In reply it may be said that like Caraka of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, Māṭhara may be taken as the author of the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, because the existence of another Māṭhara is not yet established.

Now this Māṭharācārya refers more than a dozen times to Īśvara-kṛṣṇa as 'Bhagavān'. An authority takes a long time before he receives a venerable appellation like 'Bhagavān' from his successors. A century may be taken but the lowest limit. Admitting, therefore, that Māṭhara belonged to the 2nd century A.D., Īśvara-kṛṣṇa can in no way be placed later than the 1st century A.D.[3] I proceed to offer now another evidence by which my previous statement will be corroborated.

That Īśvara-kṛṣṇa received the doctrines of Sāṅkhya by way of succession of disciples, is narrated by himself in Kārikā 71, wherein he states:

शिष्यपरम्परयाऽगतमीश्वरकृष्णेन चैतदार्य्याभिः ।
संक्षिप्तमार्य्यमतिना सम्यग्विज्ञाय सिद्धान्तम् ॥

The hierarchy of teachers, however, is given in verse 69 as Muni (i.e., Kapila), Āsuri and Pañcaśikha according to succession. In the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, however, a succession of Sāṅkhya teachers is mentioned:

" कपिलादासुरिणा प्राप्तमिदं ज्ञानम् । ततः पञ्चशिखेन तस्माद्भार्गवोलूकवाल्मीकि-हारीतदेवलप्रभृतिना गतम् । ततस्तेभ्य ईश्वरकृष्णेन प्राप्तम् । "

3 Mm. H. P. Shastri—5th C.A.D.
Dr. Keith—4th C.A.D.
Dr. B. Bhattacharya—4th C.A.D.
Prof. Radhakrishnan—3rd C.A.D.
Dr. Belvalkar—2nd C.A.D.
Dr. S. N. Das Gupta—200 A.D.

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Thus altogether we get 8 names. But the word *prabhṛtinā* indicates that there must have been some other teachers anterior to him. Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on verse 71 adds two other teachers 'Garga' and 'Gautama'. Cf—

मुनेरासुरेः पञ्चशिखस्तथा गर्गगौतमप्रभृति etc. अनया शिष्यपरम्परया ।

Guṇaratna, the famous commentator of *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya* by Haribhadra Sūri, while enumerating several authoritative works on the Sāṅkhya philosophy, names among others one *Ātreya-Tantra*, presumably a work of Atri. The number of teachers so far arrived at is 11. Gauḍapāda, in his commentary, quotes the *Ṛṣitarpaṇa-Mantra* a list of Sāṅkhya teachers, though not in a chronological order.

Cf.:—

"सनकश्च सनन्दश्च तृतीयश्च सनातनः ।
आसुरिः कपिलश्चैव वोढ़ः पञ्चशिखस्तथा ।।"

The number thus increases from 11 to 15 by addition of the names of Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana and Boḍha, who are all mentioned in association with Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha the well-known authorities of Sāṅkhya, whose historicity of personage has never been doubted.

In the *Atharva-veda-pariśiṣṭa*, however, the *Ṛṣitarpaṇa-Mantra* reads thus:

"सनकस्तृप्यतु, सनन्दनस्तृप्यतु, सनातनस्तृप्यतु, कपिलस्तृप्यतु, वोढ़स्तृप्यतु, आसुरिस्तृप्यतु, पञ्चशिखस्तृप्यतु । सनन्दनं तर्पयामि, सनकं तर्पयामि, विद्वांसं सनातनं तर्पयामि, सनत्कुमारं तर्पयामि, सनकं तर्पयामि, सहदेवं सनातनं तर्पयामि, प्लुतिं तर्पयामि, पुलस्त्यं तर्पयामि, पुलहं तर्पयामि, भृगुं तर्पयामि, अङ्गिरसं तर्पयामि, मरीचिं तर्पयामि, क्रतुं तर्पयामि, दक्षं तर्पयामि, अत्रिं तर्पयामि, वसिष्ठं तर्पयामि" ।

(43. 3, 1-25)

By elimination of the 15 names already mentioned, the total number comes to be 26. The very association of all these names with Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha is very suggestive. We are naturally tempted to recognise in them the authorities of Sāṅkhya according to succession although it is very difficult to arrange them according to

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strict chronological order. This temptation is, however, justifiable to a certain extent if we consider the following facts:

The above-quoted Mantra is known as the *Ṛṣitarpaṇa Mantra*: in other words, the persons mentioned therein are all designated as Ṛṣis. And we know that Kapila, to whom the foundation of the Sāṅkhya system is universally attributed, bore some epithets peculiar to him, viz. *Paramarṣi*, *Ādi-vidvān* and *Muni*. We should naturally expect, therefore, that the followers of his school, too, should, in order to distinguish themselves from other schools, bear some such epithets like *Ṛṣi* or *Vidvān*, if not *Paramarṣi* or *Ādi-vidvān* the *paramatva* and *āditva* being exclusively reserved for Kapila, the founder of the school, as a mark of veneration. Curiously enough, we know them not only as Ṛṣis but one of them viz. Sanātana has also been clearly styled as *Vidvāṃsaṃ Sanātanaṃ*. In the *Buddhacarita* also the Sāṅkhya teachers are designated as *vidvāṃsaḥ*.[4]

Secondly, the grouping of all these names together has got a special significance too. In his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* Mr. Pargiter has shown that the Ṛṣis of the Mantra just now cited all belonged to different Gotras. From the fact that leaving other Ṛṣis like Dūrvāsas, Yājñavalkya, Viśvāmitra and others aside, a certain number of Ṛṣis of different Gotras has been mentioned together and that also in association with so well-known teachers as Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha, the only significance that can be deduced is that the group of Ṛṣis possibly belonged to a particular school of Philosophy (which I am inclined to hold as the Sāṅkhya Philosophy) and that the Mantra was composed in order to commemorate and perpetuate the name of that school. If that is so, then we have 26 teachers of Sāṅkhya in succession before the time of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Let us allow 30 years at least for each teacher. Then the number of years intervening between Kapila and Īśvara Kṛṣṇa must have been 780, if not more. Now, the first mention of Kapila as the founder of the Sāṅkhya school is found to have been made in the *Mokṣa-dharma-parvādhyāya* of the *Śānti-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* and the way in

4 इत्यविद्या हि विद्वांसः पञ्चपर्व्वां समीहते । तमो मोहं महामोहं तामिस्रद्वयमेव च ॥
Buddhacarita, xii, 33.

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which an account of the Sāṅkhya system is given therein, shows that the system was then well-established and widely-accepted and that therefore it must have taken at least a century for its establishment and wide popularity. The date of that portion of the *Māhābhārata* in which the account is given cannot be later than the 6th century B.C. and the scholars like Winternitz are of opinion that it was possibly written by the end of the 8th century B.C. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that this period was synchronous with the age of Kapila, let us deduct 780 years (as already deduced) from 700 B.C., and thus we get 80 A.D. or 1st century A.D. as the date of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, a date which perfectly accords with the conclusion already arrived at.

The probable age of Kapila may also be deduced in another way. That the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is a pre-Buddhistic one is beyond any controversy. The word Sāṅkhya as a system of Philosophy occurs in the *Lalitavistara*.[5]

The *Visuddhimagga* chap. XVII also refers to Sāṅkhya in the same sense. But if the *Lalitavistara* and the *Visuddhimagga* are works of a much later age than the Buddha, we have then another work of about the 6th century B.C. I mean the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* which uses the word *Saṃkhya* a variant of 'Sāṅkhya' in that very sense.

Besides, the fundamental principles on which the Buddha bases his Philosophy are the four well known *Āryasatya's* viz., *duḥkha*, *duḥkhasamudaya*, *duḥkhanirodha* and *duḥkhanirodhopāya*. These four *Āryasatyas* fully accord with the four fundamental principles of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy viz., *heya*, *heya-sādhana*, *hāna* and *hānopāya* or *hānasādhana* and are decidedly admitted by all scholars to have been borrowed from the latter. The Saṃkhāra theory of Buddhism is nothing but the *saṃskāra* of Sāṅkhya.

All these evidences taken together go to show that the Sāṅkhya system of Philosophy was held by Buddha himself as one of much

5 वेदे व्याकरणे निरुक्ते etc.....ज्योतिषे सांख्ये योगे etc.....सर्व्वत्र बोधिसत्त्व एव विशिष्यते स्म। *Śilpadarśanaparivarta* (Lefman's ed.) p. 156.

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importance and authority, and a system to receive such a high esteem from such a man like Buddha, must have taken a pretty long time —possibly not less than two centuries.

In this way, too, the age of Kapila cannot be placed later than the 8th century B.C. In any case, therefore, the date of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa comes to be the 1st century A.D.

Thus we see that the Sāṅkhya system is a fairly old one with Kapila as its founder who, as is generally held, belonged to an age not later than the 8th century B.C. and that the system, since its very foundation grew to be popular and was widely accepted. It had, since the time of Kapila, continued to retain its popular and universal character in an unbroken line of teachers up to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa who is just now proved to have belonged to an age not later than the 1st century A.D. with 25 teachers intervening between himself and Kapila.

This Īśvara Kṛṣṇa has been identified by some scholars with Vindhyavāsa or Vindhyavāsin on the strength of Dr. Takakasu's account of Paramārtha's life of Vasubandhu (Cf. *JRAS.*, 1905) but this ground has been proved to be extremely fallacious and unacceptable by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya in his Introduction to the edition of the *Tattva Saṅgraha*. Dr. Bhattacharya, however, although he knows about Māṭhar, the prime minister of Kaniṣka, denies to the commentator Māṭharācārya, the date of 2nd century A.D. because he places Īśvara Kṛṣṇa in the 4th century A.D. This assignment of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's date is based by him upon the supposition that in his Kārikā 5:

प्रतिविषयाध्यवसायो दृष्टं त्रिविधमनुमानमाख्यातम् ।
तल्लिङ्गलिङ्गिपूर्व्वक माप्तश्रुतिराप्तवचनन्तु ॥

he was influenced by Vātsyāyana, the first commentator on the *Nyāya-sūtra* of Akṣapāda. But the date of Vātsyāyana is by itself a mystery that remains yet to be solved. The theory of influence by Vātsyāyana is nothing more than a mere supposition and does not, therefore, deserve any importance.

About the dates of the predecessors of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, there is no materials available at present to establish them as certain. Any opinion, therefore, that may be formed with regard to their age and identity, would be but vague and conjectural. But one thing that may be put

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forward on the basis of a plausible ground is related to the *Śarīra-sthāna* of the *Caraka-saṃhitā* wherein an account of *Sāṅkhya* is given. Just as we have an abstracted view of a certain school of Sāṅkhya Philosophy in the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, so we have perhaps another abstracted view of the doctrines of another school of the same Philosophy, in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, and this abstraction may be presumed to have been made from the *Ātreya Tantra* already referred to by me, because here in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, the expounder of the system is Atri himself. I say 'another school of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy' purposely because the account differs vitally from the account of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's *Kārikā*. The categories described in *Caraka*, are said to be 24, whereas, the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* treats of 25 categories including 'Puruṣa' as a separate entity.

In Caraka's account, however, 'Puruṣa' is not a separate entity at all but is, rather, an aspect of 'Pradhāna' or 'Prakṛti'. According to this veiw there are as many 'Prakṛtis' as there are 'Puruṣas'; in other words, the plurality of 'Prakṛti' is admitted, and 'Puruṣa' having formed a counter-part of 'Prakṛti' there is no need of admitting 'Puruṣa' as a separate entity. This vital difference between the two accounts naturally gives rise to a grave suspicion as to whether there were different schools of Sāṅkhya Philosophy. Guṇaratna, the famous commentator of the *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya*, distinctly mentions two schools of Sāṅkhya viz., the 'Maulikya' (i.e. the original) and the 'Uttara' (i.e. the later); and what is the difference between the two schools? He replies:

" मौलिक्यसांख्या हि आत्मानमात्मानं प्रति पृथक् प्रधानं वदन्ति, उत्तरे तु सर्व्वात्मस्वप्येकं नित्यं प्रधानमिति प्रपन्नाः ।"

i.e., the followers of the 'Maulikya' school believe that there is a separate 'Pradhāna' for each 'Ātman' whereas, those of the 'Uttara' school hold that there is only one 'Pradhāna' in different individual souls. It may be contended here that this 'Uttara' is to be taken to refer to the school of Vijñānabhikṣu, the famous commentator of the *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* but then there would be a great error of chronology. Guṇaratna being a commentator of the 14th century A.D. cannot be supposed to refer to Vijñānabhikṣu, a commentator of the

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16th century A.D. It follows, therefore, that this 'Maulikya' refers to a certain school of which we get an account in the outline of Caraka, whereas the 'Uttara' school is represented by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa and his followers.

Now let us see if we can derive further support to our supposition. In the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 318), three schools of Sāṅkhya are distinctly mentioned viz., first those who admitted 24 categories, secondly those who admitted 25 and finally those who admitted 26. The first school of which a brief outline is obtained in the *Caraka-saṃhitā* even as late as the 2nd century A.D., was propounded by Pañcaśikha as early as the age of the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 219). According to Pañcaśikha, 'Avyakta' is 'Puruṣāvasthā' i.e. the ultimate truth is one—the 'Avyakta' in the state of 'Puruṣa'. The second school which is regarded as the orthodox school of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy, explained a strict dualism by making 'Puruṣa' and 'Prakṛti' as two separate entities. The last school, however, admitted a Supreme Being 'Īśvara' in addition to 'Puruṣa' and this was the 26th principle. This agrees with the orthodox Yoga system wherein the existence of 'Īśvara' is admitted in

" क्लेशकर्म्मविपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टः पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः । "

Another problem here arises about the chronology of these 3 different schools. Now the three schools referred to above can be resolved into two divisions according as they are theistic or atheistic according to the notion of Western Philosophy. Both the schools of 24 and 25 categories as denying the existence of God are to be regarded as atheistic in character while the school propounding 26 categories is purely a theistic one. We are to determine, however, which of these two is earlier. In the *Mahābhārata* we only find that it denounces the atheistic school i.e., the schools of 24 and 25 categories and advocates the existence of God as the 26th principle. But that does not prove anteriority or posteriority of either. The problem would have been more easily solved, had we been in possession of any of the original works of Kapila, Āsuri or Pañcaśikha but unfortunately all their works are, in the language of Vijñānabhikṣu, *kālārka-bhakṣita*. As regards the identity of the author as also the antiquity of the *Sāṅkhya-*

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pravacana-sūtra otherwise known as *Sūtra-ṣaḍādhyāyī* as also *Tattva-samāsa*, both of which are attributed to Kapila, grave suspicion has been aroused by almost all sections of scholars. So far as Āsuri is concerned we know nothing else than that his name occurs in some ancient works like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* etc. and that a verse attributed to him is only found quoted by Guṇaratna in his commentary. Pañcaśikha's *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* still awaits discovery and who knows that it has not been lost for ever? The only thing we know about him is that several self-contradictory and divergent views are attributed to him by the *Mahābhārata*, the *Ahirvudhnya-saṃhitā*, by Vācaspati Miśra and by the Chinese tradition. We have, therefore, to fall upon and examine the source or sources of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy of which the system is a natural synthesis.

The germs of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy are certainly to be traced in the Upaniṣadic literature, if not even earlier. For the origin of the three Guṇas *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* in the Sāṅkhya Philosophy we have to go to the conception of the three colours in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* which is repeated also in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*.[6] Then again we have an interesting specimen of how Sāṅkhya Philosophy was yet in the making at the time of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (1. 3. 10-11) when we compare

इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान् परः ॥
महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात् पुरुषः परः ।
पुरुषान्न परा किञ्चित् सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः ॥

In these two verses is to be found an enumeration of Puruṣa, Avyakta, Mahān, Buddhi, or Ahaṅkāra, Manas and the Indriyas-the categories which play such an important part in the Sāṅkhya Philosophy. But the *locus classicus* of the Sāṅkhya, however, is the *Śvetāśvatara* which gives us a fuller and more detailed account as understood in those days. It wavers between the atheistic and the theistic view. In one place,

6 यदग्ने रोहितं रूपं तेजस स्तद्रूपं यच्छुक्लं तदपां यत् कृष्णं तदन्नस्य । *Chāndog.* VI. 4. 1. अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां । बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः ॥ *Śvet.* IV. 5. 1.)

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God is described as bringing to maturity 'Prakṛti' or 'Svabhāva'.[7] He is also described as the Lord of 'Pradhāna' or 'Prakṛti', of individual souls as well as of Guṇas.[8] Like a spider that weaves a web out of the material formed within itself, the one Godhead unfolds himself by means of the Guṇas born of 'Prakṛti.[9] The 'Prakṛti' is merely God's magic power and God is the great magician.[10] God is also described as creating the world, while the individual soul is described as bound in the chains forged for him by God, the Universal Soul.[11]

In this way we get a theistic description of the Godhead who is endowed with all activity and the power of creation and government. The verses quoted above are quite sufficient to show that there was a fusion of the Vedānta, the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga schools of thought at the time of the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*. It was about this time that the Sāṅkhya school was started. Kapila is universally known as "Ādi-vidvān" and as such he was the first sage to synthesise and formulate those Upaniṣadic speculations in the form of a definite system, which he called the Sāṅkhya system. He expounded his doctrine in the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* and started a school of his own with Āsuri as his first pupil. Whether the doctrine of the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* admitted 24 or 25 categories will be discussed presently but it is almost certain that there was no admission of a principle of Godhead in his doctrine. The reason may be this:

Kapila, in his attempt to explain the world-process and the scheme of salvation, tried to make his system as rationalistic as possible. The existence of a personal God was therefore found inconceivable and incompatible with his theory of Prakṛti and Puruṣa and could not also be proved; for whatever exists must be either bound or free and God can be neither. We cannot think of him as bound and yet he cannot be free like an emancipated soul, for freedom implies absence

7 यच्च स्वभावं पचति विश्वयोनिः। पाच्यांश्च सर्व्वान् परिणामयेद् यः॥

8 प्रधानक्षेत्रज्ञपतिर्गुणेशः। (*Ibid.* VI. 16.)

9 यस्तूर्णनाभइव तन्तुभिः प्रधानजैः। स्वभावतो देव एकः समावृणोत्॥ (*Ibid.* VI. 10)

10 मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम्॥ (*Ibid*, VI. 10.)

11 अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत्तस्मिंश्चान्यो मायया संनिरुद्धः। (*Ibid*, VI. 9.)

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of desire and hence of the impulse to create. Moreover, the consequences of good and evil deeds are due to Karma and not to the government of any God. Such a ruler is inconceivable, for if he governs the world according to the action of Karma, his existence is superfluous, and if he is affected by selfish motives or desire then he can not be free. And if his motive is kindness, is it reasonable to call into existence, beings, who while non-existent had no suffering, simply in order to show kindness in relieving them from suffering? Granting that to show kindness to the world was the motive of creation, a benevolent deity like God ought to have created only the happy creatures and not a mixed world like the one we see. It follows, therefore, that in no way could a Supreme Being like God be placed in Kapila's system consistently with the theory of Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Karma. Perhaps this was the only departure he made from the Philosophy of the Upaniṣads cited above. Hence an atheistic doctrine was preached and though accepted for a long time by a certain section of the people, it had met with a re-action: the thought of a God-less doctrine, especially in the age of the Upaniṣads, was intolerable with another section of the people who started a rival school of it viz., the Yoga system with God as the Fountain head of the whole creation. The *Mahābhārata* by its repudiation of the former school and advocacy of the latter bears an infallible testimony to this reaction.

The next question is whether the atheistic school of Sāṅkhya admitted of 24 or 25 categories. It is very difficult to make any definite reply. Possibly it was 24: that this was so may be surmised from Guṇaratna's nomenclature—the 'Maulikya' i.e. the 'Original' school. I have already pointed out that according to Maulikya school Puruṣa was but another aspect of Prakṛti and that the two formed but one category. Prakṛti was conceived of having two parts Vyakta and Avyakta. The Vikāra or the evolutionary products of Prakṛti were known as Vyakta or Kṣetra whereas the Avyakta part was regarded as Kṣetrajña. This Avyakta or Kṣetrajña was Cetanā or Puruṣa. Now if that was so, and man was the product of a mere combination of the different elements, there could be no question of salvation at all. Every thing would have ended with death—with the cessation of one birth only

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and hence the introduction of the Śāstra for salvation would have been meaningless, purposeless and unnecessary. When the doctrine of 24 categories came to receive an attack on the line of argument as stated above, a necessity was naturally felt for revising the whole doctrine and the necessity of admitting Puruṣa as a separate entity from Prakṛti was fully realised. The categories then became 25 from 24 thus giving rise to what is characterised by Guṇaratna as the Uttara or the Later school of Sāṅkhya. That there was such an attack in reality may be gathered from the *Mahābhārata* where Pañcaśikha sometimes explains 24 categories and sometimes 25. This contradiction can in no way be explained unless we assume that he was wavering between the two problems and could not definitely assert either. Finally, however, the doctrine was revised by Pañcaśikha with the recognition of Puruṣa as the 25th principle and that is why we find in Īśvara's *Kārikā* 70.[12] This revised version of the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* came to be known as the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantroddhāra*—a work quoted by Guṇaratna as one of the authoritative works of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy.[13]

Thus viewed the Kārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa is to be taken as representing the doctrines of the *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* as revised by Pañcaśikha and hence belongs to the Uttara or Later school of Sāṅkhya Philosophy.

KALI PADA BHATTACHARYA

12 सेन च बहुधा वृत्तं तन्त्रम्।

13 सांख्यानां तर्कग्रन्थाः षष्टितन्त्रोद्धाररूपम्, माठरभाष्यम्, सांख्यसप्ततिनामकम्, तत्त्वकौमुदी, गौडपादम्, आत्रेयतन्त्रं चेत्यादयः, Guṇaratna's *ṭīkā* on *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, p. 109.

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पुस्तकालय

Some Janapadas of Ancient Rāḍhā

Rāḍhā

The earliest mention of the Rāḍhās seems to be in the *Āyārāṅga-sutta* which is one of the oldest sacred books of the Jainas. It is stated therein that Mahāvīra "travelled in the pathless countries of the Lāḍhas, in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi" where he was very badly treated by the people who struck the monk and made their dogs bite him. "Such were the inhabitants." This Lāḍha has been reasonably identified with Rāḍhā, and Subbhabhūmi with the country of the Suhmas. The graphic description of the *Āyārāṅga-sutta* indicates that the Rāḍhās of western Bengal were a very savage and barbarous people at that time. The tradition about the wildness of the Rāḍha people is found even in mediaeval Bengali literature; Mukundarāma (*c.* 1580 A.C.) in his *Caṇḍī-kāvya* mentions a Rāḍha together with a hunter and a cow-killer; another passage of the same book indicates that a Rāḍha was regarded as a very low-born man belonging to the Coāḍ caste unfit to be touched by men of higher castes.

Again, in the fifth Jaina Aṅga called the *Bhagavatī* Lāḍha is mentioned as one of the sixteen great *janapadas* of India; it seems reasonable to identify this Lāḍha with the Lāḍha of the first Aṅga, the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, i.e. the Rāḍhā country of later times. In the fourth Jaina upāṅga, the *Pannavaṇā*, also Lāḍha is mentioned as one of the *Āriya janapadas* or countries of India with Koḍivarisam as its chief city.

According to tradition recorded in the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the first Aryan colonisers of Ceylon were led by Prince Vijaya of Lāḷa who is said to have been the grandson of a princess of Vaṅga and the great-grandson of a princess of Kaliṅga. The identification of this Lāḷa has been the subject of some controversy; some scholars have identified it with Rāḍha or western Bengal, while others are inclined to identify it with Lāṭa in Gujarāt. The name does not occur in the epics or the Buddhist sacred books.

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The earliest epigraphic reference to Rāḍhā is perhaps to be found in a Mathurā inscription (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) which records the erection of a Jaina image in the year 62 of an unspecified era (=140 A.C.?) at the request of a Jaina monk who was an inhabitant of the country of Rārā.[1] Scholars have identified Rārā with the well known Rāḍhā or western Bengal.[2] The next reference to Rāḍhā is found in a Khajurāho inscription[3] of 1059 V.S. (=1002 A.C.) where the queens of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga are said to have been imprisoned by the Candella king, Dhaṅgadeva, whose known dates range from 954 to 998 A.C. Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, the author of the philosophical work *Nyāyakandalī* composed in the year 913 Ś.E. (=991 A.C.) was born in a village called "Bhūrisṛṣṭi" in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā. This reference to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā shows that by the tenth century A.C. Rāḍhā was divided into two parts, north and south. It apparently comprised the whole of western Bengal bounded on the north and the east by the Ganges and the Bhāgīrathī respectively. The evidence of the *Nyāyakandalī* is fully corroborated by the Tirumalai rock inscription of the thirteenth regnal year (=1025 A.C.) of Rājendra Cola from which we know that the Cola emperor invaded both Takkana-lāḍam and Uttira-lāḍam which are but Dravidianised forms of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā and Uttara-Rāḍhā. In the Sanskrit drama called the *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa-miśra, a contemporary of the Candella king, Kīrtivarman, of Jejākabhukti of whom we have an inscription of the year 1098 A.C., Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā is mentioned twice as the homeland of Ahaṅkāra or Pride personified; again Ahaṅkāra declares with his characteristic self-conceit that he hails from Bhūriśreṣṭhika, the best of villages in the country of Rāḍhā (evidently South Rāḍhā) which formed a part of the Gauḍa kingdom. This Bhūriśreṣṭhika, the native village of Ahaṅkāra, seems to be the same as the village Bhūrisṛṣṭi where Śrīdhara, the author of *Nyāyakandalī* was born. Perhaps it was because Bhūriśreṣṭhika or Bhūrisṛṣṭi was the native village of many great scholars like Śrīdhara, who were intensely proud of their learning, that Kṛṣṇa-miśra chose

1 *JASB.*, NS. V, p. 239.
2 R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 72.
3 *EI.*, I, p. 145.

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this village as the homeland of Ahaṅkāra or Pride. What Bhūriśreṣṭhi was in South Rāḍhā the village Siddhala seems to have been in North Rāḍhā. We know from the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman that Siddhala was a village in Uttara-Rāḍhā and that Pitāmbara Devaśarman of Sāvarṇa gotra, the great-grandfather of Rāmadevaśarman, the donee of the grant, was an inhabitant of this village. The Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva tells us that "there may be a hundred villages which . . . . are the birth-place of Brāhmaṇas versed in Vedic lore, born in the illustrious lineage of the sage Sāvarṇa; but the only one that is famous in this world and has adorned the country of Āryāvarta is the village of Siddhala, the foremost of all and the ornament of the fortune-goddess of Rāḍhā". This Siddhala of Rāḍhā has been identified by scholars with the Siddhala of Uttara-Rāḍhā mentioned in the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman. Hence Uttara-Rāḍhā could well be proud of the village Siddhala, the home of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the great scholar and author of the *Daśakarmapaddhati*, the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* and other works, just as Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā could be of Bhūrisṛṣṭi, the home of Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara, the author of the *Nyāyakandalī*. Uttara-Rāḍhā is again mentioned in the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena as a *maṇḍala* belonging to the *bhukti* of Vardhamāna. The same copper-plate tells us that the ancestors of Vallālasena adorned the country of Rāḍhā with their great virtues; we also know from the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena that Sāmantasena, the founder of the royal Sena dynasty of Bengal, took to religious life in his old age and lived in hermitages on the banks of the Ganges. Thus it would appear from the combined evidence of the Deopārā and Naihāṭi inscriptions that the ancestors of the Sena kings settled in Uttara-Rāḍhā when they came to Bengal from Karṇāṭa. In the *Ḍākārṇava* Rāḍhā is mentioned along with Ḍhikkari and other places which are apparently mutually exclusive. If Ḍhikkari really represent some place in north Rāḍhā then the Rāḍhā of the *Ḍākārṇava* list should perhaps be taken to represent South Rāḍhā.

Towards the close of the pre-Muhammadan period Rāḍhā and Varendrī were well-known divisions of Bengal. Rāḍhīya-Vārendras are several times referred to in the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* of

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Halāyudha who lived in the Court of Lakṣmaṇasena. The Kenduāpatna plates of Narasiṃhadeva II of Orissa, dated 1217 Ś.E. (=1296 A.C.) records that Narasiṃhadeva I (1238-64) invaded Rāḍhā and Varendrī which were at that time under the Musalmans. This is confirmed by the evidence of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* where we find "The territory of Lakhaṇawaṭi has two wings on either side of the Gang. The western side they call Rāl (Rāṛh), and the city of Lakhaṇor lies on that side; and the eastern side they call Barind, and the city of Dīw-koṭ is on that side."

Brahma

In the lists of the eastern countries found in the *Purāṇas*, which are often hopelessly corrupt, almost invariably occurs the name of a janapada apparently called *Brahmottara*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, however, the reading is *Suhmottara*, which, Pargiter thinks, is the preferable reading and which he has taken to mean 'the people north of Suhma.' But this reading also, as he has rightly observed, is hardly satisfactory in the conspicuous absence of the Suhmas themselves from the Paurāṇic lists of the eastern janapadas which is very curious. Under these circumstances Mr. Pargiter has suggested the emendation *Suhmatkala* meaning the Suhmas and the Utkalas.

But there are some reasons to believe that Brahmottara which is the unanimous reading of all the *Purāṇas* except the *Matsya* is the correct reading. Even in the list of the eastern janapadas found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, which is practically quoted from the *Purāṇas*, the reading is invariably Brahmottara. But it is the evidence of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara that decides the whole question. In that work also we have a list of the janapadas of the Pūrvadeśa which closely follows the *Purāṇas*. In this list also the reading is Brahmottara and, what is more important, it is placed just after Suhma, thus showing that the reading Suhmottara of the *Matsya Purāṇa* or the emendation Suhmotkala suggested by Pargiter cannot be right.

This is further confirmed by another passage of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* which mentions "Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahma, Puṇḍra etc." as the janapadas of the east. Thus there can be no doubt that Brahma was really the name of a janapada in eastern

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India somewhere in the neighbourhood of Suhma. Now the expression *Suhma-Brahmottara* should perhaps be taken to mean 'Suhma with Brahma (lying) to its north.' If this is correct, then the Brahma-janapada must have been situated somewhere in the northern part of the Rāḍhā country.

Curiously enough, this seems to be supported by the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī. In verse 33 of that poem there is a reference to the country (*deśa*) in which the river Yamunā (*Tapana-tanayā*) in whose waters sported Brahma women (*Brahma-sīmantinī*) issued out of the Bhāgīrathī. The evident implication of this verse is that the place known as Triveṇī (in the Hughli district) where the river Yamunā branches off from the Bhāgīrathī belonged to the Brahma-deśa.

Mr. Cintāharaṇa Cakravartī has suggested the emendation Suhma in place of Brahma, though in both the Mss. available the reading is clearly Brahma. It is unreasonable to suppose that the reading Brahma in verse 33 in both the Mss. consulted is an accidental mistake on the part of the copyists in the face of the fact that both of them have the reading Suhma in verse 27. Not only that, in Ms. (A) the reading in verse 28 is *Suhmād* and in the marginal notes it is corrected into Suhme, but in verse 33 Brahma is retained and is not corrected into Suhma. Hence it is sufficiently reasonable to think that the reading Brahma in verse 33 is really the correct reading. The editor's emendation of Suhma instead of Brahma is probably due to the general ignorance among scholars about the existence of a *deśa* or *janapada* named Brahma in eastern India. But the evidence of the *Purāṇas* together with that of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* leaves no doubt about the existence of a janapada of this name in the Rāḍhā country. If Rājaśekhara was aware of this janapada of eastern India in the 10th century A.C., Dhoyī, a poet of Bengal and not improbably of Rāḍhā, could well have known it in the twelfth. There are also other reasons in favour of accepting Brahma in verse 33 as the correct reading intended by the poet himself. From Yayātinagarī (somewhere on the bank of the Mahānadī) Pavana, the messenger, is asked by Kuvalayavatī to pass over to the Suhma-deśa on the Ganges (v. 27); in the following verses (27-32) comes a description of the various important

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objects, such as a temple of Murārī (i.e. Viṣṇu), a town named after Śiva, two temples of the sun (*Raghukulaguru*) and Ardhanārīśvara and a bridge constructed by some king (may be Vallālasena). After this in verse 33 comes the request that the Wind-messenger should *then* (*atha*) go to the country (*deśa*) where the Yamunā flows out of the Bhāgīrathī. In verse 27 we get the reference to the *country* (*deśa*) of Suhma and in verse 33 we again find a reference to another *deśa* together with the significant particle *atha*. The very manner in which the statement is made suggests that as soon as the Wind reached the Triveṇī region it entered into a different country, different from the Suhma-deśa. The name of this new country is supplied by the word Brahma put before the word *sīmantinī* distinguishing the women of this country from those of Suhma.

Hence there can be little doubt that Brahma was really the name of a *janapada* or *deśa* in Rāḍhā on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī and that Triveṇī in the modern Hughli district formed a part of it.

The messenger is then asked to go to Vijayapura, the *skandhāvāra* and *rājadhānī* of Lakṣmaṇasena, which stood on the Ganges and which, from the description given in the *Pavanadūta* seems to have been situated to the north of, but not at a great distance from, Triveṇī, in the modern district of Hughli. The identification of this capital city of the Sena royal family of Bengal has been the subject of much controversy among scholars. But reasons seem to be in favour of its identification with Nadia or Navadvīpa, which is probably the same as Nūdīah, the capital of Lakhmaniya at the time of the inroad of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yar. But what is important for our purpose is that Vijayapura, the Sena royal city, seems from the account of the *Pavanadūta* to have been situated not in Suhma-deśa as is generally supposed by scholars, but in Brahmadeśa.

Now if the identification of Vijayapura be correct, then it is evident that the Brahma country extended along the bank of the Bhāgīrathī including Triveṇī in the south and Navadvīpa in the north and comprised all the tract lying between them; that is, roughly speaking the Brahma country included at least parts of the modern Hughli and Burdwan districts. The Suhma country, on the other hand, lay to the south of the Brahma country between Triveṇī in one direction

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and Yayātinagarī in another, as is evident from the *Pavanadūta*. Suhma also lay on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī along its lower course and probably included the modern districts of Howrah and Midnapur. Thus it seems clear that even during the period of the Sena kings Rāḍhā had two important divisions. viz., Brahma in the north and Suhma in the south. But it is important to note in this connection that during the period of the Sena as well as of the Pāla kings of Bengal two divisions of Rāḍhā were generally known as Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā; and what is more important to remember is that the two sets of names of these two divisions of Rāḍhā were simultaneously in use during this period. While in the first part of the tenth century A.C. Rājaśekhara mentions Suhma and Brahma apparently as two divisions of Rāḍhā, Śrīdharācārya in his *Nyāyakandalī* (991 A.C.) refers to Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā in the latter part of the same century. Of the eleventh century records, the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola (first quarter) refers to both north and south Rāḍhā while Kṛṣṇa-Miśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* (latter part) mentions South Rāḍhā only. During the twelfth century the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena (as also the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman) refers to Uttara-Rāḍhā, while Dhoyī, the Court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena mentions both Suhma and Brahma. Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that Suhma and Brahma were but the real proper names of South and North Rāḍhā respectively. South Rāḍhā and North Rāḍhā evidently were not the proper names of the two divisions of the country; they simply describe the relative positions of those divisions, Suhma and Brahma being proper names. That Suhma was the proper name of South Rāḍhā is clear from the fact that the *Daśakumāracarita* refers to Dāmalipti i.e. modern Tamluk in the Medinīpur district as a city of the Suhmas and also from the description of the *Pavanadūta* that locates it between Triveṇī and Yayātinagarī. The expression *Suhma-Brahmottara* of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* and also probably of the *Purāṇas* which apparently means 'Suhma with Brahma lying to its north' perhaps indicates that Brahma was the name of the northern part of Rāḍhā. This is confirmed by the fact that Triveṇī as well as Vijayapura or Navadvīpa belonged to Brahma as we have alredy noticed.

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Indeed it seems that not only during the period of the Pāla and Sena kings but from a very early period Rāḍhā was divided into two parts. The *Āyārāṅga-sutta* definitely indicates that Lāḍha had two divisions, Subbha and Vajja. Subbha has been reasonably identified with Suhma. But we have no means to ascertain whether Vajjabhūmi is also a corruption of Brahmabhūmi, though it is by no means improbable. In the epic account of Bhīma's eastern conquests we find mention of a janapada named Pra-Suhma along with Suhma. This name is not met with anywhere else in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. The reason for the curious absence of this name everywhere else is perhaps that Pra-Suhma is not really the name of any people or janapada; it simply means 'a branch of the Suhma people' or 'those who lie in front of the Suhmas' or it may mean both. Indeed the name Pra-Suhma occurs nowhere else, but everywhere else the word in its place seems to be Brahma which may really represent, as is very probable, a branch of the Suhmas.

Prof. Sylvain Lévi has shown that the ethnical and geographical nomenclature of ancient India presents a certain number of terms constituting almost identical pairs differentiated between themselves only by the nature of their initial consonants or syllables. The tribes that inhabited Bengal and its adjacent regions in ancient times also present such ethnical pairs, e.g. AṅgaVaṅga, Kalinga-Tiliṅga and Uḍra-Puṇḍra. But the Suhmas, one of the five important tribes of ancient Bengal, have not yet been coupled with any other allied peopled. Now, from what has been discussed above it seems reasonable to conclude that the Suhmas and the Brahmas formed a fourth ethnical pair living in the territory known as Rāḍhā or western Bengal.

Mr. M. Cakravartī has expressed his surprise that the name Rāḍhā is not traceable in the epics or in any Sanskrit records before the tenth century A.C. The reason for this fact seems to be that in all Sanskrit records of this period including the Great Epic the names Suhma and Brahma have always been used to denote the Rāḍhā country which was almost fully covered by these two janapadas.

The Brahma people seems never to have been a very powerful and prominent people and was perhaps only a branch of the greater Suhma

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people. Perhaps this is why nowhere in Sanskrit literature they have been given as much importance as the Suhmas. Probably this again explains the omission of the name Brahma from the epic and Paurāṇic list of the five eponymous heroes viz., Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, representing the five important tribes of Eastern India.

In later times, however, when the two terms Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā came to be generally used to denote the two ancient divisions of western Bengal, their original names Brahma and Suhma gradually fell into disuse until they disappeared altogether. We have already seen that up to at least the twelfth century when Dhoyī[4] flourished both the ancient proper names as well as the later descriptive designations of these two divisions were simultaneously in use, though even at that time the latter were more commonly in use than the former. But after that time the names Brahma and Suhma cannot be traced in records, epigraphic or literary, while the designations Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣina-Rāḍhā are in use even now.

Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on the *Mahābhārata* has in one place observed that the Suhmas are the Rāḍhās (*Suhmāḥ Rāḍhāḥ*). Such identifications of two peoples or janapadas (as is generally the case with Hemacandra, the lexicographer) should always be accepted with some reservations. The land of Suhma, no doubt, covered the country of Rāḍhā to some extent; but it is perhaps a mistake to think that these two tracts wholly coincided with each other. If what we have discussed above has any value Suhma must be taken to represent only a part, namely the southern part, of Rāḍhā and not the whole of it. It should be noted in this connection that Nīlakaṇṭha has not tried to locate Pra-Suhma though this name occurs in the epic in close association with Suhma on which he has commented.

Karvaṭa

Another people who inhabited a part of western Bengal, that is, Rāḍhā in ancient times were the Karvaṭas. In the *Mahābhārata* Bhīma is said to have defeated the king of the Karvaṭas in course of his eastern

4 According to the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī, the Court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, the Suhma country was situated on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī branch of the Ganges.

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conquests. Some idea about the location of this kingdom can perhaps be formed from the fact that it has been mentioned in the epic account between the kingdom of Tāmralipta on the one hand and that of Suhma on the other. Apparently the Karvaṭas occupied some tract in the neighbourhood of Tamluk in the Medinīpur district. They are again referred to in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira,[5] and here also they are mentioned along with the Suhmas. In the list of the eastern janapadas of the *Parāśara Tantra*, as quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, their name occurs between those of Puṇḍra and Samataṭa. That Karvaṭa was the name of an important janapada of ancient Bengal and that it was a great centre of the Jainas seem to be indicated by the fact that a Śākhā of the Jaina sect belonging to the Godāsa Gaṇa was known by the name (Dāsī) Kharbaṭikā (i.e. Karvaṭikā), the three other Śākhās of the same Gaṇa being Tāmraliptikā, Koṭivarṣīā and Puṇḍravardhanīā.[6] In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (lviii. 12) there is mention of a hill named Karvaṭāsana; this hill seems to have been situated in the janapada of Karvaṭa, particularly in view of the fact that here it is preceded by another name Vyāghramukha which in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* also precedes the name Suhma and Karvaṭa. In later times the Karvaṭa-janapada like Tāmralipta seems to have been incorporated within the kingdom of the Suhmas.

The Cities of Rāḍhā

We have already seen that the Jaina Upāṅga, the *Pannavaṇā*, mentions Koḍi varisaṃ as a city of Rāḍhā. This city seems to be identical with Koṭivarṣa which represented a *viṣaya* during the time of the Gupta and the Pāla kings. Koṭivarṣa has been identified with Devī-koṭ (called Dīw-koṭ in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*), a town on the left bank of the Punarbhavā river, not far from the town of Dinājpur. Devī-koṭ is still the name of a *pargaṇā* in that district. It is in Dāmodarpur of this district that five copper-plate inscriptions have been unearthed all of which record grants of land in the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya. If the identification of Koḍi varisaṃ with Koṭivarṣa and Devī-

5 Ch. XIV. 5; see also XVI. 13.

6 *Kalpasūtra* SBE., XXII, p. 288.

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koṭ be correct, then it should perhaps be supposed that the kingdom of Rāḍhā extended northwards so as to include the modern Dinājpur district in the time to which the Jaina Upāṅga refers. In later times Koṭivarṣa was included in the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana (Dāmodarpur, Khālimpur and Bāngarh copper-plates) and was also regarded as a part of Varendrī (*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*). In some editions of the *Prabodha-candrodaya* is mentioned Rāḍhāpurī which some scholars have taken to represent the capital of Rāḍhā and apparently they identify it with a place called Rara shown in the map of De Barros as standing on the west bank of the Ganges, opposite Gauro. But in other editions of the drama the reading is simply *Rāḍhā tato*, not Rāḍhā-purī. *Rāḍhā tato* seems to be the correct reading. If Rāḍhāpurī is to be taken to represent the city of Rāḍhā or Rara of the map of De Barros, then it must have been a city of North Rāḍhā; but other passages of the drama explicitly state that Ahaṅkāra belonged to South Rāḍhā; so the Rāḍhā of the verse in question evidently stands for South Rāḍhā and thus cannot be identical with Rara of De Barros or any other place in North Rāḍhā. Secondly, the sense of this verse is that the kingdom of Gauḍa contained the country of Rāḍhā which again contained the village of Bhūri śreṣṭhika of which the father of Ahaṅkāra was an inhabitant. The *city* of Rāḍhā could not contain a *village;* and the reading Rāḍhāpurī instead of *Rāḍhā tato* does not suit the construction of the verse and the real force of the verse also greatly suffers, while the reading *Rāḍhā tato* is not only required by the construction of the verse but also brings out the real significance of the whole statement. Hence it seems that the *Prabodha-candrodaya* contains no reference to any city of Rāḍhā.

It seems that Vardhamāna (i.e. modern Burdwan) was an important city of the Rāḍhā country from very early times The country of the Vardhamānas is mentioned in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. In the Kūrma-vibhāga of the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa,* which so closely resembles the Kūrma-vibhāga of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā,* is also found mention of the country called Vardhamānaka. This shows that a part of the Rāḍhā country or western Bengal was known by the name of Vardhamāna from a very early period. So it is likely that the city of Vardhamāna or Burdwan also has existed from that time. This is

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fully confirmed by a statement of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* viz.— *Kāmarūpe tathā deśe Vardhamāne purottame* (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, part I, p. 89). From the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena as well as the Govindapur copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena we know that Vardhamāna was the name of a *bhukti* or division of the Sena kingdom of Bengal and Uttara-Rāḍhā, as we have noticed earlier, formed a *maṇḍala* of that *bhukti*. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that the city of Vardhamāna was the head quarters of the administrative division of the same name just as is the case in modern times. Thus it appears that Vardhamāna has always been an important city of the Rāḍhā country from the time of the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*.

Of the other cities of Rāḍhā mention may be made of Vijayapura, the capital city of the Sena rulers, and of Tāmralipti, the famous port on the Pūrva Sāgara or Bay of Bengal.

Vajrabhūmi

As we have noticed before, Lāḍha (i.e. Rāḍhā) according to the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, was divided into two parts Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi. It is not possible to identify or exactly locate Vajjabhūmi in Rāḍhā. From the description of the land given in the Jaina Aṅga some scholars have identified it with the rough jungly part of western Rāḍhā. A place called Panīabhūmi is referred to in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* and also in the *Kalpasūtra* in both of which it is stated that Mahāvīra lived sometime in this place in company with Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, the founder of the Ājīvika sect. According to a commentary of the *Kalpasūtra* Panīabhūmi is a place in Vajrabhūmi. A commentary of the *Bhagavatī* restores the word as Paṇitabhūmi or Praṇitabhūmi. The Cola king Karikāla is said to have received some presents from a king of Vajra in course of his northern campaigns (*Śilappadhikāram*). One scholar has identified this Vajra with the Vajjabhūmi of the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*.

According to the story of Upaka, the Ājīvika, and Cāpā, of which there are several versions in the Buddhist Pāli literature, Buddha met the Ājīvika on his way to Benares from Gayā shortly after his enlightenment, after which Upaka proceeded in the opposite direction

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till he reached a janapada which has been called Vaṅga in the *Sutta-nipāta* version and *Vaṅkahāra* in all other versions. That this janapada was situated outside the Middle Country and probably somewhere in western Bengal seems probable from the fact that Upaka is said to have left this janapada after sometime and to have proceeded towards Majjhimadesa. Vaṅga is well known, but it is not possible to identify Vaṅkahāra satisfactorily, which, however, may be the modern Bankura region as the phonetic similarity of the names suggests.

Suhma

According to the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, as we have just seen, Suhma formed a part of the Rāḍhā country. The epic account of Bhīma's eastern conquesīs makes the country of the Suhmas distinct from Vaṅga, Tāmralipta as well as the sea-coast region. In Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* also Suhma is distinguished from the sea-coast and the country of the Vaṅgas lying within the streams of the Ganges.[4] From these two accounts it is clear that the Suhma country lay to the north of Tāmralipta, modern Tamluk in Midnapur district, a little to the interior not very far from the sea-coast and to the west of Vaṅga, apparently on the other side of the Bhāgīrathī. But it is not possible to locate the Suhmas more exactly from these data. But the boundaries of the Suhma kingdom, like those of all other kingdoms, shifted from time to time. In the *Mahābhārata* as well as in most other references Tāmralipti is mentioned separately from Suhma. According to the Jaina *Pannavaṇā* Tamalitti was included in Vaṅga. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* Tāmralipti is omitted, but apparently it was then a part of Vaṅga which seems to have extended up to the river Kapiśā, the modern Kāsāi which flows to the west of modern Tamluk. But the *Daśakumāracarita* refers to Dāmalipti as a city of the Suhmas, which shows that the Suhma kingdom had extended at that time so as to include that important city. In a later period the name Suhma went out of use and disappeared in the more comprehensive name of Rāḍhā.

Jaṭhara

It seems that a tribe called the Jaṭharas, though not very important, inhabited some part of western Bengal in old times. In the

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Bṛhat Saṃhitā they are mentioned between the Vaṅgas and the Upavaṅgas on the one hand and the Aṅgas on the other. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* they are mentioned immediately after Kaliṅga and Vaṅga and the three names form one compound word (*Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-Jaṭharāḥ*). The combined evidence of these two works would seem to show that the Jaṭharas were located somewhere near the Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Aṅga janapadas. This seems to point to western Bengal or Rāḍhā. The Jaṭharas are again mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9) where, however, there is no indication about the location of this people.

A word of explanation about the word *pravijaya* found in the *Purāṇas* immediately after *Brahmottara* may not be out of place in this connection. This word occurs in the *Vāyu*, *Matsya* as well as *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*. This has led Pargiter to think that this was really the name of a people, and he has further suggested that they appear from the context to be the same as the *Prāvṛṣeyas* of the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9. 50). There are, however, reasons to believe that the text of the *Jambukhaṇḍa-nirmāṇa-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* is at least as corrupt as that of the *Purāṇas*. The word preceding *Prāvṛṣeya* in the *Mahābhārata* is *Samantarāḥ* which apparently stands for Suhmottarāḥ of the *Matsya* and *Brahmottarāḥ* of the other *Purāṇas*. *Samantarāḥ* is apparently a misreading. So is *prāvṛṣeyāḥ*. The real word here is neither *prāvṛṣeya* nor *pravijaya* as in the *Purāṇas*, but *prabhṛtayaḥ* meaning *et cetera*. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata, which so closely follows the *Purāṇas* in the matter of the lists of janapadas of ancient India, has the word *prabhṛtayaḥ* in the place of *pravijayāḥ* This is fully confirmed by the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara which seems to have preserved the strings of geographical names current in ancient India much better than the *Purāṇas*. So it seems reasonable that we should dismiss the idea from our minds that the word *pravijaya* of the *Purāṇas* and *prāvṛṣeya* of the *Mahābhārata* stand for the name of any people in Eastern India.

PRABODH CHANDRA SEN

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The Prince of Wales Museum grant of Mahāsāmanta Indrakeśi

This lithic record is found in the Gallery of inscriptions of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. The stone on which the grant is engraved is about four feet tall and two broad. The surface is very irregular, and there are evidences of a crude execution. The script is ordinarily clear. It belongs to the later style of Kannaḍa writing, and slants a bit to the right. The text of the inscription is engraved separately on a slightly sunken surface. The invocatory verse and the first line of the text stand at the top and are surmounted by the figures of a cow, a calf, and a man facing them.*

The grant belongs to the year 1060 A.D. (Ś.S. 982). It refers to Indrakêśi, a Mahāsāmanta or feudatory under the Cālukya emperor Trailôkyamalla-deva. Indrakêśi governed Belvoḷa 300 and Purikara 300 as well as other districts, assisted by his son Jayakêśi. Another Jayakêśi, the father of the donor, is also mentioned. Thus we have three generations specified.

Jayakêśi
|
Indrakêśi
|
Jayakêśi

The first Jayakêśi is mentioned in a Hulgūr inscription of Ś.S. 960 (*EI.*, XVI, p. 332). The second one, the grandson, is mentioned in 1142 A.D. in the third of the "Three inscriptions of Lakṣmêśvar" edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett in *EI.*, XVI; and also in another of the Hulgūr inscriptions at p. 330, *EI.*, XVI. He appears to have distinguished

* These symbols are somewhat unique and are seen but rarely inscribed on lithic or copper records. In a Gupta stone inscription of the G. E. 269, there are engraved in outline, below the inscription towards the proper right side of the stone, a cow and a calf standing and nibbling at a small tree or bush (*Corp. Ins. Indicarum*, vol. III, p. 274). The similarity of the symbols of these records is remarkable. (Ed. *IHQ*).

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himself as a great general. The present record furnishes the missing link, as it were, between the first and the third generations of these Maṇaleras. This is the first inscription of Indrakêśi that has come to light. His queen is here named Kabbarasi.

These personages belonged to the Maṇalera family, which is also termed Maṇala. There are numerous references to the long line of kings of this family in early inscriptions. It is traced back to the time of Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa in the eight century. Possibly the family can be traced back to an earlier past. The Maṇaleras, before they transferred their allegiance to the Cālukyas, served under the Gaṅgas, and have been noticed in *EI.*, XVI at pp. 330 and 332, *Mysore Archæological Reports* for 1908-9, and *EI.*, VI, p. 52. The history and ancestry of the Maṇalera family have been set forth in detail at the last mentioned source.

The grant, engraved by Kallôja, records that Mahāsāmanta Indrakêśi sent for the forty-two mahājanas (dignitaries, evidently) of the village of Caṇḍivāḍi in Purikara nāḍ ruled over by General Maularasa, and gave them twelve *mattars* of land, another piece of land for keeping in repairs a drinking well, and an alms-house for feeding twelve Brahmins. He also gave to Bharasūri (a Jain priest) a freehold worth a rent of 30 *gadyāṇas* and a paddy field worth an annual rent of 60 *gadyāṇas*. The occasion for these grants was Vyātīpāta of the summer solstice, the full-moon day of the month of Pūṣyā, of the year Śārvari, Ś.S. 982. It corresponds to the Christian year 1060.

The province (deśa) of Purikara has been mentioned by name; Purikara is the Sanskritized form of Purikare, Pulikare or Huligere which has been identified as the modern Lakṣmêśvar. Siggāve, the capital of these feudatories according to this grant, is no other than the Shiggaon of the present day in the district of Dharwar. Shiggaon has been mentioned in another inscription at p. 257, *EI.*, VI. Two other places have also been named: the villages of Caṇḍivāḍi and Mānyageri.

These vassals call themselves Mahāsāmantas, the great feudatories. Indrakêśi's name is associated with a long list of titles. The Maṇaleras evidently occupied an important position under the Cālukyas.

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TEXT

१। नमस्तस्मै वराहाय लीलया चरते महीं खुरान्तरग
२। तो यस्य मेरुः खणखणायते ।। स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनाश्रय
३। श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकम्
४। सत्याश्रयकुलतिलकम् चालुक्याभरणम् श्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लदेव
५। रु विजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिवृद्धिप्रवर्द्धमानमाचन्द्रार्कता
६। रम्वरम् सलुत्तमिरे ॥ तत्पादपद्मोपजीवि ॥ वृत्त ॥ मणलेरान्वयम्
पड़ेदन दे—
७। वीदलनमार्त्तण्डमत्युग्रभीषण खड्गाग्रविदारितानन्नृपतिव्यूहम्
८। धराचक्ररक्षणदक्षम् प्रतिपक्ष क..... द (?) वज्जालि (?) प्रत.....
वुल्वण
९। कोपं जयकेशिभूषमवनिविख्यातकीर्तिव्रज ॥ तत्तनूभव ॥ ज
१०। यकान्तारमणं द्विषन्नृपवधूनेत्रोत्पलामभोजिनीदयितं तार-
११। तुषारहारहरहासाभासकीर्त्यङ्गनाप्रियमत्युन्नतचारु
१२। वीरचरितम् सत्यान्धवम् वाष्पमन्नेयसिङ्गम् नेगल्द-इन्द्रकेशि-सुभटप्र-
१३। स्तुत्यदोर्वीक्रम ॥ क ॥ आ नृपकान्ते पतिव्रते दानि दयाधीने चल्वे
१४। कव्वरसि गुणानूने जिनधर्म्मभूषणे जानकिगम् रूपविभवदि मि-
१५। गिल्-यनिपले ॥ आ दम्पतिगे तनूभवनादे जयकेशि वैरियन्निरे
१६। कर्णच्छेदनकृपाणपाणिदिशादन्तिविलग्नकीर्त्तिवल्लिवलय ॥ व ॥ इन्ता
१७। कुमारम् वेरस् इन्द्रकेशियरशर सिग्गावेयोले सुखदिम् राज्यम् गेय्यु-
१८। त्तिर्दु ॥ श्रीमत पुरिकरेदेस सिखामणि नडुनाड तीर्थमेनिसिद पेम्पिन्दे मा-
१९। तो चण्डिवाड ग्रामम् सकलाग्रहारललितललाम ॥ ग्रामेश्वर नगधरपद
२०। तामरस कालीमुखम् परान्मुख वैरिस्तोममभिमुखसुहृन्निधि सामान्य
२१। ने दण्डनायकम् मौलरस ॥ वृ ॥ आ .....पङ्केजगर्भाण्वयद महिमे
२२। यम् तालदि (?) कोन्दिर्पर्रुव्वोविदितर्व्वोदोक्त धर्मानुगरखिल धरित्री
जनाहा—
२३। रदानास्पदरिन्द्राहीन्द्रवृन्दस्तुतभगवदुमाधीश-लक्ष्मीश-वागीश-दि-
२४। नाधीशाङ्घ्रि पङ्केरुह मदमधुपर संख्येयिम् नालवदिम्बरे (?) क ॥
२५। यमनियमस्वाध्यायक्रमदोले वेदादिशास्त्रनिश्चितमतियो

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२६। ले तमगे दोरेपाटिपोसटि (?) समंच शि(?)ष्या (?) त्रि (?) पु (?) ल
गौतम ऋषिगले ॥
२७। अन्तेनिषिद समस्त महाजनमय वरिसि समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द
२८। महासामन्तनिदानीन्तन रेवन्तम् मणलेरान्वयप्रसूतम् सिङ्ग (?)
२९। वन (?) प्रख्या (?)[त] पुरिकरे पुरवरेश्वरम् समरमाहेश्वरम् भगवद (?) प—
३०। रमेश्वर परमभट्टारकपदसरसिजमधुकरम् सम्यत्तवरत्नाकरम् प्र-
३१। ण्डमण्डलेशमण्डितदोर्दण्डसङ्गरमार्तण्डनामादिसमस्तप्रशस्तिसहि-
३२। तम् श्रीमन्महासामन्तनिन्द्रकेशीयरसरस्सकवर्ष ९८२ नेय सार्वरि
३३। संवत्सरद पुष्यद पुण्णमियादित्यवारमुत्तरायणसंक्रान्तिव्यती
३४। पातनिमित्तम् पन्दिर्व्वरं ब्राह्मणर्ग्गे सत्रम् नडेवन्तागि युरोडेय प्रमु-
३५। ख महाजनम् नाल्वदिम्बरकालम् कु (क?)र्च्छिधारापूर्वकम् माडि तस्म
सीवदि (?) दो-
३६। लगे वायव्यद देसेयोलूरोडेयर मान्यदि तेङ्क सर्वे नमस्यम-
३७। गि ३६ गेण गलेयोले विट्ट मत्त १२ कोडवाविगे विट्ट मत्त-आ-
३८। थ्वि सेट्टिय सभामन्टपदिम् पडुव मान्यगेरियिम् मुड सत्रक्के बि-
३९। त्त मने ल् मत्तम्आ पुण्यतिथियोल्—समस्त परिग्रहम् भरसूरिङ्गे (?)
४०। गोट्ट धर्म्मवत्तले मन्नेय सेट्टाय गद्याणम् मूवत्तक्के वीम-
४१। डि सहितवरवत्तु गद्याणमनेल्लाकालमुम् तेत्तु सुखम् बालक्क
४२। रुलेरेय दौ (?) दनम् पञ्चरसवर्ज्जितम्-ईन्टी धर्म्ममम् स्वधर्म्मदिम् प्र-
४३। तिपालिसिदवर्ग्गे वाणरासि प्रयाग कुरुक्षेत्रमेम्व पुण्यतीं-
४४। र्थम्गलोले सासिर्व्वर्व्वेदपारगरप्प ब्राह्मणर्ग्गे सासिर कविलेयम् कोडुम् को-
४५। लगुमम् पञ्चरत्नदिम् कत्तिसि-युभयमु- गोट्ट फलमक्कु ॥ गङ्गा सा-
४६। गर यमुना सङ्गमदोले वाणरासि गया येम्बि तीर्थम् गलोल्-आत्मकुलद्वि-
४७। जपुङ्गव गोकुलमनलिदर्-इन्त्-इदम् अलिदरे ॥ सामन्योयं धर्म्मसेतु-
४८। नृपाणां काले काले पालनीया भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनढ़ पार्थिवेन्द्रा-
४९। न्भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ स्वदत्तं परदत्तं
५०। वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । षष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां
५१। जायते क्रिमिः ॥ मङ्गलम्रह ॥ श्री ॥ कल्लोजम् वेसेग्गोदम् ॥

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Translation

Lines 1. Salutation to that Boar who wanders at will, and, between whose hoofs the Meru mountain vibrates.

,, 2-9. While, with his usual titles, the Cālukya emperor Trailokyamalla-deva was ruling his kingdom which prospers and will endure everlasting by his vassal, born in the Maṇalera family, the phalanx of his enemy kings broken with the tip of his terrible sword, efficient in the governance of the wheel,—the world, mighty in anger, the line of his fame spreading all over the world, was lord Jayakêśi.

,, 10-13. His son, the husband of Victory, a sun (of destruction) to the lilies, namely, the wives of enemy kings, the lover of the woman Fame who eclipses in her brightness even the sun,[1] a person of heroic and splendid career, a lover of truth, a lion among respectable people, was Indrakêśi whose kingdom was worthy of being praised by great men.

,, 13-15. The wife of that king, loyal to her husband, charitable, compassionate, beautiful, immaculate, devoted to the religion of Jina, in beauty and greatness greater even than Jānakī, was Kabbarasi.

,, 15-16. The son of that couple was Jayakêśi who, with a sword in his hand, cut off the ears of his enemies, and whose fame reached, like a circle of creeper, the elephants in the four quarters.

,, 17. Assisted by a son of such abilities was Indrakêśi ruling in happiness in Siggāve.

,, 18-19. There was the village of Māto Caṇḍivāḍi,[2] the crown and glory of all *agrahāras*, enjoying the reputation of a holy place in the centre of the excellent Purikara.

,, 19-21. A bee to the lotus,-the feet of lord Kṛṣṇa, the god of the village, with a host of enemies retreating before him,

1. I am not sure of the correctness of my translation here.
2 Or is it only Chaṇḍivāḍi?

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and a host of friends approaching him, is General Maularasa an ordinary man (?).

,, 21-24. Born in the family of Brahmā (i.e., a Brahmin by birth), known the world over, followers of the instructions laid down in the Vedas, a source of gift and food to the whole of mankind, bees to the lotus, the feet of the gods, Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, who are praised by Indra, the lord of the serpents and others, were the Forty-two (mahājanas).

,, 25-26. They had no peers in judgment supported by the authority of the Vedas and other sacred sciences, and in the austere courses of restraint, discipline, study etc. They were equal to the sage Gautama and others (?).

,, 27-39. Sending for all these forty two mahājanas, the great vassal, possessor of such titles as—the obtainer of the five great musical instruments, a Rêvanta of the modern age, born in the Maṇalera family, a lion-like man, lord of the famous Purikara, a Rudra in battle, Paramêśvara, a bee to the lotus,—the position (or title) Paramabhaṭṭāraka, a mine of virtues, with his arms decorated (? worshipped) by even mighty Maṇḍalikas, a sun in battle and so on—Lord Indrakêśi washed their feet, and pouring water on the occasion of Vyātīpāta of the summer solstice, the full-moon day of Puṣyā of the year Śārvari Ś.S. 982 gave them, (1) 12 *mattars* measured by the pole of the length of 36 cubits (2) - - *mattars* for (?) the drinking well which lay to the south of the freehold of the headman (*urodeva*) of the village and in the northwest of his (Indrakêśi's) territory, (3) a house situated to the east of Mānyageri to the west of the lecture hall (*sabhā-maṇḍapa*) built by Āybi Seṭṭi, for the purpose of maintaining an alms-house (*satra*) for twelve Brahmins.

,, 39-42. He also gave on the same auspicious occasion to Bharasūri a freehold for a (?) religious object (*dharma-Vattaḷe*) with all the revenues accruing to it, of the value of 30 (?) Seḍhrāya *gadyāṇas*, and a muddy

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paddy-field that fetched him for all times a rent of 60 *gadyāṇas*, the (?) accessories (*vīmaḍi*) included.

" 42-45. To those who preserve this gift intact given along with the five fluids (pañcarasa) will accrue the merit of having given a thousand cows to a thousand Brahmins well-versed in the Vedas in holy places like Bārāṇasī (Benares), Prayāga, and Kurukṣetra, and of having given a pond built with the five gems.

" 46-47. To destroy this is to destroy oneself, one's race, worthy Brahmins, and a herd of cows in holy places like the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, Benares and Gaya.

" 47-51. (Usual ending verses and imprecations.)
May it be well. Kallôja engraved this.

B. C. S. SHARMA

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Two new lists of Kalās

A knowledge of what were called the kalās appears to have occupied a very prominent place in the cultural equipment of the citizens of Ancient India. As a matter of fact, an expert knowledge of these was regarded as essential for all cultured and refined people. But curiously there does not seem to have ever been a strictly fixed connotation of the term kalā in its cultural aspect.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to distinguish between music and dancing on the one hand and kalā on the other.[1] But there are some who include music and dancing in the list of kalās. The *Mahābhārata* refers to three kalās,[2] which, according to Nīlakaṇṭha, refer to *mantra*, *dravya* and *śraddhā*. Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīya*[3] makes a distinction between *kalā* and *śilpa* though the latter is given as a synonym for kalā in the lexicons like *Amarakośa*, *Vaijayantī Kośa* and *Medinī Kośa*. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Chap. X) calls the kalās the *upavidyās* or minor branches of learning and distinguishes them from what he calls the *kāvyavidyās*, e.g., Rhetoric, Prosody etc. which are, however, found to have been included in the lists of kalās by some. This confusion with regard to the connotation of the term led to the compilation of different lists of kalās at different periods of time.

But in spite of the great importance of the subject in the cultural history of India—in spite of the good deal of confusion surrounding it, the subject of kalās does not seem to have been thoroughly studied by any scholar. The only systematic, but not strictly comprehensive, treatment of the subject is met with in a booklet of 92 pages written by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah in 1911.

1 गीतवादित्रकुशला नृत्येषु कुशलास्तथा ।
उपायज्ञाः कलाज्ञाश्च वैशिके परिनिष्ठिताः ॥ I. 9. 8

2 Aśvamedha Parvan—89, 3.

3 सा सर्व्वविद्या शिल्पानां कलानाञ्चोपबन्धनी
——*Vākyapadīya*, I, 126.

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Mr. Venkatasubbiah has given ten different lists of kalās as found in works belonging to different periods of time. The best known of these lists that occurs in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana as also in some of the commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X. 45. 35)[4] has also been dealt with in detail recently by Dr. P. K. Acharya.[5]

Besides the lists given in Mr. Venkatasubbiah's work there are other lists as well. In the present paper we shall deal with two hitherto-unnoticed lists.

One of these belongs to Kṣemendra, the great polymath, and the other is taken from Bhāskararāya's commentary on *Lalitāsahasranāma*.

Kṣemendra has given two lists of kalās in his *Kalāvilāsa* (published in Kāvyamālā—Prathama Guccha, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay). The list in the fourth canto of 64 arts of courtezans is referred to in the *JRAS* (1914, p. 357).

In the 10th canto of this work is given another list of kalā,[6]

4 It should be noted here that the list as given in the *Daṃśoddhāra*, a commentary by Rājārāma on the *Devīmāhātmya* (XI. 5) agrees with this list.

5 *IHQ.*, V, 188ff. But curiously Dr. Acharya has made no reference either to the book of Mr. Venkatasubbiah or to the article in the *JRAS* (1914, p. 355 ff.) which deals with this book. This article is also referred to by Prof. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1924, p. 51, f. n. 2).

6 धर्म्म्यः कलाकलापो विदुषामभीप्सितो भूत्यै ॥
धर्म्मस्य कला ज्येष्ठा भूतदयाख्या परोपकारश्च ।
दानं क्षमानसूया सत्यमलोभः प्रसादश्च ॥
अर्थस्य सदोत्थानं नियमपरिपालनं क्रियाज्ञानम् ।
स्थानत्यागः पटुतानुद्वेगः स्त्रीष्वविश्वासः ॥
कामस्य वेशशोभा पेशलता चारुता गुणोत्कर्षः ।
नानाविधाश्च लीलाश्चित्तज्ञानञ्च कान्तानाम् ॥
मोक्षस्य विवेकरतिः प्रशमस्तृष्णाक्षयश्च सन्तोषः ।
सङ्गत्यागः स्वलयस्थानं परमप्रकाशश्च ॥
एताश्चतुष्टयकला द्वात्रिंशत्क्रमधृताः समस्ता वा ।
संसारवञ्चकानां विद्या विद्यावतामेव ॥
मात्सर्यस्य त्यागः प्रियवादित्वं सधैर्यमक्रोधः ।
वैराग्यं च परार्थे सुखस्य सिद्धाः कलाः पञ्च ॥

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which are grouped here under several heads, e.g., *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*, *sukha*, *śīla*, *prabhāva* (influence) and *māna* (respect). A group of ten kalās, given at the end of the list, is stated to be *bheṣaja* or salutary. In all he gives the number of kalās as 100 (X. 40) though he incidentally recognises the number sixty four. It will be noticed that almost all moral, spiritual and diplomatic qualities are considered by Kṣemendra as kalās.

The list of Bhāskararāya, the celebrated author of a good many Tantra works, is given, as has already been noted, in his commentary, called *Saubhāgyabhāskara* on the *Lalitāsahasranāma* which is stated to form a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. He gives the list in connection with his explanation of the epithet *catuḥṣaṣṭikalāmayī* (verse 109) as applied to the deity Lalitā. He gives the list in a metrical form, which he says is based on the work of Śārṅgadhara, the *Kathākoś* of *Śrīdhara* and the *Lakṣmīpīṭhikā* where the kalās are stated to have been enumerated in detail.[7] None of these works are

सत्सङ्गः कामजयः शौचं गुरुसेवन (?) सदाचारः ।
श्रुतममलं यशसि रतिर्मूलकलाः सप्त शीलस्य ॥
तेजः सत्त्वं बुद्धिर्व्यवसायो नीतिरिङ्गितज्ञानम् ।
प्रागल्भ्यं सुसहायः कृतज्ञता मन्त्ररक्षणं त्यागः ॥
अनुरागः प्रतिपत्तिर्मित्रार्ज्जनमानृशंस्यमस्तम्भः ।
आश्रितजनवात्सल्यं सप्तदश कलाः प्रभावस्य ॥
मौनमलौल्यमयाच्ञा मानस्य च जीवितं कलात्रितयम् ।
एताः कला विदग्धैः स्वगताः कार्याश्चतुःषष्टिः ॥
शक्तविरोधे गमनं तत्प्रणतिर्वा बलोदये वैरम् ।
आर्त्तस्य धर्म्मचर्या दुःखे धैर्यं सुखेष्वनुत्सेकः ॥
विभवेषु संविभागः सत्सु रतिर्मन्त्रसंशये प्रज्ञा ।
निन्द्येषु पराङ्मुखता भेषजमेतत्कलादशकम् ॥

7 अष्टादशलिपिबोधस्तल्लेखनशीघ्रवाचने चित्रम् ।
बहुविधभाषाज्ञानं तत्कविताश्रुतनिगदिता द्यूतम् ॥
वेदा उपवेदाश्चत्वारः शास्त्राङ्गषट्के द्वे ।
तन्त्रपुराणस्मृतिकं काव्यालङ्कारनाटकादि द्वे ॥
शान्तिर्वश्याकर्षणविद्वेषोच्चाटमारणानि च षट् ।

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known to have come down. No mention of any of them is made either in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or in the section of Mr. Venkatasubbiah's work entitled *The Literature of the Kalās* (p. 69f.).[8]

This list which may be called the Tantric list, agrees closely with the tenth list of Venkatasubbiah which is found in Rāmacandra's commentary on Lakṣmaṇakavi's continuation of the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* as also in the encyclopædic work *Śivatattvaratnākara* of Vāsavarāja (17th century) of Keladi.[9]

A clear and definite Tantric tinge is lent to the list by the inclusion of the six practices of the Tantras (*māraṇa*, *uccāṭana* etc). And as Mr. Venkatasubbiah has hinted, many of the topics like the attainment of supernatural power included in this and other lists are really Tantric in character. Even though all the kalās were not Tantric in character they were referred to in more than one Tantra work. Commentators on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* like Śrīdharasvāmin and Viśvanātha Cakravartī refer the kalās to Śaiva Tantra though they do not name any particular work. The *Lakṣmīpīṭhikā*, one of the sources on which Bhāskararāya depends for his list, may not unlikely have been a Tantra work. It is not known if the kalās, of which we are speaking, were in any way, connected with a category of the same

गतिजलवृष्ट्याग्न्यायुधवाग्रेतःस्तम्भसप्तकं शिल्पम् ।
गजहयरथनरशिक्षाः सामुद्रिकमल्लसूदगारुडकाः ॥
तत्तत्सुषिरानद्धघनेन्द्रजालनृत्तानि गीतरसवादौ ।
रत्नपरीक्षा चौर्य्यं धातुपरीक्षाप्यदृश्यत्वम् ।
इति भास्करसुधियोक्ता निष्कृष्य कलाश्चतुःषष्टिः ॥

Different Mss. of the work record some minor differences and variants in the list quoted above. Thus the list translated by R. Ananta Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī (*Lalitāsahasranāma* with Bhaskararāya's Commentary translated into English, second edition, 1925, p. 124) does not include *citra* and reads *dṛṣṭi* for *vṛṣṭi*. In a footnote Mr. Śāstrī even refers to a Ms. which gives a different enumeration of the kalās.

8 It is not known, however, if *Śārṅgadharīya* as mentioned by Bhāskararāya, is the drama of the same name referred to in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. p. 643).

9 Cf. p. 7 of the edition of the work published by B. M. Nath & Co., Vepery, Madras.

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name, born of Māyā and recognised in Śaiva Philosophy. According to the Śaiva system of Philosophy, kalā is the seat of all enjoyment.[10]

The list of Bhāskararāya has been translated by R. Ananta Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī in the course of his translation of the entire work. We shall satisfy ourselves only by adding notes on some of the items.

'Knowledge of the eighteen scripts' occurs as the first item in this list. Lists of these eighteen scripts are referred to by Mr. Venkatasubbiah (p. 9). It is not, however, known if *aṣṭādaśalipi* referred to a particular Tantric mantra as seems to be indicated by the occurrence of the word in *Nāradapañcarātra* (*Bib. Ind.*, 3. VI. 21.).

Śāstrī translates *śrutanigaditā* in *bahuvidhabhāṣāśrutanigaditā* as 'composing verses'. But a better and literal translation of the whole expression seems to be 'repetition of what was heard from poems of various languages'.

Upavedas.—Different lists of upavedas are met with in different works. *Āyurveda* (Science of medicine), *Dhanurveda* (Science of archery), *Gandharvaveda* (Science of music) and *Sthāpatyaveda* (Science of architecture) are the four *upavedas* according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The list as given in *Caraṇavyūha* (Khaṇḍa, IV-V) and by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his *Prasthānabheda* (p. 2 of the Vanivilas Press edition) puts *Arthaśāstra* in place of *Sthāpatyaveda*. *Arthaśāstra*, again, in the opinion of Madhusūdana, is of various kinds and includes *Nītiśāstra*, *Aśvaśāstra*, *Śilpaśāstra*, *Sūpakāraśāstra* and *Catuḥṣaṣṭikalāśāstra*.[11] This is also the view of Nandarāma Tarkavāgīśa as set forth in his Saṃkhyāprakāśa.[12] Thus according to

10 भोगधात्री कला ज्ञेया तदाधारश्च पुद्गलः ।
भोगानामपि नान्योऽस्ति कलां त्याज्य समाश्रयः ॥

—*Mātaṅgaparameśvarāgama*

(Śivāgamaparipālana Saṃsthā, Devakotte)—*Kalātattvapaṭala*.

11 Separate works dealing with each of these 64 Kalās as given in the *Kāmasūtra* are known to have existed as late as the middle of the 17th century in the Library of Sarvavidyānidhāna Kavīndrācārya (*Kavīndrācārya Sūcīpatram* —G. O. S. Series, No. 17, p. 33).

12 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India office Library*, vol. IV, No. 2457. The *Daśakumāracarita* too distinguishes the kalās from

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this view it is not the kalās that count the upavedas under them but, on the other hand, the upavedas comprise the fine arts. It will also be noticed that this view would distinguish, unlike the ordinary lists of kalās, between cookery and śilpa on the one hand and the kalās on the other.

Śāstrasaṭka.—It cannot be stated what exactly was meant by this term. Śāstrī's translation is not clear on this point. The *Tantraśāstra* is, however, sometimes called to be of six types.[13] According to the *Aṅkasaṃkhyānighaṇṭu* the word *śāstra* denotes the number six, though no mention is made of the names of the six śāstras.[14]

Aṅgaṣaṭka.—This, of course, refers to the six Vedāṅgas.

Kāvyālaṅkāranāṭaka.—It is curious that nāṭaka that is generally regarded as a branch of Kāvya is treated here separately.

Gatijalavṛṣṭyāgnyāyudha etc.—Śāstrī connects śilpa with the seven stambhas, e.g., gatistambha, śilpa° etc. But śilpa might well be treated as a separate item.

Caurya.—Mr. Venkatasubbiah (p. 69) thinks that there are no books now extant on this subject. But there is a manuscript of a work, the *Ṣaṇmukhakalpa,* in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī was the first to draw attention to this work in his *Report of the notice of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1901-5). Peterson notices one work called the *Cauracaryā* by Viṭṭhaleśvara in his *Fifth Report of operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Circle* (No. 174). In A. B. Kathavate's *Report for search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency* (No. 504) the work is called *Cauryasvarūpa.* There is also a Bengali work dealing with the skill of this art in the form of a story. This is the *Cauracakravartī* of Vīra Kāśiśvara, a manuscript of which is in the

Arthaśāstra, Purāṇa, Kāvya, etc. (Cf. Chapters V. p. 147 and VIII. p. 188 of M. R. Kaḷe's edition—Bombay, 1926).

13 'षट्प्रकाराणि तन्त्राणि', 'षट्प्रकारे च शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्'
—*Padmatantra,* India office Catalogue, vol. IV, No. 2532.

14 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā,* vol. XXXVI, p. 246.

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Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat. The story has been published in popular form in Bengali in the children's magazine called *Sandeśa* (1338 B.S.).[15]

Dhātuparīkṣā.—This is translated by Śāstrī as 'knowledge of pulse.' But a better rendering would possibly be 'examination of minerals' as the science of medicine, of which 'knowledge of pulse' is an important topic, comes under upaveda.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

15 It may be noted in passing that Mūladeva whose name is frequently mentioned in connection with the dissemination of *Cauryaśāstra* is probably the same person as the Mūladeva who describes the Kalās in Kṣemendra's *Kalāvilāsa* where (canto I) he is described as one who is fully versed in all the kalās (सकल-कलानिलयानां धुर्य्यः) and as one who was taken resort to by the cheats of all quarters (नानादिग्देशागतधूर्त्तैरुपजीव्यमानमतिविभवः).

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Ancient coins found in Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā—a Study

Ancient coins found in Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā have been studied by many Indologists from the second quarter of the 19th century up to the present day. Among these scholars the names of Prinsep,[1] Rivett Carnac,[2] Carlleyle,[3] Mitra,[4] Cunningham,[5] Indraji,[6] Rapson,[7] Smith,[8] Banerji,[9] Jayaswal,[10] and Barua[11] may be mentioned. In our present study we shall confine ourselves principally to the following particulars, viz., (a) the style and fabric, (b) the palæography of coin-legends, (c) the symbols on coins, (d) such contemporary inscriptions and (e) the Paurāṇika accounts of such ancient Indian dynasties as may have some bearing on the issuers of these coins. An exact knowledge about the coin-making in ancient India is necessary for an approximate idea about the antiquity of these coins. It is a well-known fact that the most ancient coins of India, e.g., the Punch-marked coins were cut from a hammered sheet of metal and sometimes clipped so as to be adjusted to the proper weight. The cast coins without legend and with legend, the die-struck coins with square incuse and with round

1 *Essays* ed. by Thomas, I, p. 418, Pl. XXXIV, 19-21 etc.; Pl. VIII, 12-15; *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1873, pp. 109, 191.

2 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 87, Pl. XVI-XVII.

3 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 21.

4 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 8.

5 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 90, Pl. IX; p. 73, Pl. V. 7-18; p. 79, Pl. VII; p. 86, Pl. VIII, 1; p. 87, Pl. VIII, 9; p. 88, Pl. VIII; Pl. VIII, 13. *Archæological Survey Reports*, I, p. 301; III, pp. 14, 39; VI, pp. 165, 174; X, p. 4, Pl. II; XIV, p. 149, Pl. XXXI, 19-25.

6 *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 553, Pl. 10-14.

7 *Indian Coins*, Sec. 44, 49, 52, 53.

8 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I.

9 *Prācīna Mudrā*, pp. 103-104; pp. 105-106; pp. 106-108.

10 *JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 425-485.

11 *Old Brāhmī Ins. in Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri Caves.*

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incuse—these four types of coins, as classes, came successively, the first being the earliest.

The so-called Ayodhyā coins

The ancient city of Ayodhyā is well-known in Sanskrit, Pāli and Chinese writings, though now it has lost its importance. Coins which are popularly known as the Ayodhyā coins are found not at Ayodhyā proper, but at the modern city of Fyzabad, which has replaced, in some respects, the ancient city of Ayodhyā.

Up to the present day some anonymous coins and coins of the undermentioned kings have been found here. We may classify them, according to the ending of names, thus :

A. Anonymous coin

B. (1) Dhanadeva (2) Mūladeva
(3) Vāyudeva (4) Viśākhadeva

C. Śivadatta

D. Kumudasena

E. (1) Ajavarmā (2) Mādhavavarmā

F. (1) Devamitra (2) Indramitra
(3) Satyamitra (4) Saṅghamitra
(5) Sūryamitra (6) Bahasatimitra
and (7) Vijayamitra

Cunningham is of opinion that the coins of Viśākhadeva and Dhanadeva are 'certainly not older than the second century B.C.'[12] Rapson says that 'the oldest coins seem to be the cast pieces, the date of which is, perhaps, before 200 B.C. The square inscribed pieces, most of which are also cast, may belong to the second century B.C. The other coins, which bear names ending in *-mitra*, seem to belong to the same and following centuries.'[13] Rapson improves his theory later on while describing the coins of Kumudasena. He observes that 'the inscribed coins attributed to Ayodhyā fall into two classes, (1) square cast, and (2) round struck. The present specimen belongs to the latter, and, like the coins of this class generally, it has the side bearing the name of the king struck

12 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 91.
13 *Indian Coins*, p. 11.

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in incuse, but with this peculiarity, that in this case the incuse is square while in all other cases it is round. The square incuse is characteristic of some of the coins of Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañcāla, and is probably the result of impressing a square die on a lump of metal in a semi-molten state. As the earliest form of this incuse, like the shape of the earliest Indian coins, is square, it may, perhaps, be assumed generally that coins having a circular incuse are later in date. If so, our coin must be placed first in the series of the struck coins of Ayodhyā as known at present'.[14]

We know from an examination of these coins that those, which belong to the classes A, B & C, are cast. The coins of the class A are cast without legend, but the coins of the classes B & C bear the name of the issuers. The legend of the coin of Śivadatta has been read by Cunningham as Śiva-datasa,[15] and by Smith as simply (*Siva* ?)*datasa*.[16] No numismatist has given, as yet, an approximate idea of the dates of the coins of the classes B & C.

The coins of Śivadatta may be given an earlier date on the following grounds : On the obverse of the coins of Śivadatta there is a moving elephant and this is to be found on the obverse of the coins of Mūladeva, Vāyudeva and on some coins of Dhanadeva. The elephant is conspicuous by its absence on the obverse of some coins of Dhanadeva and on the obverse of all coins of Viśākhadeva, Kumudasena, Mādhavavarmā, Ajavarmā, and the Mitra kings, a humped bull occupying the place instead. Thus the coins of Dhanadeva form a landmark in the history of these coins because on the obverse of some of his coins we have the elephant moving and on some other the humped bull. Perhaps for some cause, not known, Dhanadeva changed the obverse device and used the humped bull in place of the elephant. The coins of Kumudasena are the first of the die-struck coins of Ayodhyā because the incuse is square.[17] The coins of two kings whose names end in *-varmā* are also die-struck with square incuse while the coins of the kings whose names end in *-mitra* are die-struck with round incuse. Thus the coins of two Varmā kings might, with all probability, be placed between the classes D and F. By

14 *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 287-88.
15 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 93.
16 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 149.
17 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 150, nos.14, 15.

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the palæographic test we arrive at the same result. The legends on the coins of Mūladeva and Vāyudeva are not distinctly legible but those on the coins of Dhanadeva and Viśākhadeva are of the Aśokan Brāhmī type i.e. they belong to the third century B. C. Palæographically the date of the legends on the coins of Kumudasena is later than that of the four kings whose names end in *-deva.* In the same way it can be shown that the coins of the *Mitra* kings are later than those of the *Varmā* kings and of Kumudasena. We can now chronologically arrange the coins thus :

A. Anonymous coin

B. Śivadatta

C. (1) Mūladeva (2) Vāyudeva
(3) Dhanadeva (4) Viśākhadeva

D. Kumudasena

E. (1) Ajavarmā (2) Mādhavavarmā

F. (1) Devamitra (2) Indramitra
(3) Satyamitra (4) Saṅghamitra
(5) Sūryamitra (6) Bahasatimitra
and (7) Vijayamitra

From a study of these coins we can guess that there might have flourished five dynasties at Ayodhyā i.e. the *Datta, Deva, Sena. Varmā* and *Mitra.*

Smith has described no less than 40 such coins.[18] It is interesting to note that all these coins are made of copper, a few being of brass (cf. no. 4 of Dhanadeva and nos. 10 & 11 of Śivadatta). On the obverse of the anonymous, circular, cast coin (nos. 12 & 13) we find a fish left, Svastika above and on the reverse 'Taurine' with a steel-yard below. On the obverse of the coins of Śivadatta (nos. 8-11), which are cast, an elephant moving left towards a tree or symbol in railing, Brāhmī legend *Śivadatasa* above and on the reverse many symbols including the Ujjain symbol; the central device may be a goddess seated on lotus. On the obverse of the coins of Mūladeva we find an elephant moving left

18 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum,* Calcutta, vol. I, pp. 148-151, nos. 1-4.

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towards a Buddhist symbol ; Brāhmī legend *Mūladevasa* and on the reverse wreath in centre, snake below, Buddhist symbol above.[19] On the obverse of the coins of Vāyudeva, we find elephant moving to left ; Brāhmī legend *Vāyudevasa* and on the reverse four *triratna* symbols on four sides of small circle, Bodhi trees on right and left and snake below.[20] The coins of Dhanadeva are of the types as noted before. On the obverse of the first type we find the elephant moving and Brāhmī legend *Dhanadeva* and on the reverse the 'Ujjain' symbol. On the obverse of the second type we find the humped bull standing left facing a peculiar column and Brāhmī legend *Dhanadeva* and on the reverse in centre a solar symbol, snake below, a tree in railing on each side ; above a *triśūla* symbol of the *nandīpāda* form (nos. 3-7). On the obverse of the coins of Viśākhadeva we find a bull standing and Brāhmī legend *Viśākhadevasa* and on the reverse the above mentioned symbols (1-2a). It should be noted that all these coins are cast.

The coins of Kumudasena and Ajavarmā are die-struck with legend in square incuse. The legends and devices are of the same type as we find on the coins of Viśākhadeva (nos. 14-16).

The coins of the Mitra rulers found at Ayodhyā are known as of the Cock and Bull type because of the fact that on the obverse of every coin we find a bull standing, Brāhmī legend inscribing the king's name and on the reverse a cock standing (nos. 17-36) in front of a palm tree. Some coins of Vijayamitra are known as of the Solar symbol type (37-40). All these coins are die-struck with obverse round incuse.

Regarding the Mitra kings we will only say here that some rulers, as known from a study of these coins, most probably belonged to the imperial Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty of Magadha, the list of which has been found in the *Purāṇas*. We shall enter into a detailed discussion of the controversies regarding the attribution of these to the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty when we shall discuss the Kauśāmbī- and Pañcāla-Mitra coins. Suffice it to say that at Ayodhyā two classes of these coins are found viz. (1) the coins of the Imperial Śuṅga-Mitra rulers and (2) of the Later Mitra rulers. The following kings, as found from a study of these coins, may be identified with some rulers mentioned in the *Purāṇas* :—

19 *Coins of Ancient India*, 91-92. 20 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

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A. (1)* Bahasatimitra may be identified with Puṣyamitra (1)† —*c.* 188 B.C.

(2)* Sūryamitra " " Vasumitra (4)† —*c.* 137 B.C.

(3)* Indramitra " " Vajramitra (8)† —*c.* 114 B.C.

(4)* Devamitra " " Devabhūti (10)† —*c.* 66 B.C.

B. *The Later Mitras*

(1) Satyamitra
(2) Saṅghamitra
(3) Vijayamitra

We will not enter into any discussion now regarding nos. 1,3 and 4 under A (See *infra*).

Regarding the identification of Sūryamitra with Vasumitra Jayaswal writes on the basis of Jain accounts that some of the Śuṅgas had double names like the Mauryas. The two Jaina chronologies give the following double names :

Balamitra = Agnimitra
Bhānumitra = Vasumitra[21]

Now Bhānu means Sun i.e. Sūrya. On this ground we are tempted to identify Sūryamitra with Bhānumitra and similarly with Vasumitra, the fourth imperial Śuṅga monarch. We have found coins of Sūryamitra not only at Ayodhyā but also at Pañcāla and Mathurā. This fact makes our position clearer. Again as these coins are made of copper, this hypothesis can stand because copper coins did not travel much from the place of their origin.

There flourished at least 8 kings at Ayodhyā before the accession of Bahasatimitra. If we accept *c.* 188 B.C. as the probable date of Bahasatimitra's accession, then, by allowing 10 years per generation, Mādhavavarmā, Ajavarmā, Kumudasena, Viśākhadeva, Dhanadeva, Vāyudeva, Mūladeva, Śivadatta and the issuer of anonymous

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the king in the succession-list of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas.*

21 *JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 425-485.

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coins should be placed in the period extending from *c.* 280 B.C.—190 B.C., Mūladeva and Vāyudeva flourishing in *c.* 260 B.C.—240 B.C. Thus the statement of Cunningham that the coins of Mūladeva and Vāyudeva "are certainly not older than the second century B.C." is open to criticism.

It is quite possible that when the imperial Śuṅgas were driven out from Magadha by the Kāṇvas, the descendants of the Śuṅgas ruled there as petty princes. Such parallel cases are not absent in ancient Indian history.

The so-called Kauśāmbī coins

"This famous old city of Kosambi is now represented by a grand ruined fort on the Jumna with its two villages of Kosam-Inām and Kosam-Khirāj or 'Rent-free' and 'Rent-paying' Kosam. It is just 31 miles above the fort of Allahabad. It was the capital of the Vatsas, and was, therefore, generally known as the Vatsa-pattana, or the Vatsa city".[22] "The coins found at Kosam range from the very earliest punch-marked bits of silver and copper down to the time of Akbar. But out of the whole number of 394 coins, only 50 are Muhammadan, or about one-eighth; while no less than 100 are the common square cast-coins with the elephant and Buddhist symbols. More than 30 of the Hindu coins are inscribed, and all of them in characters of a period earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Sixteen of them bear the name of Bahasatimitra, two belong to Devamitra, one to Aśvaghoṣa and three to Jeṭhamitra".[23] The legend, which was read as Aśvaghoṣa by Cunningham, is certainly Ghoṣa, as shown by Smith.[24] Smith has described the coin of another king named Pavata.[25]

The four coins described by Smith[26] are of copper. On the obverse of the anonymous coin we find a tree in railing, six-arched caitya, eight-rayed wheel, the Nandīpāda, Ujjain and Svastika symbols and on the reverse a humped bull.[27]

22 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 73.
23 *Archæological Survey Reports*, Cunningham, X, p. 4.
24 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 155, no. 2.
25 *Ibid*, no. 3. 26 *Ibid*, no. 1-4.
27 *Ibid*, no. 4.

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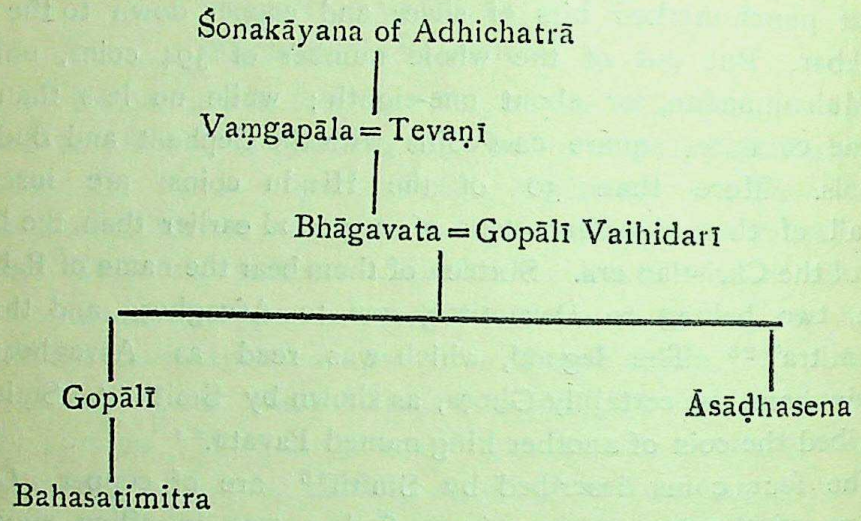
On the obverse and the reverse of the coins of Bahasatimitra, Ghoṣa and Pavata we find the above-mentioned devices, and legends of the kings' name.[28]

Who were these princes? Were they all local princes as has been suggested by some numismatists or were some of them identical with the imperial Śuṅga monarchs, of whom we find an account in the *Purāṇas*? Who was Bahasatimitra? That Bahasatimitra was a great ruler is known from the two inscriptions found at Pabhosa, 32 miles south west of Allahabad.

No. I, as read by Dr. Führer, runs thus:—Rājño Gopālīputrasa Vahasatimitrasa mātulena Gopālīyā Vaihidarīputrena (Āsā) Āsāḍhasenena lenaṃ kāritaṃ (Udākasa) dasame sabachare Kassapīyānaṃ arahaṃ[tā]naṃ.....

No II runs thus:—Adhichatrāyā rāño Śonakāyanaputrasya Vaṃgapālasya putrasya rāño Tevaṇīputrasya Bhāgavatasya putreṇa Vaihidarīputreṇa Āsāḍhasenena kāritaṃ.[29]

From these two inscriptions we can have the following geneological table:



Āsāḍhasena dates the inscription No. I in the 10th regnal year of a king named Udaka (?). Führer has not been able to read this correctly. According to Jayaswal it is Odraka. This Odraka, according to the rules observed in recording Indian inscriptions, must have been the king or the overlord of the place where the inscription was engraved. The place was apparently outside the

28 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, I, nos. 2-3.

29 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, pp. 240-43.

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territory governed by the Rājās of Adhichatrā but under the suzerainty of Odraka.

The Pabhosa inscription palæographically belongs to the Śuṅga period. We may take this Odraka as identical with the 5th imperial *Śuṅga* ruler who flourished in *c.* 129 B.C. as shown by Jayaswal. This inscription was caused to be written in the 10th year of the rule of Odraka. Thus the date of this inscription is approximately *c.* 120 B.C.

Another inscription found at Mora, 7 miles west of Mathurā city, runs thus :—Jivaputāye Rājabharyāye Bṛhāsvātimita (dhi) tu yaśa mataye kāritaṃ. (Made by order of Yaśamatā, the daughter (?) of Bṛhāsvātimita, the king's consort (and) the mother of living sons).[30] This inscription which is of the period of the Pabhosa inscription shows that he was a great ruler because Yaśamatā was proud of being his daughter.

In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela the 13th line runs as follows : 'māgadhaṃ ca rājānaṃ Bahasatimitaṃ pāde vaṃdāpayati' [i.e., (Khāravela) compelled Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha, to bow at his feet]. As the inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, scholars differ in their readings. Except one or two scholars, all read it as Bahasatimitam or some such.

Scholars	*Their readings*
Prinsep	Ibahaga sāsita
Cunningham	Bahasati sita
Indraji	Bahu paṭisāsita
Jayaswal	Bahapatimitraṃ formerly ; Bahasatimitaṃ later.
Majumdar	Bahu pasasitam, but adds that 'I do not of course deny that the reading Bahasatimitam might, after all, be proved to be correct.....'
Barua	Bahasatimitaṃ[31]

Thus we see that the general tendency is to take this as Bahasatimita. Jayaswal has shown that this Bahasatimitra was nobody but

30 *JRAS.*, 1921. p. 120.

31 *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri Caves*, pp. 22-23.

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Puṣyamitra because we know that Bṛhaspati is the deity of the Puṣyā Nakṣatra (*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1. 26. 6). Both are identical. The coins of Bahasatimitra are found not only at Kauśāmbī, but also at Ayodhyā and Pañcāla. All these coins are made of copper. These coins, being of no great value, were not taken from one part of the country to another. These two numismatic evidences make our position much better. 'On a study of coins I find', writes Jayaswal 'the coins of Bahasatimitra are unmistakably earlier than those of Agnimitra. Bṛhaspatimitra, therefore, cannot but be identical with Puṣyamitra.'[32] 'The evidence of coins and inscription, the date and nomenclature, all point to the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra and with no one else'.[33]

In the Paurāṇika list of the Śuṅga dynasty we find Ghoṣa (identical with Ghoṣavasu) to be the 7th ruler. At Kauśāmbī there is the coin of a king named Ghoṣa. His coins are also found at Mathurā. These coins, found at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, palæographically belong to the Śuṅga period. On this ground this Ghoṣa of the coins may be identified with the king of the same name found in the Paurāṇika list. It may be that Ghoṣavasu is a mistake for Ghoṣa made by the copyists. Jeṭhamitra and Devamitra of the coin-types have been identified with Vasu Jyeṣṭha (identical with Su-Jyeṣṭha) and Devabhūti respectively of the Śuṅga dynasty.

We have three successive stages regarding the antiquity of these coins viz., (1) anonymous cast coins with no legend, (2) the coins of Bahasatimitra, Ghoṣa, Jeṭhamitra and Devamitra and (3) Pavata's coins, which palæographically belong in all probability to the Gupta period. Thus we have :

A. Anonymous coin

B. (1)* Bahasatimitra identified with Puṣyamitra (1)† —*c.* 188 B.C.

(2)* Jeṭhamitra " " Vasu-Jyeṣṭha or Su-Jyeṣṭha (3)†—*c.* 144 B.C.

C. Pavata.

32 *JBORS.*, 1917, p. 477. 33 *Ibid.*, p. 480.

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the kings in the succession-list of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas*.

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(3)* Ghoṣa identified with „ Ghoṣa (7)†
—*c.* 117 B.C.

(4)* Devamitra „ „ Devabhūti (10)†
—*c.* 66 B.C.

The so-called Pañcāla coins

Writing about the coins of Pañcāla, Cunningham remarked, 'as the coins which I am now about to describe are found in Rohilkhand, and chiefly at Ahichatra, Anola and Budaon, it is quite certain that they belong to North Pañcāla. It has been suggested that they belong to the Śuṅga kings, who ruled over North India after the Mauryas for 112 years, or from B.C. 178-66. But the assignment is uncertain, as only one of the coin names, Agnimitra, is found in the Paurāṇika list of the Śuṅgas.....I rather incline to assign the coins to a local dynasty of princes, as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañcāla, which would not be the case did they belong to the paramount dynasty of the Śuṅgas....In the Sanskrit drama of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, translated by Wilson, Agnimitra, son of Puṣpamitra, and father ot Vasumitra, is called king of Vidiśā on the Vetravatī, that is, of Besnagar on the Betwa river. As these three names head the list of the Śuṅga kings, it would seem that the Śuṅgas were rulers of East Malwa. I conclude, therefore, that the coins found in Rohilkhand are those of some local dynasty and not of the paramount Śuṅga kings.'[34]

His contention that the kings whose names end in *-mitra* and whose coins are found at Pañcāla are local princes cannot be accepted as true.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac and Jayaswal have shown that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra may be identified with those found in the *Purāṇas*.

As to the second point I have shown in my discussion regarding the coins of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī that the Mitra coins are also found at Mathurā.

As to the third point it should be noted that Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra had their capital at Pāṭalīputra and not at Vidiśā as Cunningham has said. Smith rightly observes regarding

*† See footnotes in the previous page.

34 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79-80.

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the capital of Puṣyamitra that 'it presumably continued to be, as of old, Pāṭalīputra'.[35]

It may now safely be stated that some of these Mitra rulers belonged to the imperial Śuṅga dynasty. Moreover we know for certain that the coins of one king have been found at different places and that all these are made of copper. The coins of Bahasatimitra are found at Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Pañcāla, those of Ghoṣa at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, those of Indramitra at Ayodhyā and Pañcāla and those of Devamitra at Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā. The style and epigraphy of these coins are of the Śuṅga period.[36]

Coins of the following Mitra kings have been found here :—

(1) Agnimitra. (2) Bhānumitra. (3) Bhūmimitra. (4) Bṛhaspatimitra. (5) Dhruvamitra. (6) Indramitra. (7) Jayamitra. (8) Phālgunīmitra. (9) Sūryamitra. (10) Viṣṇumitra. (11) Aṇumitra.

This Bahasatimitra is identical with the Bahasatimitra whose coins are found at Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī. Bhānumitra has been identified with Vasumitra by Jayaswal.[37] Most probably Dhruvamitra is identical with Vasumitra, because Dhruva being one of the 8 Vasus, Dhruvamitra might have Vasumitra as a second name. Coins of a king named Bhadraghoṣa have been found at Pañcāla. Jayaswal opines that he is the same as Ghoṣa identical with Ghoṣavasu, the seventh Śuṅga ruler according to the *Purāṇas*. But as we have found coins of a king named Ghoṣa at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, we can reject this statement. Bhadraghoṣa is most probably a different person.

The Śuṅga kings may therefore be chronologically arranged on the evidence of coins found at Pañcāla in the following way :

*(1) Bahasatimitra identical with Puṣyamitra (1)†—*c.* 188 B.C.

*(2) Agnimitra identical with Agnimitra (2)†—*c.* 152 B.C.

*(3) Dhruva- or Bhānu- or Sūrya-mitra identical with Vasumitra (4)†—*c.* 137 B.C.

*(4) Indramitra identical with Vajramitra(8)†—*c.* 114 B.C.

35 *Early History of India*, p. 209.

36 *Indian Coins*, p. 13. 37 *JBORS.*, 1917, p. 477.

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the kings in the succession-list of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas*.

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There remain five more Mitra rulers to be identified. Most probably they ruled as petty princes after the overthrow of the imperial Śuṅga dynasty. As a corroborative evidence it is to be noted that the coins of Phālgunīmitra palæographically is not of the Śuṅga period. Viṣṇumitra may be placed as the earliest ruler of this group because his coins are found not only at Pañcāla but also at Mathurā while coins of the other kings are found only at Pañcāla. An inscription found at Mora runs thus :—.....mitrasa-putrasa-raño Viṣṇumitrasa dhitu-Idragibhadaye dhatiye Gotamasa Mitraye danam thambho.[38] Most probably this Viṣṇumitra is identical with that of the coin-legend. We know for certainty that he was a prince and that the name of his father ended in -mitra.

There remains four more rulers to be identified viz. Bhadraghoṣa, Rudragupta, Viśvapāla and Acyuta. We do not know when the first three kings flourished but we can make the conjecture that they most probably ascended the throne after the later Mitras. Acyuta has been identified by Smith with the Acyuta of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta[39] and thus his date is *c.* 330 A.D.

Smith has described 33 Æ Pañcāla coins. On the obverse and the reverse of the coins of Agnimitra we find 3 symbols, Brāhmī legend Agnimitrasa in square incuse and a figure, presumably of Agni, standing on low railing between two posts ; five rays proceeds from his head respectively.[40] On the obverse of the coins of Bhānumitra we find the Brāhmī legend Bhānumitrasa, with 3 symbols above and the reverse is defaced. We find on the obverse and the reverse of all the Pañcāla coins similar type of symbols. But the coins of Acyuta differ from this class. These coins which are of copper have been divided into two classes viz. (1) 'Name' type cast and (2) 'Roman head' type die-struck. On the obverse of the coins of the first type we find the Brāhmī legend Acyu- in bold characters and on the reverse wheel or sun with eight spokes. On the obverse of the coins of the second type we find head and neck of king right, as on a Roman denarius, behind head *a*, in front *cyu*, and on the reverse wheel or sun with eight spokes. I wish to place the coins of the second type later because these coins are die-struck and

38 *JRAS.*

39 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum,* Calcutta, vol. 1, p. 186.

40 *Ibid,* p. 187. nos. 1-4.

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are influenced by Roman culture, while the coins of the former type are cast and no such influence is to be traced.

From a study of the symbols on the coins of Pañcāla we can have an idea about the religion professed by these kings. Cunningham writes, 'from this detailed examination of their coins, I conclude that the Rājās of Pañcāla were certainly Brahminists, as there is an entire absence of Buddhist symbols, coupled with the use of Brāhmaṇical names, such as Rudra and Viṣṇu, Indra, Agni and Sūrya.'[41]

The so-called Mathurā coins

At Mathurā many coins were found up to the present day. The princes whose coins are found are Balabhūti, Gomitra. Viṣṇumitra, Sūryamitra, Ghoṣa, Bhavadatta, Kāmadatta, Puruṣadatta, Rāmadatta, Śeṣadatta, Śiśucandradatta, Śivadatta, Uttamadatta, Bhūmidatta and Vīrasena. Regarding these coins Smith writes, 'Cunningham knew of only three specimens of Balabhūti ; four more are now described, and three bad specimens have been excluded. The coins of Puruṣadatta are also rare. Carlleyle found a specimen at Bhuila Dih in Basti district, U. P., to the east of Oudh (*Reports*, XII. 145, 164). Bhavadatta is new, but see *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 113. Three are now added to the five specimens of Uttamadatta previously known. The coins of Rāmadatta are fairly common. Carlleyle found examples associated with coins of the satraps Rañjubula and Śoḍāsa at Indor Khera in the Bulandshar district, U. P. (*Reports*, XII. 43).[42]

He observes again, "The coins of Gomitra, Viṣṇumitra, and Sūrya (Suya) are,....., I think, latter than those of the princes previously mentioned."[43] (*Ibid*). This later proposal can be criticised. As it will be shown, the Mitra coins are undoubtedly earlier than the coins of the former group. Regarding the coins of Vīrasena, Smith observes, "the coins of this ruler are most readily procured in the Mathurā bazar, where Cunningham obtained about a hundred. Carlleyle got thirteen at Indor Khera in the Bulandshar District, while Mr. Burn and others have collected them in the Etah District, as well as at Kanauj and other places in the neighbouring Farrukhabad District.

41 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 84.

42 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. 1, p. 190.

43 *Ibid.*

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It is clear, therefore, that Vīrasena ruled in the Central Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna".[44]

A chronological order regarding these coins may be roughly worked out in the following way. The cast coin, which is found in the neighbourhood of Mathurā and bears the inscription Upatikya in Brāhmī at least as early as the third century B. C., may be looked upon as the earliest coin found here.[45] The coins of Balabhūti have legends in Brāhmī script of, probably, the 2nd century B. C.[46] The coins of Balabhūti are also connected with those of Bahasatimitra by identity of type—a caitya tree—and epigraphy. This tree is also found on the coins of Agnimitra according to Carlleyle.[47] Sūryamitra and Ghoṣa have been already identified with Vasumitra and Ghoṣa respectively. The Viṣṇumitra of Mathurā may be identical with the Viṣṇumitra of Pañcāla. The coins of Viṣṇumitra are found not only at Mathurā but also at Pañcāla as I have already shown, while the coins of Brahmamitra and Gomitra are found at Mathurā only. This fact most probably shows that Viṣṇumitra was more powerful than Brahmamitra and Gomitra, and thus earlier than the other two. At Ghaneshara, a village situated some three miles west of Mathurā city to the north of the road to Govardhana, some inscribed bricks have been found. On one brick we find the legend '*Gomita*', the same on the second, '...*mitamacena*' on the third and '...*cena Kohaḍena*' on the fourth. If we join these bricks, we find the following inscription 'Gomitāmachena Kohaḍena (kāritaṃ)[48] i. e. (made) by Kohaḍa, the minister of Gomitra. This Gomitra is most probably the Gomitra of the coin-legends. In this connection the Bodh Gayā Corner Pillar inscription of the wife of Brahmamitra, viz. Nāgadevī, should be noted. Coins have been found of 9 kings whose names end in *-datta*. Most probably these kings belonged to one dynasty. Now to what period are these rulers to be assigned? We know that the Śuṅgas ruled for 112 years i. e., *c.* 118 B. C.—*c.* 66 B. C. and the satraps of Mathurā from *c.* 80 B. C.—*c.* 50 A. D. So in the latter mentioned period there was most probably no Hindu local chief

44 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 191.
45 *Indian Coins*, p. 13. 46 *Ibid.*
47 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 186.
48 *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 122.

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at Mathurā. Indraji assigned these coins to the period of the decline of the Śaka power at Mathurā. Taking these controversies into consideration, we can say that Rāmadatta might have flourished before the satraps but others most probably flourished after the *satrapal* rule.

That Vīrasena was a king of the Central Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna is noted before. An inscription of a king named Vīrasena has been found at Jankhat in the Tiwa tahsil of the Farukkhabad District, U.P. The inscription runs thus :—Svamisa Virasenasa samvatsara 10 3 giṣmanam-pakṣe 4 divase 8...mime... (j) ika (va)...ya...tata . ir...naya ..epru (sa)···ni (ma) i.e. in the year 10 & 3 i.e., 13 of Svāmi Vīrasena, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season, on the day 8. The date of this inscription, according to Smith, is *c.* 335 A.D. On the palæographical ground it appears that this inscription should be assigned to a date later than the 2nd century A.D. This fact agrees with Smith's conjecture. It is probable that this Vīrasena is identical with the Vīrasena of the coin-legend.

To sum up, we can say that there flourished most probably two types of monarchy—imperial and local—at Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla and Mathurā. From *c.* 280 B.C.—*c.* 190 B.C. there was local monarchy prevalent at Ayodhyā. In the last quarter of the third century B.C. the monarchical form of government was also at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. Secondly, during the period *c.* 188 B.C.—*c.* 66 B.C. the imperial Śuṅgas established their hegemony over all these parts of India and also Pañcāla. After the overthrowal of the Śuṅga power by the Kāṇvas in *c.* 66 B.C. Ayodhyā, Pañcāla and Mathurā were most probably ruled by the descendants of the imperial Śuṅgas as local chiefs for a considerable period of time. At Mathurā after the decadence of the *Satrapal* power the kings, whose names end in *-datta*, became the rulers and also Vīrasena in *c.* 335 A.D. Kauśāmbī was most probably ruled at this time by a king named Pavata.

CHARU CHANDRA DASGUPTA

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The Jaina School of Astronomy*

II

The Theory of the two Suns

The theory of the two suns is thus explained in Mahāvīra's *Sūryaprajñapti* :—"There are two suns: Bhārata and Airāvata. They both move through half a diurnal circle in the course of 30 muhūrtas, i.e., in the course of 60 muhūrtas or two days, each of them complete a full diurnal circle. That sun which moves in the outermost circle in the southern hemisphere is called Bhārata, because he illumines the Bhāratakhaṇḍa. The other which moves through the same outer circle in the northern hemisphere is called Airāvata, because he illumines the Airāvata area. The Bhārata is visible to us."[1]

The two suns rise simultaneously and move through half a circle, one in the north and the other in the south of Meru and passing to the west go to the ocean or the nether world, as variously stated by a number of Tīrthas or astronomers. Again the next morning the Airāvata rises in the second circle in the south and the Bhārata in the second circle in the north and they complete the diurnal circle. In this way they are said to complete 183 circles in each half year, *increasing the day in the Uttarāyaṇa*, the first half of the year and decreasing the night at the same time by 6 muhūrtas. Likewise in the Dakṣiṇāyana, they complete 183 diurnal circles together *alternately changing places and making night longer and the day shorter* by 6 muhūrtas gradually. There were six different opinions regarding the intervening distance between the two suns. The first opinion is that the distance is 1133 yojanas; the second is 1134 yojanas; the third is 1135 yojanas. A fourth view is that an island and an ocean separate the two suns from each other, while the fifth is that there are two islands and two oceans between them. The sixth maintains that there are three islands and three oceans between them. According to the *Sūryaprajñapti* all these are false; the real distance between the first two diurnal circles is

* Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. VIII, no. 1, p. 42.

1 *Sūryaprajñapti* with Malayagiri's commentary, p. 22.

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$5\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas and the distance between any two circles increases at this rate per two circles from the innermost.[2] When the Bhārata and the Airāvata suns move through the innermost diurnal circle, then they are separated from each other by a distance of 99,640 yojanas.[3] The reason for this is given as follows :—Now the diameter of the Jambudvīpa is 100000 yojanas, when both the suns move through the innermost diurnal circle. Thus they make the total length of the diameter 360 yojanas. Deducting this from 100,000 we get 99, 640 yojanas as the intervening distance between the two suns. When the two suns move through the innermost circle, then the day is of 18 muhūrtas and the night of 12 muhūrtas; when beginning a new year they move through the second innermost circle, then they will be separated from each other by a distance of $99,645\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas. Now the second innermost circle is greater than the first by $2\frac{48}{61}$ yojanas as previously stated. Considering the circle of the two suns, the increase is $2\frac{48}{61} \times 2 = 5\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas.

In a year the two suns move in 366 diurnal circles, each moving through half a circle. These circles are one within the other. Each circle is imagined to be divided into 1830 parts. Since each day = 30 muhūrtas, the two suns together take 60 muhūrtas to complete the circle of 1830 divisions. Hence in one muhūrta $\frac{1830}{60} = 30\frac{1}{2} = \frac{61}{2}$ divisions. Therefore, one division is passed through $\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrta. The length of the day will be greater or less than 18 muhūrtas by this amount. Hence the rate of increase or decrease per day is $\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrta. This is when the suns are moving in the second external or internal diurnal circle. When they are moving in the third external or internal circle, the increase or decrease will be $\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas; therefore, when they are in the third diurnal circle, the day will fall from 18 to $18\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas; and the night will rise from 12 to $12 + \frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas and so on; when they move through the outmost circle i.e. the 183rd circle, then the day will fall by $183 \times \frac{2}{61} = 6$ muhūrtas and the night will gain by the same amount. Thus the longest night is the last 183rd night of the first six months and the longest day of 18 muhūrtas is the last 183rd day of the second six months. Likewise the shortest day of the first six months and the shortest night of 12 muhūrtas is the last 183rd night of the second six months.[4]

2 *Sūryaprajñapti*, p. 25. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 24.

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When the increase in the distance between the two suns is $5\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas, the day will be $18-\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrtas and the night $12+\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrtas. When they move through the third inner circle the distance between them will be $99640+2\times5\frac{35}{61}=99651\frac{9}{61}$ yojanas and the day will be $18-\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas and the night $12+\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas. When they move through the outermost circle, on the 183rd day, i.e., the last day of the first Ayana the distance between them will be $99640+5\frac{35}{61}\times183=99640+1020=100660$ yojanas. This will be reversed gradually when they move towards the innermost circle. When they are in the innermost circle the distance will be reduced to 99,640 yojanas and the day will be of 18 muhūrtas and the night of 12 muhūrtas.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Jaina astronomers throughout makes use of the relation $\sqrt{10}:1$ for calculating the circumferences of the diurnal circles. Thus, for instance the diameter of the Jambudvīpa being 1,00,000 yojanas, its circumference is said to be equal to $\sqrt{(100000)^2\times10}=316227$ approximately. It seems that all Jaina books take $1:\sqrt{10}$ as expressing the relation of the diameter to the circumference.[5]

Thus when the distance increases or decreases by $5\frac{35}{61}$ yojanas, the measure of the increased or decreased amount of circumference is $\sqrt{(5\frac{35}{61})^2\times10}=\sqrt{(\frac{1075}{61})^2}=17\frac{35}{61}$ or 18 yojanas.[6] This will be added once, twice, and so on to $\sqrt{(99040)^2\times10}=315089$ approximately to get the distance between them in circumference.[7]

5 For instance, *Jīvābhigama Sūtra* 82, 109, 112 etc. *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, 3, *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 91; *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra-bhāṣya*, iii. 11. Vide a paper on the Jaina School of Mathematics by Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Dutt, *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, vol. XXI, no. 2, p. 131.

6 Compare the remark in the ancient Jaina work *Karaṇa bhāvanā*: Sattarasa joyanāiṃ aṭṭatīṃsa ca egaṭṭibhāgā eyaṃ niccha-traṇa sabbahāreṇa puna aṭṭārasa joyanāim, i.e.,

$$5\frac{35}{61}\times\sqrt{10}=\sqrt{10\times\frac{340\times340}{61\times61}}=\frac{1035}{61}\ldots=17\frac{35}{61}\text{ approximately.}$$

7 *Sūryaprajñapti*, p. 44.

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The Motion of the Sun

Regarding the velocity with which the sun moves in the different circles, the calculation of the Jainas is very simple. Each daily circle being described by two suns, each of which travels through half of it in thirty muhūrtas, the whole circle is described by one sun in sixty muhūrtas, and consequently, in order to find the velocity of the sun the periphery of the daily circle is to be divided by sixty; the quotient is the number of yojanas travelled through by the sun in one muhūrta. The circumference of the innermost circle is 315089 yojanas. Hence in one muhūrta the sun moves through $3,15,089 \div 60 = 5251\frac{29}{60}$ yojanas. Now the illuminated area will be as much as the sun traverses in half a day. Hence, the day being 18 muhūrtas, during 9 muhūrtas the sun goes through $9 \times 5251\frac{29}{60} = 47,263\frac{29}{60}$ yojanas. Similarly, the second circle being of $315089 + 18 = 315107$ yojanas in circumference, the sun moves through $\frac{315107}{60} = 5,251\frac{47}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta. Now half a day in the second diurnal circle is $\frac{18 - \frac{2}{61}}{2}$ muhūrtas $= \frac{548}{61}$ muhūrtas. Hence, $5251\frac{47}{60} \times \frac{548}{61}$ yojanas will be the distance the sun traverses in half a day in the second diurnal circle and therefore this is then the illuminated area. Likewise the velocity, too, becomes more by $\frac{18}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta per outer circle than in the previous circle, i.e., 18 yojanas more than the previous circle. Likewise, each outer circle gets larger by 18 yojanas. When the sun moves through the third diurnal circle on the second day of the new year of a cycle, his velocity per muhūrta is $\frac{315125}{60}$ yojanas. Now the day measure on this day is $\frac{18 - \frac{4}{61}}{2} = 9 - \frac{2}{61} = \frac{547}{61}$ muhūrtas. Hence the illuminated area $= \frac{315125}{66} \times \frac{547}{61}$ yojanas.

Now in the innermost circle the measure of the visible area is $47263\frac{21}{61}$ yojanas. This is done in 9 muhūrtas. Hence the area attained in $\frac{1}{61}$ muhūrta is $\frac{47263\frac{21}{60}}{9 \times 61} = 47263\frac{21}{60} \div 549 = 86\frac{5}{60} + \frac{24}{60 \times 61}$ yojanas. Now the excess of velocity gained by the sun per outer circle is $\frac{18}{60}$th of a yojana per yojana; and also the circumference gets larger by 18 yojanas in each outer circle than the previous circle. Now on the third day in the second diurnal circle the measure of half the day is $9 - \frac{1}{61}$ muhūrtas $= \frac{548}{61}$ muhūrtas. Then the excess of area $\frac{18}{60}$ multiplied by $\frac{548}{61}$ gives 2 yojanas $+ \frac{41}{60} + \frac{43}{60 \times 61}$ yojanas.

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This being deducted from $86\frac{5}{60}+\frac{24}{60\times 61}$ gives $83\frac{23}{60}+\frac{42}{60\times 61}$ yojanas which is taken as 84 approximately. Hence the constants used in ascertaining the rate of velocity and the illuminated or visible area in each diurnal circle are (i) $\frac{18}{60}$ and (ii) 84 or $83\frac{23}{60}$.

Now when the circle is on the outermost circle, the sun moves $5305\frac{15}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta; for the circumference of this circle is 318315 yojanas. This divided by 60 muhūrtas gives $5305\frac{15}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta. *The visible or heated area, i.e., the distance at which the sun becomes visible to men, is* $31831\frac{30}{60}$ *yojanas*; for the day when the sun is on the outermost circle is of 12 muhūrtas. Hence on multiplying by half of day time the rate of yojana per muhūrta the area at which the sun becomes visible is obtained to be equal to $6\times 5305\frac{15}{60}=31831\frac{30}{60}$ yojanas. When the sun moves on the last outermost circle but one, the velocity is $5304\frac{57}{60}$ per muhūrta for the circumference of this circle is 318297 yojanas and this divided by 60 gives $\frac{318297}{60}=5304\frac{57}{60}$ yojanas. Likewise, the visible area = half the day × circumference of the circle which is velocity per muhūrta. Hence the day being $12+\frac{7}{61}$ muhūrtas, visible area $=(6+\frac{1}{61})\times\frac{318297}{60}=31916\frac{39}{60}+\frac{60}{61}$ yojanas. In the same way the visible area and the sun's velocity may be ascertained in other diurnal circles. When the sun goes from outer circle to inner circle, the velocity will be less by $\frac{18\times 2}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta per circle and the heated area gets less by 84 or 85 yojanas than in the previous outer circle.[8]

In this connection are given particulars about the *tāpakṣetra*, i.e., that part of the Jambudvīpa which on each day is illuminated. The shape of this *tāpakṣetra* is compared to that of a *Kalambuka* flower turned upwards. Each of the two sun illuminates a sector of the large circle formed by the Jambudvīpa. These sectors are, however, not complete, but a piece is cut off from each by Mount Meru which standing in the middle of the circle repels by its superior radiancy the rays proceeding from the two suns and therefore is not included in the tāpakṣetra. The interior border of the sectors is thus formed by a part of the circumference of the Jambudvīpa. Between these two sectors of light there lie two sectors of shade (andhakāra); whatever part of the Jambudvīpa is covered by the two former

8 *Sūryaprajñapti*, pp. 48-64.

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enjoys day at the time while it is night in the regions covered by the dark sectors. As the two suns revolve, these four sectors revolve with them, sweeping over the whole extent of the Jambudvīpa and producing alternate day and night in all its parts.[9] On the longest day the two suns together illuminate $\frac{3}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa, each of them $\frac{3}{10}$ths. Suppose the Jambu circle is divided into 3660 parts, of these parts, one sun illuminates $\frac{3}{10}$ of 3660 or 1098 parts and the other a similar number of parts. They together illuminate 2196 parts. Hence $\frac{4}{10}$ or $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambu circle or 1464 divisions will be in the dark. On the shortest day the two suns illuminate $\frac{2}{10}$ each, together $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambu circle. When the suns have entered the second circle and are moving at a greater distance from the centre, the extent of the *tāpakṣetra* decreases accordingly, so that it then equals to $\frac{3}{10}-\frac{1}{10\times 183}$ for each sun or $\frac{3}{5}-\frac{1}{5\times 183}=\frac{3}{5}-\frac{1}{915}$ of the whole Jambu only. Similarly on the third day one sun illuminates $(\frac{3}{10}-\frac{2}{10\times 183})$ parts of the Jambu and the other as much. Thus the illuminated part falls short by $\frac{2}{3660}$ each day with reference to each sun. Hence on the 183rd day the decrease amounts to $\frac{2}{3660}\times 183 = \frac{1}{10}$ of the Jambudvīpa for one sun and therefore $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa for two suns. The extent of the *tāpakṣetra* for the two suns is then $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa, or on all day the constant quantity illuminated is $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa for each sun. From this the absolute dimensions of the *tāpakṣetra* are easily derived.[10]

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9 This fact is explained at a considerable length by G. Thibaut in his paper on *Sūryaprajñapti* in *JASB.*, 1880, no. 3.

10 Vide also the translation of the summary of Mahāvīra's *Sūryaprajñapti* by Dr. R. Shamsastry in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vols. XV, XVI.

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Mir Qasim at Monghyr

After settling the affairs of the border districts of Bihar, Mir Qasim proceeded to Monghyr which he had in the meantime decided to make the permanent headquarters of his government. On his way back to Patna, he removed Rājā Rājballabh from his office of the Naib of Bihar, placed him under arrest[1] in his own camp, and appointed Rājā Naubat Rai in his place. A really satisfactory explanation of this is not available. The principal charge against Rājballabh was that he was defaulting[2] in forty lakhs of rupees. This is why the Nawab ostensibly punished him in such a signal manner. The latter had been in office since the dismissal of Rāmnārāyaṇ, and had to all appearances worked so far quite satisfactorily. In fact, the governor in his letter to the Nawab dated July 29, 1762, fully testified[3] to the good character of the late Naib, and particularly requested him not to dishonour the latter. The Nawab, however, absolutely disregarded the mild remonstrance of Mr. Vansittart, and meted out to the Naib an exemplary punishment which appeared to be certainly of a vindictive character. The author of the *Muzaffar Namah* gives an account of the horrible tortures to which Rājballabh was subjected.[4] For instance, thorns were forcibly thrust into his nails so that he might make a confession of the amount of his total wealth. As a matter of fact, Rājballabh was deprived of everything he had and as such he shared the fate of his predecessor whom he had supplanted. Reliable persons were deputed to Dacca to confiscate all his property there,[5] and a trusted officer, Aqa Raza, was appointed specially for the purpose of superintending the forfeiture of the entire property of the late Naib.[6] It is

1 *Muzaffar Namah, Allahabad University Ms.*, (henceforth abbreviated as *MN.*), p. 329; also *Siyar*, (Lucknow Text), p. 711.

2 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 14.

3 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 118, p. 62.

4 *M.N.*, p. 333. It is noteworthy, however, that no other chronicle gives these details.

5 *Siyar*, p. 711.

6 *MN.*, p. 332.

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sufficiently clear that the Nawab would not have avenged himself on the latter in the above manner for minor reasons only. Rājballabh's past connection with Miran, the late 'Choṭa Nawab', was a standing cause for suspicion. He had been appointed in the place of Rāmnārāyaṇ, simply because he was expected to check the accounts of his rival with special zeal and promptness. The Nawab had aimed at utilising his undoubted abilities and great experience in order to restore order in the disordered finances of Bihar, and now that a satisfactory settlement was made there remained no special necessity for continuing his appointment. Besides, the ex-Naib had certainly given offence to the Nawab for having been alleged to have written on behalf of Ellis to the *Qalahdar* of Monghyr in regard to the European deserters who were reported to have been in hiding at Monghyr fort.[7] May it not be the explanation of the Nawab's unusual persecution of Rājballabh? In addition, the latter was reputed to be extremely wealthy, and he was one among many others who fell victims to the Nawab's rapacity and oppression on account of their hoarded wealth.

While encamping at Patna the Nawab gave an unmistakable proof of his hatred for Ellis by indignantly refusing to see the latter. His attitude was manifestly so offensive to Ellis that he took it as a personal insult. He had sent on 22nd June, 1762, a *chobdar* to the Nawab asking for the permission[8] of an interview, but not only was the permission refused, even the *chobdar* was not admitted to the Nawab's presence. The Nawab's peevish attitude can in no way be held justifiable, and it only inflamed their mutual distrust and animosity. Ellis had certainly done the right thing by proposing a visit to the Nawab, and by doing so had shown a conciliatory attitude, but the Nawab unwisely treated the advance with open contempt, and thus lost a chance of winning the good will of the Chief. Mr. Hastings in his letter to the Governor, dated the 24th of June, communicated

7 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 45, p. 29; *Vansittart's Narrative*, I, p. 308; II, p. 9, and Letter from the Nawab to the Governor, dated March 26, 1762.

8 *Bengal Public Consultations* (henceforth abbreviated as *BPC.*), 5th July, 1762 (vide Letter from Ellis, dated the 23rd June 1762).

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the Nawab's reasons for refusing the interview sought by Ellis.[9] The Nawab had represented to Mr. Hastings that "he could not put on so much dissimulation as to receive him (Ellis) with kindness, and besides he feared their conversation might turn upon their grievances, and end in a quarrel, and to avoid the indignity which such an event would occasion to him he judged it the most prudent method not to see him at all". In short, the Nawab explained his attitude on the ground that an interview with Ellis would have resulted in a quarrel! The latter had intended just to pay the respect due from his station to the Nawab, and it is hardly conceivable that there could have been a quarrel during a ceremonial interview. Ellis was perfectly right when he wrote[10] to the Governor and Council, ".....I did not think he would have refused an interview which, instead of occasioning a quarrel, as he absurdly observes, might perhaps have laid the foundation of a future good understanding". The Council rightly came to the conclusion that the Nawab should not have made public his private disagreement with Ellis in the interests of his own reputation, and that of Company.[11]

Not satisfied with personally refusing the visit of Ellis, the Nawab went to the length of forbidding the new Naib, Naubat Rai, to pay the usual complimentary visit after his appointment to Ellis.[12] Unaware of its reason, the latter considered the failure of Naubat Rai to visit him as one more deliberate insult. As a matter of fact, the Nawab wanted to establish a precedent in the matter. He would not allow his Naib to pay the first visit to the Chief, as the former represented him and as such, he thought, his Naib held a higher status than that of a Chief of the Company's Factory. The Nawab represented to the Governor that Ellis should first pay a visit to his Naib but on being pressed by Mr. Vansittart, he allowed Naubat Rai to pay the first visit to Ellis as a special case, making it clear that this should not

9 *BPC.*, 5th July. (vide Letter from Mr. Hastings, dated the 24th June, 1762).

10 Letter from Ellis, dated the 23rd July, 1762. *Vansittart's Narrative*, II, p. 77.

11 *BPC.*, 8th July, 1762.

12 *Ibid.*, (vide Letter from Ellis, dated the 25th June, 1762).

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be taken as a precedent for the future.[13] The Council, however, readily yielded on this point, and resolved,[14] "that at Patna, Cossimbazar, and Dacca the Chief of our factory shall pay the first visit to the Naib Subah who, as representative of the Nawab in his particular district, is entitled to this preference, but we expect that the Naib shall receive the Chief in the *Killah* with all due respect and formality, and that he shall return the visit". The Governor duly informed the Nawab of this decision,[15] but made this clear to him that if a *faujdar*, a *tahsildar*, or a *zemindar* had any business with the Chief, they should certainly go to the latter. Ellis resented this decision of the Council, and objected that it would be derogatory to the dignity and honour of the Chiefs, if they were to pay the first vist to the *Naib Subah*, and that this innovation upon former practice would give ample opportunity to the *Subah* to look down upon them as mere gumashtahs.[16] His objections were, however, disregarded by the Governor who wrote a long minute strongly criticising the Chief for having presumed to have claimed an equal status with the Naib Subah.[17]

Towards the end of June, 1762, the Nawab reached Monghyr,[18] and made his entry into the fort with great pomp and eclat.[19] Mr. Vansittart had thought that the Nawab would stay there during the rains only,[20] but the latter soon showed his intention to prolong his stay, and make the place his permanent capital. As this has been generally commented upon as a significant move on the part of the Nawab to remain purposely at a considerable distance from Calcutta, it deserves a close examination. The Nawab's own avowed objects were as follows:—

(i) As the affairs of Bhojpur, and other border districts of Bihar had not yet been fully settled, and as the activities

13 *BPC.*, 19th July, 1762. 14 *BPC.*, 19th July, 1762.

15 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 122. p. 64.

16 Letter from Ellis, dated 3rd August, 1762.

17 *BPC.*, 16th August, 1762.

18 *Vansittart's Narative*, II, p. 97.

19 This took place on the 15th of Zilhadj, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, *Alld. Univ. Ms.*, p. 778. *Siyar* (p. 711) corroborates it.

20 *Vansittart's Narrative*, II, p. 97.

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of the exiled zemindars had to be watched, the Nawab considered his presence near those parts absolutely essential. The Governor also approved of his remaining at Monghyr for this special reason.[21]

(ii) The province of Bihar had been distracted so far owing to the continued military operations, and its administration needed a thorough rehabilitation. The Nawab complained[22] that his hold over the province had so far been only nominal, and he, therefore, wanted to introduce peace and order, and satisfactory government in order to establish his authority over this troublous country.

(iii) The Nawab further appeared to think[23] that Shujauddaulah, the Wazir of Oudh, coveted the province of Bihar, and might create disturbances, hence he believed it to be prudent to remain in Bihar in order to guard against any possible interference.

(iv) Mr. Vansittart also apparently encouraged the Nawab to settle the affairs of Bihar, and asked him not to be[24] under any apprehensions in regard to Bengal. Thus, relieved of his anxiety for the safety of Bengal, the Nawab could easily transfer his residence to Bihar.

There is no doubt that the above reasons are quite plausible, and are sufficient to explain away the sudden change of the capital, but they are certainly neither very convincing, nor adequate. The Nawab had personally supervised for a few months the regulation of the border districts, and the subjugation of the rebellious zemindars, had appointed his own men in different *parganahs* to collect the revenue, and guard the entrances into Bengal, and had stationed sufficient troops all over the frontier, besides coming to a private understanding with the Wazir in regard to the run-away zemindars. Thus there existed no more any urgent necessity for staying at Monghyr. If this had been

21 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 99. p. 54.
22 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, pp. 9-10.
23 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 15.
24 *Abs. PLI.*, 1759-65, p. 24.

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his principal object, he could very well have continued his stay at Sasseram, or Rohtasgarh. So far as the province itself was concerned, sufficient order had been introduced by now, and most of the old officials had eben substituted by his own men who could surely be trusted to maintain the Nawab's authority in the country. It is certainly not a fact that a general supervision or control over them could not have been exercised from Murshidabad, although it must be admitted that Monghyr would be a more centrally situated capital for the *Subah* of Bengal and Bihar than Murshidabad. The Nawab's apprehension of a sudden invasion of Bihar by the Wazir was more imaginary than real, especially when it is known that there existed some secret agreement with the latter. If the need of frontier defence had been the determining factor, the Nawab should really have stayed at Murshidabad, in order to ward off the threatened attack of the Marathas under Sheo Bhat.[25] In fact, it was more than once apprehended that the Marathas would invade Bengal by the way of Viṣṇupur, or Birbhum,[26] and the Governor repeatedly requested the Nawab to sanction[27] an armed expedition to Cuttack, but in vain. The Nawab was "simply" indifferent to this matter, and appeared to be inclined to placate the Marathas by paying them the arrears of the *Chauth*, but the Council advised[28] him not to pay the *Chauth*, and pressed him to undertake an expedition against Cuttack, and thus strengthen the South-Western frontier of Bengal, which was open to the inroads of the Marathas. The Nawab gave evasive replies, and did not realise the necessity and utility of annexing Cuttack, hence the Council had to abandon the scheme.[29] The Nawab was, however, aware of the fact[30] that the entrance into Bengal from the South-Western side was not properly safe-guarded, still it is strange that he paid no attention to it. It is, therefore, clear that the Nawab was not primarily actuated by

25 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, 45. Sheo Bhat threatened to invade Bengal, if the *Chauth* was withheld any longer.

26 *BPC.*, 8th May, 1761; *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, No. 404.

27 *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, Nos. 425-6. *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, Nos. 3, 6, and 34.

28 *BPC.*, 16th Jan. 1762; *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 42. p. 27.

29 *BPC.*, 18th Feb. 1762.

30 *BPC.*, 16th Jan. 1762 (vide Letter from the Nawab, 25th Dec. 1761).

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the desire to guard against an attack of Bihar, when he chose to settle at Monghyr, because the danger from the Wazir was obviously less serious than the menace of the Marathas to Bengal. In shelving the proposed Cuttack expedition, the Nawab showed an utter lack of a grasp of the problems of frontier defence. Lastly, that Mr. Vansittart did not object to the Nawab's stay at Monghyr does not mean much. The Governor had made this his settled policy not to meddle with the personal predilections of the Nawab, and so he could not have dissuaded the latter from removing his residence in consonance with his policy of non-intervention.

The transference of the head-quarters from Murshidabad to Monghyr appears to have been due to deeper reasons.[31] In the first place, the Nawab required a strongly fortified place for his permanent residence, and Murshidabad would obviously not satisfy him. At Monghyr, he could have at his disposal a satisfactory fort which by means of the necessary improvements he could make stronger and more serviceable. He must certainly have felt the want of proper fortifications at Murshidabad, and extraordinarly cautious and suspicious as he was, he could never have regarded himself safe in the old capital. A place like Rohtasgarh would have been too near the frontier line. Monghyr or Rajmahal alone appeared to be centrally situated, and of the two, Monghyr was decidedly better both in point of its fortifications, and strategic position commanding the communication between Bihar and Bengal. It should not be forgotten that the Nawab was consistently aiming at securing his position, and this fact does amply explain the sudden preference for Monghyr.

In the second place, the Nawab would be able to start with a clean slate at a new place where he would be absolutely free from the atmosphere of the old capital, its intrigues and corruption. Murshidabad had been the centre of the late Nawabs, and was still associated with their names. Mir Qasim's vanity would require some other place where he could more effectively, and with a greater sense of security

31 (According to *MN.*, p. 328) the Nawab was unwilling to go to Murshidabad on account of his "*rebellious character.*"

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inaugurate his new regime. He apparently sought to be original in all matters, and altered every aspect of the late administration—its personnel, policy, and general tone. Is it not, therefore, intelligible that the Nawab should publicly signalise this change by shifting the capital itself? In fact, this transference of the capital indicated in a manner that could not be mistaken, the Nawab's complete emancipation from the English control, and the establishment of his undisputed sway over the *Subah*. That it had a spectacular side cannot be denied, hence the psychological factor should not be ignored in this connection.

In the third place, the Nawab had been led to suspect that Mir Jafar would be restored by the Company sooner or later, and the attitude of Ellis and the members of the opposition in the Council only deepened his suspicions. In the circumstances, he may have deemed it a prudent step to leave the old capital, and settle at a place remote from Calcutta, so that in case his appointment to the Subahship were to be annulled by the Company, he would have sufficient facility, either for offering resistance, or for quickly escaping to Oudh.

In the fourth place, the Nawab had been considering since his sojourn in the frontier districts of Bihar the feasibility of annexing Nepal to his dominions—a project which soon afterwards ended in a disastrous failure. He may have, therefore, decided to be as near the northern borders as possible, so that he might direct, and superintend the military operations against Nepal, and control it after its annexation which he considered to be very easy.

In the fifth place, the Nawab would not feel secure so long as Ellis who was alleged to be a centre of attraction to all those who were inimically disposed towards him, continued to remain in Bihar. The Nawab wanted to prevent the Naib at Patna from gaining a position of virtual independence as in former days with the support of the Company's servants, and he was determined to obviate the repetition of the days of Rāmnārāyaṇ when Bihar was only nominally subject to the authority of Murshidabad. This necessitated the Nawab's presence as near Patna as possible. At Patna itself, he could not have expected peace of mind owing to his open estrangement from Ellis; hence Monghyr would be a suitable place whence he could be able not only

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to control his officers in Bihar, but also keep a vigilant watch over the activities of the Chief whom he looked upon as his worst enemy.

Finally, there is the usual explanation that the Nawab deliberately removed his head-quarters simply to remain at a safe distance from Calcutta, so that he might be less liable to supervision and interference, and might develop an army without hindrance with a view to establish his complete independence by ultimately overthrowing the power of the English.

At Monghyr, the Nawab immediately set himself to the work of repairing the fortifications, and the existing buildings, and commenced the construction of new edifices to beautify the town.[32] No ugly buildings were to remain, and under the orders of the Nawab a large number of such buildings were demolished to be rebuilt in a style liked by the latter. It is difficult to state how far this expensive programme of building works was justifiable, but there is no doubt that it was inspired at least partly by vanity and ambition.[33] The Nawab wanted to make a pompous display of his wealth and power. The old walls of the town were improved, and new walls were erected towards the north and the south of the city for more strength and security.[34] The fort too was soon repaired and the necessary additions and alterations were made to it. Most of the artillery remaining at Murshidabad had to be brought gradually to Monghyr,[35] and new pieces of cannon were also purchased.[36] In short, the Nawab took great pains to adorn, and strengthen his present capital.[37]

The new regime at Monghyr was marked by the Nawab's usual ruthlessness and terrorism. A large number of persons were ordered to be imprisoned, although they had not been charged with any definite crime. The Nawab obviously acted in accordance with his policy of removing all those officials who had been in any way connected with the previous Nawabs. In pursuance of this object, he had already either executed, or imprisoned most of the old officials on some pretext,

32 *Siyar*, p. 711.
33 *MN.*, p. 335.
34 *Ibid.*, p. 336.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 336.
36 *Abs. PLR.*, 759-65, p. 14. The Nawab offered in July, 1762 to purchase 100 pieces of cannon.
37 *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (A.S.B. Text), p. 381.

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and now he put into prison without any trial whatsoever the principal *mutasaddis* of the old regime, who were still at large, and confiscated their property.[38] It is needless to add that these unhappy prisoners had to endure[39] untold sufferings during their captivity, and most of them were subsequently massacred. Among those who happened to be thus committed to prison[40] were the Ray Rayan, Ummid Ray, his son Nitta Nand, Kālī Parshad, Rām Kishor, Rājballabh and his sons, Dulāl Ray, Rāmnārāyaṇ, Munshi Jagat Ray, Muhammad Masum, Shahamat Jang, Muzaffar Ali, Nazr Ali Khan, and Shah Abdullah. Not content with the confinement of the important functionaries of the old government, the Nawab seized even some of the powerful zemindars of Bengal, and had them imprisoned, lest they should defy his authority, intrigue against him with his enemies, or tyrannise over defenceless people.[41] In fact, the Nawab made it a principle of his administration to humble the big landlords of the country, whom he regarded as his potential enemies. Among the zemindars who had been condemned to imprisonment[42] were those of Dinajpur, Nuddea,[43] Kharakpur, Birbhum, Rajshahi, and Buncary.

In his new capital, the Nawab took great pains to rule after the fashion of the Great Mughals, and sedulously imitated their practice, as if to revive the glories of the Mughal Court. Two days in the week, he used to sit in the hall of audience, and decide cases after hearing the parties who were freely allowed to lay their grievances before him.[44] The Nawab usually consulted men conversant with law before giving his decisions, and showed his anxiety to dispense even-handed justice.[45] Ghulam Husain has paid an eloquent tribute to the Nawab's personal interest in the administration of justice,[46] and has given a picturesque description of the court at Monghyr. It is needless

38 *MN.*, p. 333.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 330.
40 *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, p. 383; *Siyar*, pp. 713-15; *MN.*, p. 330.
41 *Siyar*, p. 712.
42 *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (A.S.B. Text), p. 383; *MN.*, p. 330.
43 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 15.
44 *Siyar*, p. 712; *Khulasat* (*JBORS.*, V, p. 606).
45 *Khulasat* (*JBORS.*, V, p. 606).
46 *Siyar*, p. 712. Kalyan Singh (*Khulasat*) confirms the account of Ghulam Husain.

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to add in this connection that the Nawab was anxious to be impartial only when his own interests were not affected. He could be atrociously unfair and tyrannical, when he had to deal with persons whom, for some reason or other, he considered dangerous to himself, and always gave vent to his innate cruelty when he awarded punishment to such people.[47] That he used to inflict inhuman punishment is illustrated by a few cases cited[48] by Ghulam Husain himself. A certain young officer in the army had chanced to offer his hospitality to the servant of one whom the Nawab kept in confinement on suspicion, and the latter got very much annoyed at this, and ordered his nose to be cut off. Another official suspected to have been in correspondence with the runaway zemindars of Bhojur was ordered to be bound to an elephant's foot, and dragged till death. Some time after his arrival at Monghyr, the Nawab lost his eldest son[49] whom he had lately kept at Murshidabad under the care of his maternal uncle, Turab Ali Khan.[50] The Nawab's wrath curiously fell upon the unfortunate physician, Asadullah Khan, who had happened to treat the prince during his illness. The physician narrowly escaped death by managing to leave the capital in the disguise of a *faqir*.[51] This is a striking illustration of the Nawab's arbitrary tyranny.

The Nawab was not satisfied with making Monghyr merely his administrative head-quarters; he wanted that the new capital should also be a centre of culture. He attracted a number of poets, authors, and pious men of note to his court by munificent liberality. Among the latter, the most honoured was, of course, the famous poet, Shah Muhammad Ali Hazin whose works were purchased by the Nawab at a high price, and who was besides awarded a liberal pension.[52] Several lakhs of rupees were given in charity to the Sayyids, and other poor people.[53] All this was done to impress the people with his magnanimity and piety.

47 *MN.*, p. 330.
48 *Siyar*, p. 715.
49 *MN.*, p. 331.
50 *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, No. 423, p. 214.
51 *MN.*, p. 331. There is no mention of this incident in *Siyar*, or in any other chronicle.
52 *Siyar*, p. 712.
53 *Siyar*, p. 712.

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In short, the Nawab did all that lay in his power to glorify his new regime at Monghyr. He also applied for, and secured from the Emperor, several titles of honour, although he was not given the honour of the Wazirship of the Empire, and the appellation of Asaf Jah, which he eagerly coveted.[54] Mir Qasim was henceforth known as Nawab Ali Jah.[55]

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

54 *Siyar*, pp. 713-14.

55 *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* (*Alld. Univ. Ms.*), p. 778.

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Fire-Arms in Ancient India*

III

(7) *Guns and gun-powder*

In *Vāsiṣṭha Dhanurveda* (a work of the 12th century) there are three verses briefly describing *nārāca*, *nālikā* and *śataghna*. I translate them thus: "Those bāṇas which are entirely metallic are called *nārāca*. Five large feathers are tied to each. Few succeed in using this arrow. *Nālikā* is a light bāṇa, and is ejected by means of a tube. They are useful for hitting objects placed very high or forts situated at a long distance. The wise should place *śataghna* in forts for the security of the throne, and a large quantity of *rañjaka* (gun-powder) and *vaṭi* (bullets)." As stated before, *nārāca* and *nālikā* were metallic arrows, one solid and the other hollow. They were propelled by a bow. But the *nālikā* of the passage mentioned above was propelled by means of long distance-tubes. The implement could not be a blow-gun.[1]

There is thus scarcely any doubt that the hand-gun was first used for shooting short metallic arrows. The idea may have been originally the same as the blow-gun, and possibly iṣikā-astra mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* was a blow-gun. In course of time, the name *nālikā* was applied to guns.

Śataghna of the above passage is a cannon. It was placed on the walls of forts in the place of *śataghnis* of spiked columns. The words *rañjaka* for gun-powder is still in use. It is a Sanskrit word, meaning an exciter, from root *rañj* (to glow). The word *vaṭi* for bullets is also Sanskrit, as also *vaṭikā*. The words *rañjaka*

* Continued from vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 271.

[1] The blow-gun also called blow-pipe is a weapon in common use among savages in S. America, Borneo and Philippine Islands. It is a tube, three to fourteen feet long, formed of a reed, bamboo or wood bored through. The arrows measure about a foot. The Bhils of Central India are said to use similar blow-pipes. These are also in use among the Nāgās, one of the Hill tribes of Assam.

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and *vaṭikā* occur in connection with military drill described in the *Dhanurveda.*

A full description of guns and cannon together with the method of preparation of gun-powder is given in the *Śukra-Nītisāra.* The probable date of the work is the eleventh century A.D., and the place of its composition appears to have been somewhere in the south-west of Rajputana. There has been a great deal of interpolation in the extant edition, but if we examine the classification of arms we notice that the account of guns appears in its suitable place in the scheme. It is evident that there is no break in the old tradition and that *nālikā* was not a foreign invention.

Let us translate the passage in which guns and gun-powder are described: "The *nālikā* is of two kinds, large and small. The small are 45 inches long, have a stock of tough wood, and a barrel of bamboo with a bore of three-fourths of an inch." (The rest of the description agrees with musket with touch-hole placed at the side and filled with priming-powder). "The small *nālikās* are carried by infantry and cavalry. The larger *nālikā* has no wooden stock, is made of steel or other metals and carried on wheels. The small shot for the smaller arms is made of lead or other metals, and the balls (*golā*) for the larger are made of iron with or without shot inside them. The gun-powder, *agni-cūrṇa*, is composed of 4 or 5 or 6 parts of *suvarci lavaṇa* (salt-petre), 1 part of sulphur and 1 part of charcoal of *Arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*), *Snuhi* (*Euphorbia nivulia*) and other trees burnt in a pit so as to exclude air. The ingredients are to be purified separately, ground to fine powder and then mixed. The mixture is next soaked in the sap of *Arka* (*Calotropis*) and *Rasuna* (garlic) dried in the sun and reduced to coarse powder like granulated sugar. There are many kinds of *agni-cūrṇa* known to experts, and they are composed of varied proportions of charcoal, sulphur, salt-petre, realgar, orpiment, calx of lead, cinnabar, iron filings, zinc dust, shell-lac, blue vitriol, resin of pines, etc. Some give out white light, like that of the moon."

The juice of garlic is adhesive. The milky sap of *Calotropis* contains gutta, and the object of treating the dry mixture with the juice is to promote incorporation of the ingredients as well as to facilitate granulation.

A perusal of the description of *nālikā* and its powder takes us far in advance of the age of agnibāṇa of which there is no mention in *Śukra.* The bow had lost its importance, but was still in use.

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There were still beliefs in the efficacy of *mantras* and secret weapons of old, but they were no longer forthcoming. Instead, can non "if properly used" was found "to lead to victory." The detailed description of the method of preparing powder and the use of bamboo for an iron barrel, and the instruction as to the manner of using a gun leave no doubt on one's mind that ancient mode of warfare was passing through a transitional stage, specially in the evolution of the weapons of offence. What is more striking is the introduction of recipes for pyrotechnics, which fact reminds us of the use of rockets in the warfare of former times.

What may be the date of the passage ? The work, *Śukranītisāra*, as a whole, underwent revision, at least thrice. The last revision took place in the eleventh century, and the passage appears to belong to the same date. The use of the words *karpara* for *karpari* (zinc), *suvarci* for *suvarcala* (salt-petre), *nīlī* to denote blue vitriol does not indicate an earlier date.

It seems, there were at least two centres of construction of guns, one represented by Vasiṣṭha, probably of Northern India, and the other by Śukra of Western Rajputana. For, they use names which, though Sanskrit, are not the same excepting one. The former has *nālikā* for hand-guns, *śataghna* for cannon, *rañjaka*, for powder, and *vaṭi* for balls ; while the latter has *laghu-nālikā* for light-guns, *bṛhat nālikā* for heavy cannon, *agni-cūrṇa* for powder, and *golā* for balls. They agree only in the use of the word *nālikā* for guns. The *dhūpa* of the *Agni-Purāṇa* and *Kha-dhūpa* of *Bhaṭṭi*, meaning rockets is called *rañjaka-nālikā* in Vasiṣṭha, reminding us of *nala-dīpikā* of Kauṭilya. The reason of these differences seems to be the absence of literature on the subject, which for obvious reasons was kept secret. In eastern India, where was written *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, a gun was called *lauha-nāla* and even *nārāca*.

(8) *The powder and gun are of Indian invention*

The history told in the preceding pages will leave no room for doubt that the evolution of powder and gun has taken place in a natural way in India. The poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* might exaggerate the action of the *divya astras* but could not invent them without the help of a model in actual use. There were fire-balls, fiery arrows, and fiery shot and there were some such as *Brahma-astra*, *Nārāyaṇa-astra*, *Pāśupata-astra* and other

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rare *astras* against which armour then in use was no protection The *nala dīpikā* of Kauṭilya was replaced by *dhūpa* about the fourth century after Christ and the rockets preceded guns in warfare. The word, *bāṇa*, replaced the word, *dhūpa*, and denoted rockets and bombs. The word is still in use in the same sense in most vernaculars in India. In the Appendix to vol. VI of his *History of India*, Sir H. M. Elliot tells us that in A. D. 1232 the Chinese defended themselves against the Tartars by the use of rockets and that in modern Europe they were in use as early as A. D. 1380. It seems rockets preceded cannon also in Europe. This historian further tells us that in the eleventh century an ancient Sanskrit treatise on fire-arms was translated into Arabic, and a Persian translation of the latter was made in 1126. This information, he says, is recorded in a Persian history named *Mujmalu*. Dr. Oppert thoroughly examined the Arabic literature and wrote that the Arabs were said to have learnt the manufacture of gun-powder from India and improved upon it.

At any rate the Arabs did not know gun-powder before their connexion with India. They knew the use of *Manjanīk*, the powerful propelling engine. According to Elliot it was first used about A. D. 200. Muhammad Qasim fixed *Manjanīk* which required 500 men to work it in the capture of Daibal (A. D. 711-712). Fiery projectiles (*ātish bāzī*) were used in the capture of Alor which fell shortly after Daibal. The historian rejects the story and considers them to be arrows of *naphtha*. A little before A. D. 1200 we come to the dynasty of the Ghorians, but no mention is made by the Muhammedan writers of any incendiary preparations. In A. D. 1368 Muhammed Shah Bahmani I got 300 gun carriages as spoils from the Raja of Bijanagar. The historian finds no reason to disbelieve the statement. Guns were in common use in India before the first arrival of the Portuguese in A. D. 1498. In A. D. 1526, Babar wrote that the Bengali soldiers were skilful gunners. In Bijapur there is still seen a large cannon as a relic of the conquest by Aurangzeb in A. D. 1687. It was cast in one piece, a feat considered impossible in Europe a few decades ago. It is known as *malik myadān*, king of the field. A man can comfortably lie down in its chamber. But the field guns were usually made of iron plates about two inches wide placed longitudinally, welded together and encircled with similar plates. A second layer of longitudinal and upon it a layer of circular plates were welded with the first. Some of them measured

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thirty to thirty-five feet in length. Smaller guns found in enormous numbers with their raised bands are known as *gāṇṭhiā*, knotted, and remind us of the original model of bamboo. On the side of Indian literary testimony there is *Prithviraj Raso* composed by the Raja's court-poet, Cānd Bardāi, in A. D. 1193 [2] But unfortunately there have been interpolations in the bardic song and the accounts of fights described have to be admitted with caution. The dates of the events narrated in the work have been proved to be correct, and the use of guns cannot be wholly fictitious. We learn that cannon was used to be carried on the back of elephants instead of on carriages as told by Śukra. These were called 'hāth-nāl' or 'hāth-nār' and also 'karannāl' (kari-nāla). (Hāth is hāthi, and karī means an elephant). It is said that balls thrown from the cannon, kilkikā, fell at a distance of twenty miles. The word *bāṇ* has been employed to denote rockets, and the word 'kuhak-bāṇ' perhaps meant shells. There are words like *tupak* for the hand-gun and *kāmmān* for cannon, and *kāmmān-bāṇ* for balls. Kāmmān is a Persian word, and the poets could have avoided it if they chose, so also, 'havāi', for bāṇ.

Of all the Asiatic countries, Persia, possessing salt-petre abundantly as India, could claim the credit of discovering gun-powder. But history is against it and the Persian words used in connection with it are also against it. Let us examine a few.

At the outset it may be noted that the words, *tôp* (canon), *banduq* (musket), and *bārud* (gun-powder) find no place in the celebrated Persian Dictionary by Paul Horn, who evidently thought them to be foreign. Many conjectures have been made as to their origin. but they appear to be fanciful. It seems Sanskrit can throw light on the origin.

The word *tôp* appears to be a Turkish corruption of Skt. *dhūpa*. Persian *tupang* or *tufung* originally meant a rocket, exactly as Skt. *dhūpa* did. Cānd Bardāi has *tupak* for hand-gun. Possibly Skt. *dhūpa* used to be called *dhūpam* in the vernacular of southern India, giving the Persian form *tupang*. In *Shāhnāmā*, *tufung* means a rocket.

The word *banduq* has been supposed to be derived from *bunduq*, a bullet. But the origin of the latter is unknown. The old form of

2 I am indebted to Mr. Amritalal Sil for much valuable information regarding guns of Bijapur and Cānd Bardāi.

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banduq is *pendak*, and it has been suggested that *pendak* is akin to Skt. *piṇḍaka* a ball. We have seen that Skt. *bāṇa* at first meant a missile, and became later the name of the implement for throwing it. Are we to suppose that the same change took place in Persian also ?

Thus we see that India did not borrow her knowledge of fire-arms from Persia. She possesses a connected history of the evolution of fire-arms.

JOGESH CHANDRA RAY

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MISCELLANY

A Note on a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

The *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini (IV, 3, 104)[1] informs us that Caraka was the name of Vaiśampāyana and that owing to the connection with him, his pupils are called the Carakas,[2] so that according to the *Kāśikā* his full name was Caraka Vaiśampāyana. It is known from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (I, 7) and all the *Purāṇas* that Vaiśampāyana was an Adhvaryu or Yajurvedic priest and professor. He is also mentioned as the professor of the *Mahābhārata* in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (III, 4).

It is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 60, 21-23) that Vyāsa Pārāśarya instructed his pupil Vaiśampāyana to narrate the old history of the *Mahābhārata* to Janamejaya Pārikṣita. In the light of these informations it will now be easy to understand the true meaning of that passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which establishes the contemporaneity between Caraka Adhvaryu and Yājñavalkya Adhvaryu. The passage, as punctuated by us, is:

हुत्वा वपामेवाग्रेऽभिघारयति, अथ पृषदाज्यं, तदु ह चरकाध्वर्यवः पृषदाज्यमेवाग्रेऽभिघारयन्ति प्राणः पृषदाज्यमिति वदन्तः, तदु ह याज्ञवल्क्यं चरकाध्वर्युरनुव्याजहारैवं कुर्वन्तं, प्राणं वा अयमन्तरगादध्वर्य्युः, प्राणः एनं हास्यतीति ॥

Mādhyandin. Śat. Brā., III, 8, 2, 24.

This passage has been a bit mistranslated by Eggeling. His translation is:

"Having offered, he bastes first the omentum, then the clotted ghee. Now the Carakādhvaryus, forsooth, baste first the clotted ghee, arguing that the clotted ghee is the breath; and a Caraka Adhvaryu, forsooth, cursed Yājñavalkya for so doing, saying 'That Adhvaryu has shut out the breath, the breath shall depart from him!'"

1 कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च। Pān. IV, 3, 104.

2 चरक इति वैशम्पायनस्याख्या तत्सम्बन्धेन सर्वे तदन्तेवासिनश्चरका इत्युच्यन्ते।

Kāśikā edited by Bala Shastri, p. 346.

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It is evident that the insertion of the indefinite article 'a' just before 'Caraka Adhvaryu' in the above translation is wrong, for had a certain pupil of Caraka Adhvaryu been intended, there would have have been a word like कश्चित् or एकतमः in the original Brāhmaṇa passage quoted above. As there is no such adjunct equivalent to the English indefinite article 'a' before or after चरकाध्वर्युः in the original passage, it is evident that the Adhvaryu priest (or Yajurvedic priest) Caraka (=Vaiśampāyana) himself is pointed out in the above passage. Why 'a Carakādhvaryu' inspite of the explicit mention of Carakādhvaryu himself? This passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* absolutely establishes the contemporaneity between the Adhvaryu priest Caraka Vaiśampāyana, the court-historian of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, and the Adhvaryu priest Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 318, 17) strengthens this contemporaneity with the information that Yājñavalkya was the nephew i.e. sister's son or Bhāgineya of Vaiśampāyana. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 318, 19-20) also says that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of his maternal uncle Vaiśampāyana with whom he quarrelled and composed and compiled the White Yajurveda. All the *Purāṇas* unanimously support the *Mahābhārata* in this respect, while the Viṣṇu and the *Bhāgavata* add that Yājñavalkya taught the Vedas to Śatānika, the son of Janamejaya whose court-historian Vaiśampāyana was. The *Vāyu* (99, 250-255) says that Janamejaya performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices according to the rules and formulas given by (Vājasaneya) Yajñavalkya while the *Matsya* (50, 57-64) says that Vājasaneya (=Yājñavalkya) officiated as the Brahman priest in these two Aśvamedha sacrifices performed by Janamejya. These are the two Aśvamedha sacrifices to which Yājñavalkya referred during the debate held in Janaka's court by saying "Thither where Aśvamedha sacrificers go" to the sarcastic question "Whither have the Pārikṣitas gone?" put to him by Bhujyu Lāhyāyani (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 3, 1) who was a pupil of Caraka.

S. N. Pradhan

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Notes on Aśoka Rescripts

Dusaṃpaṭipādaye (P.E.I.)—Hitherto the form and the meaning of this term have not been clearly understood. The passage that contains the word runs as follows:—

Hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṃnata agāya dhaṃma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya etc. etc.—[Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 146,—Nandangarh P.E.I., section C].

Hultzsch has interpreted the expression *hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye* as "(Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) is difficult to secure" (p. 119). The term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* was long understood to be equivalent to a Sk. °*-pādyaḥ*, a future participle form, by Aśokan scholars, and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar also explained it in the same way in the first edition of his *Aśoka*. The latter has, however, changed his view as he now thinks that "this is philologically impossible, as remarked by Michelson" (see his *Aśoka*, second edition, p. 336, n. 1). He prefers 'to take *saṃpaṭipādaye*= saṃpratipādayet'; that is to say, he wants to make *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* equivalent to a finite verb (Optative) prefixed by *du-*, as is shown also by his rendering 'One *may* with difficulty promote'. But such a procedure would make the construction extremely unidiomatic. He has not adduced any instance of such a use of a finite verb with the prefix *du-*, meaning 'difficult'. At any rate, it is not warranted by the dialect of the Aśoka rescripts. For instance, see R.E.V. section C, where occurs the expression *so dukaraṃ karoti*, instead of *so dukaroti* as the Professor's interpretation would require.

I think that *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* is neither a regular future participle nor an optative verbal form. I should like to point out that the term admits of a striking equivalence with such derivative adjectival forms in Pāli as are made up of the prefix *du-* or *su-* and the stem or formative part of a verb. Compare the italicized words in the following instances, where the final *-aya* represents neither an optative termination nor the future participle suffix *-ya*, but is only a part of the verbal stem:—

(i) "Pañc' ime bhikkhave uppannā *duppaṭivinodayā*:..... uppanno rāgo *duppaṭivinodayo*, uppanno moho *duppaṭi-*

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vinodayo, uppannaṃ paṭibhānaṃ *duppaṭivinodayaṃ*, uppannaṃ gamikacittaṃ *duppaṭivinodayaṃ*."—(*Aṅguttara*, III. pp. 184-85).

(ii) "Phandanaṃ capalaṃ cittaṃ dūrakkhaṃ *dunnivārayaṃ*".—(*Dhammapada*, verse 33).

(iii) "Yo *duddamayo* damena danto".—(*Theragāthā*, verses 5, 8).

(iv) "Vutti *susamudānayā*" = 'a living easy to procure'.—(*Jātaka*, III. p. 313, l. 24).

(v) "*Dussaṇṭhāpayo* gharāvāso" = 'domestic life is difficult to settle down to'.—(Fausböll, *Dhammapada with commentary*, p. 199, ll. 10-11 = Norman, *Commentary on the Dhammapada* vol. 2, pt. I, p. 302, n. 4).

Instances of such adjectival forms can be multiplied from the Pāli literature. Again, the Aśoka rescripts themselves contain analogous forms, which, though apparently somewhat different, are really cases of derivative adjective formed from du + some formative part of a verb. For instance, cf. R.E. VI (section N of Hultzsch, p. 196):—

Gir. *Dukaraṃ* tu idaṃ añatra agena parākramena.

Kāl. *Dukale* chu iyam anatā agenā palakamenā.

Shāh. *Dukara* tu kho imaṃ añatra agrena parakramena.

Mān. *Dukare* cha kho añatra agrena parakramena.

Dhau. *Dukale* chu iyaṃ aṃnata agena palakamena.

Jau. *Dukale* chu iyaṃ aṃnata agena palakamena.

It is evident from the table that *dukale* and *dukare* are not finite verbs in the optative, but adjective forms, as their variants *dukaraṃ* and *dukara* show. It is also noteworthy that the passages quoted are, in respect of construction, exactly on a par with the passage of P.E.I which contains the term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye*. For another parallel construction with *dukale*, *dukare* and *dukaraṃ*, see R.E. X, section E. Compare also the analogous forms *dupaṭivekhe* (P.E. III, section D) and *duāhale* (Sep. R.E.I., and my notes in *IHQ.*, June, 1932, pp. 377-9). All these instances show that *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* cannot be regarded as a finite verb in the optative, as Prof. Bhandarkar would have it.

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As regards the meaning of the term, different suggestions have been made by different scholars, e.g. Senart='difficult to provide', Bühler='difficult to gain', Smith='difficult to secure' (See Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, second edition, pp. 336-7, n. 1). Hultzsch agrees with Smith, and the latest explanation, offered by Prof. Bhandarkar, is 'One may with difficulty promote' (*loc. cit.*). The latter also suggests that in order to ensure uniformity of meaning, *saṃpaṭipad*, as it refers to Aśoka's officers and not to his people, "must be taken to mean 'cause (people) to attain to' ".

But such a causal sense of *saṃpaṭipad* is not uniform in the rescripts, even though it may refer to Aśoka's officers. For instance, we have in Sep. R.E.I. the non-causal form *saṃpaṭipajamīne* (Dhau. 1. 16) side by side with the causal *vipaṭipādayamīne* (Dhau. 1. 15) and in the same context, and both in the non-causal sense, the only difference being that while the former is affirmative, the latter is negative. It seems, therefore, better to take *saṃpaṭipādaya* in a general sense, and, if causal at all, then as causal by "svârtha". If so, it very aptly suggests the meaning 'to duly give effect to', 'to bring to perfection', 'to fulfil', 'to execute properly', that is to say, 'to consummate'. Thus, in the same pillar edict the expression "anuvidhīyaṃti *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti* cha, alaṃ cha palaṃ samādapayitave (1. 8.)" would mean "(my officers) are conforming to (my anusaṭhi) and consummating it (lit. bringing it to perfection), and (they are) capable of initiating others". The same idea of 'consistent and successful management or execution' i.e. 'consummation' also runs through the term *saṃpaṭipādayitave* at Sep. R.E. II, last line: "Hevaṃ kalaṃtaṃ tuphe chaghatha *saṃpaṭipādayitave*"—'acting thus (i.e. according to Aśoka's instruction or anusaṭhi), you (i.e. his officers) will be able to consummate it (i.e. justify the anusaṭhi)'.

Accordingly, the expression *hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye* signifies 'the here-and-the-hereafter is difficult to consummate (i.e. to work out perfectly)'—whether the consummation be through the agency of the officers or through that of the people, or Aśoka's own offspring. The fact is that Aśoka was anxious to ensure the bliss of *hidatapālata* not only to his people (as in R.E. VI, IX, XI; P.E. III, IV; M.R.E. I), but also to his offspring (as in R.E. XIII; P.E. VII), his

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officers (as in Sep. R.E. I and II) and his Borderers (as in Sep. R.E. II), and all of them were expected by him, as these edicts show, to work out their salvation by conforming to his moral instructions (anusaṭhi) in theory and practice, whereby alone the course of *hidata-pālata* could be perfected. Compare also: *Hevaṃ hi anupaṭīpajaṃtaṃ hidata-pālate āladhe hoti* (P.E. VII. 1. 31) where the worker and winner of the bliss is Aśoka's offspring and not his officers.

Thus, the term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* does not refer only to the officials' difficulty in causing people to attain to 'hidata-pālata', but it is used in a general way at the beginning of the rescript to signify the general difficulty with which any toiler is faced in having to work for 'hidata-pālata'; and it is only when Aśoka particularly refers to the activity of his officers in that behalf in any particular context that the term may assume a bearing that will connect the officers alone with the act. But no such specification is present in the expression *Hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye*.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

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Kapardaka Purāṇa

In the inscriptions of the Sena Dynasty of Bengal, we have the reference to a coin called *Kapardaka-purāṇa*.[1] The village Vāllahiṭṭhā mentioned in the Naihāṭī grant of Ballāla Sena had an annual income of 500 Kapardaka-purāṇas and the Tarpaṇ-dīghī plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena refer to a piece of land which yielded an annual income of 150 Kapardaka-purāṇas; there are similar other references in the grants of the Sena kings.[2] We know that the *purāṇa* or the *dharaṇa* is nothing but a silver coin of 32 *ratis* or 58 grains,[3] but there is great uncertainty about the significance of the term *Kapardaka-purāṇa*.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is justified in stating that the *Kapardaka-purāṇa* cannot "denote a Purāṇa which is equal to one *Karpardaka* or *cowrie* in value".[4] Surely a coin weighing 32 *ratis* of silver cannot be equated to a *cowrie* in value. Prof. Bhandarkar was, therefore, constrained to impose a different significance on this term. He thinks that a *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is a coin, "a purāṇa, which is shaped like a Kapardaka or cowrie".[5] He also points out that the word *hiraṇya* refers to the metallic representations of cowries as *Kapardaka*. In the Sanskrit lexicon *Medinī*, the word is given two meanings viz. (a) *Śātakumbha* or gold, and (b) *Varāta* or cowrie.[6] From these Prof. Bhandarkar draws the conclusion "that when *Kapardaka* is given as another word for *hiraṇya*, the former must be taken to signify a 'gold cowrie' i.e. a gold coin shaped like a shell cowrie. Hiraṇya thus, according to the *Medinī*, signifies *śātakumbha* i.e. (gold) bullion and *Kapardaka*, i.e. (gold) cowries".[7] In support of this hypothesis, he refers to the Egyptian and Chinese metallic representations of cowries and appeals to the analogy of the *rūpya* coins of Olbia. The Greek city of Olbia was situated in the north shore of the Black Sea and the tunny fish "formed the staple commodity of the communities that lived in

1 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics* (The Carmichæl Lectures), pp. 139, 176.

2 Banerjee, *Prāchīna Mudrā*, pp. 14, 15.

3 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics* pp. 92-3, 180.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 176

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, p. 177.

7 *Ibid.*

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those regions".[8] The tunny fish, therefore, came to be used as a medium of exchange; and when coins came into use, "the bronze coins of this city were shaped like fishes" and had two letters inscribed on them which are taken to be the abbreviation of the Greek word 'tunny,' the fish.

But this analogy is not a full explanation of the *Kapardaka-purāṇa*. As pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar himself the bronze coins of Olbia, shaped like fish, mark one of the stages of the transitional period from barter to metallic currency. The disadvantages of barter are well-known; it necessitates a double coincidence and consequently stands in the way of commercial expansion.[9] So various articles like cow, grain, ornaments etc. came in to serve as mediums of exchange.[10] At last, the metals are found to be best suited for the purpose and a certain amount of metal—gold, silver, copper etc.—came to be weighed out for purposes of exchange.[11] The final stage is marked by the advent of coins which are nothing but different weights of metals with devices impressed on the pieces either by the State[12] or by the bankers,[13] testifying as to the weight and purity of each piece. So it is evident that the system of fashioning a coin after an article which served as a medium of exchange must be anterior to the origin of coinage in the correct sense of the word. Consequently, what is true of the transition period previous to the advent of coins cannot be applicable to Bengal under the Senas in the 12th century A.D., hundreds of years after coinage had been evolved in this country.

Prof. Bhandarkar is conscious of the weakness of his arguments, but he wants to explain it off. Concluding his arguments he says: "It is true that the instances I have adduced are from the mediæval History of ancient India, but as I have already said, forms of money originating in the early stages of civilisation are preserved down to the historical periods. There can, therefore, be nothing unreasonable in

8 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 136.
9 Jevons, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, ch. I.
10 S. K. Chakravortty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 7.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
12 Head, Barclay V., *Historia Numorum*, p. xxxiv.
13 Babelon, *Les Origines de la Monnaie* etc.

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supposing that gold and silver cowries came originally to be employed only when metallic currency was introduced but survived down to much later times in some parts of India at least".[14] But the strongest argument against his theory is that not a single such coin, a *purāṇa* shaped like a *kapardaka* or cowrie had been discovered in this country. The current coins of the Pāla Dynasty that ruled in Bengal before the Senas were the *purāṇas* or *dharaṇas*, the silver coins of approximately 58 ratis as mentioned in the literature and found in various parts of the land[15]; and in some of the inscriptions of the Sena Dynasty the coin referred to is the *purāṇa* which is evidently the standard coin of the realm.[16] In the Sena period *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is not the only currency in use, but side by side, there are references to the *purāṇas*. There is no reason for thinking that while coins, in the proper sense of the word, were in circulation in Bengal before the Senas and after them, they went out of their way to have their coins shaped like *kapardakas*; this was not only very difficult as regards fabrication but decidedly marks a retrogression in the evolution of coinage. So the interpretation of Prof. Bhandarkar is not very sound.

Kapardaka or *cowrie* is locally known as *kauri* or *kavadi* and is "the small white shell of *Cypæa* or *Moneta*".[17] It had been used as currency from time immemorial in Southern Asia and specially in China. Masudi (943 A.D.), Marco Polo and other writers refer to its use in Southern India, the Maldives and Bengal.[18] The cowries are even now employed in the Dacca town and the demand for these shells is due to various purposes. These are not only used for currency but are also needed for adornment of cattle, horses etc. and are used by females in their indoor games. In 1905-6, 21,405 cwt. of cowries valued at Rs. 81, 710 and in 1906-7, 18, 638 cwt. valued at Rs. 68,845 were imported to this country. The major portion comes from East

14 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 177-78.

15 Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 239-40 (Eastern or Magadha type, about tenth century A.D.).

16 Banerjee, *Prācīna Mudrā*, 14-15: (2) Sundarbana Copper Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and (6) Madanpāḍa Copper Plate of Viśvarūpa Sena.

17 Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 989.

18 *Ibid.*

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Africa and "a considerable local supply is obtained from the Laccadive and Maldive Islands".[19] Cowries are referred to in the *Jātakas* as *sippikāni;*[20] and the word *vaṭa* meaning a cowrie came to signify 'a coin'. It was used as a medium of exchange and became a generic expression for a coin, just as *kārṣāpaṇa* of copper came to be a general expression [21] and signified coins whether of gold, silver or copper. The use of cowrie for purposes of exchange was a long standing one, and Bengal had a special predilection for it. Specially during the period under discussion, silver became scarce. In the mediæval period before the discovery of America, the world supply of silver was "drawn chiefly from Central Asia. The rise of the Arab power and the consequent disturbances in Central Asia interrupted trade between India and the west by land and sea and must have curtailed, if they did not cut off completely, the import of silver from abroad".[22] The silver coins of the Pāla Dynasty are very few in number and rude in shape.[23] It is thus possible that under the Senas, the silver currency had been supplanted to a great extent by other mediums of exchange, perhaps of copper and preferably of cowries. The metallic coins were merely a theoretical currency and must have been very scarce and practically fallen out of use in Bengal. This is to be inferred from the statement of Minhās-us-Sirāj, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, who visited Lakhnauti, the chief town of Bengal, in 641 A.H. and writes that "there was no money current in Bengal till the Muhammadans carried it down with them on the conquest of the country in A.D. 1203".[24] The only way by which we can reconcile this statement with the condition of things prevailing in this country is to accept the *cowrie* as the principal, and perhaps for all practical purposes, as the only medium of exchange.

This conclusion is also borne out by the fact that *Kāhan* (the ver-

19 Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 989.

20 *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, p. 218.

21 Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc., p. clxxix; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Lecture III.

22 C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 53.

23 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 239.

24 E. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights* (Numis. Orient), p. 37, fn. 5.

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nacular word for Skt. *Kārṣāpaṇa* and Pāli *Kahāpaṇa*, the generic expression for coin in classical literature) is always equated to a number of cowries.[25] The minute sub-divisions of a cowrie also point to their importance and general use as currency.[26] So the only reasonable conclusion is that *Kapardaka* or 'cowrie' had become by the time of the Senas of Bengal the principal, if not the only medium of exchange and *purāṇa* the age-old general expression for coin was perhaps a theoretical standard of value. Payments were made in cowries and a certain number of them came to be equated to the silver coin, the *purāṇa*, thus linking up all exchange transactions ultimately to silver, just as at present the rupee, the silver coin, is linked up to gold at a certain ratio. The correct interpretation of *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is that it refers to a silver coin which, however, was paid in cowries i.e. *purāṇa* was merely a theoretical currency and was linked up with the real currency of the country, the cowries which changed hands in exchange transactions. The referene to *purāṇa* converts the cowrie to a token currency and how many cowries had to be equated to a *purāṇa* depended upon the market fluctuations. "In 1740 a rupee in Bengal exchanged for 2,40 cowries: in 1840 for 6,500'."[27] So the real significance of *Kapardaka-purāṇa* in Bengal, after a careful consideration of the monetary condition under the Senas, seems to be that the silver coin *purāṇa* was the standard coin of the realm but not in general use, and was equated to, and paid for, in cowries; it is this latter fact that is pointedly referred to in the word *kapardàka*. But when the word *purāṇa* is mentioned alone in the inscriptions, the silver coin was undoubtedly equated to the prevailing cowrie currency; and the addition of the word *kapardaka*, therefore, left no doubt about its correct significance.

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25 A *Kāhan* is equal in value to 16 *Paṇas* of 20 *gaṇḍās* i.e. 80 cowries each. See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 46-47.

26 E. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 19, fn. 3; "Thus 3 krant or 4 kak or 5 Bat or 9 Dant or 27 Jau or 32 Dar or 80 Til or 800 Sano are each equivalent to one Kaurī."

27 Sir W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 59, fn. 2.

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Some Problems of Pre-Buddhist History and Chronology

It was the endeavour of the writer of the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikṣit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*, part I (1919), to expose epic and Purāṇic tradition to the search-light of Vedic and early Buddhist evidence, and reconstruct a chronological frame-work for the pre-Bimbisārian period which, though opposed to certain traditional ideas, is in accordance with the testimony of the earliest literary treasures of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas. The author sought to prove that Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, and his priests, Tura Kāvaṣeya and Indrota, flourished five or six generations before Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* and his contemporaries Uddālaka Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya. He pointed out that it was difficult to identify this Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the epic and Purāṇic lists. He noted no doubt the arguments that might be advanced in support of the view that he was the original of the legendary Sīra-dhvaja whom the *Purāṇas* represent as the father of Sītā. These, however, were not regarded as conclusive, and it was further pointed out that, in the absence of external corroboration, it was impossible to accept the entire Purāṇic list of Vaideha kings from Sīra-dhvaja downwards as reliable. The author went on to suggest that Śāṅkhāyana, who was two generations removed from Janaka of the *Upaniṣads*, was possibly a contemporary of Āśvalāyana and that Āśvalāyana was in all probability identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the early Pāli texts as a contemporary of Buddha and of Kakudha Kātyāyana, one of the leading sophists of the age.

These results have recently been challenged by Paṇḍit V. Vedāntatīrtha (henceforth abbreviated as V.) in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, April-July, 1932. He urges that "although Tura Kāvaṣeya stands at the 6th step in the series of teachers above Yājñavalkya and Janaka" Janamejaya himself should be placed "only a step above Janaka in conformity with several epic, Purāṇic and Vedic synchronisms". It is not necessary for us to discuss the Purāṇic synchronisms because V. himself speaks of the *Purāṇas* thus: "Collateral successions have sometimes been described in the

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Purāṇas as lineal; sometimes orders of succession (have been) reversed, (and) synchronisms misplaced." As to the epics it is well to remember that they refer to Paraśurāma as a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathi as well as of Bhīṣma and Karṇa, and represent Hanumat and Vibhīṣana as having met Bhīmasena (*Mbh.*, iii. ch. 147-151) and Sahadeva (*Mbh.*, ii. 31) respectively. A critical study of these and similar statements in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* would convince any impartial student that it is extremely unsafe to depend for historical synchronisms on the uncorroborated evidence of such texts. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to an examination of the Vedic evidence which, in the opinion of V., supports the view that "Janamejaya Pārīkṣita was . . . an older contemporary of Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya."

V. observes that the use of *laṅ* in the verb *bhu* in the interrogation "*Kva Pārīkṣita abhavan*" attributed to a contemporary of Yājñavalkya and Janaka, shows that the death of Janamejaya and his brothers happened during the lifetime of Yājñavalkya. But the question was not actually framed for the first time by a sage of Janaka's Court. He had heard about it and its solution from people in the Madra country. The passage, therefore, is what is termed by grammarians and others as a *mūrdhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*, and it cannot be regarded as establishing the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka. Moreover, persons with a real acquaintance with our ancient literature know that *laṅ* was often used in reference to events that happened in olden times.[1]

Another argument brought forward to prove the synchronism of

1 Cp. चम्पस्य तु पुरी चम्पा ।
या मालिन्य भवत् पुरा ॥
हरिवंश, ३१, ४६

तथांगस्यतु राजर्षे राजासीद्-दधिवाहनः ।
सापराध सुदेष्णाया अनपानोऽभवन्नृपः ॥
अथ चित्ररथस्यापि राजा दशरथोऽभवत् ।
लोमपाद इति ख्यातो यस्य शान्ता सुताभवत् ॥
वायुपुराण, ९९. १००-१०३.

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Janamejaya and Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* is that "a Vedic teacher named Dantabāla Dhaumra was . . . received by king Janamejaya Pārīkṣita". 'Dantabāla Dhaumra' is represented as the corrupt form of the name 'Dantāla Dhaumya' which occurs in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* as the designation of a contemporary of Somaśuṣma Sātyayajñi and, therefore, of Janaka. Now, the emendation of the name 'Dantabāla Dhaumra' into 'Dantāla Dhaumya' is as unjustifiable as the equation of Mādhavācārya, the author of the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*, with Madhvācārya, the *Dvaita* exponent of the Vedānta. Moreover, as the reference to Dantabāla occurs in the mythical legend of Janamejaya and the two ganders, its value for chronological purposes may very well be discounted.

Writers who bring down Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota, to the time of Somaśuṣma, fifth in the descending line from that teacher, forget that in the time of Dṛti Aindrota, the son and pupil of Indrota, Janamejaya was obviously dead and the Kuru throne was occupied by Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni (*Vedic Index*, I, 373).

It will be seen that in his anxiety to support his theory V. has found it necessary to emend Vedic texts and blink over details that do not exactly fit in with his notions. But what is more regrettable is the attribution to the author of the *Political History* of views which he did not really entertain. Thus V. coolly suggests that the author has placed *all* the Videhas mentioned in the *Purāṇas* from Śīradhvaja to Kṛti, six generations after Janamejaya Pārīkṣita. As a matter of fact, the author, while not oblivious of the possibility of the Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* being the original of the Purāṇic Sīradhvaja, does not consider the identification as certain and regards the Purāṇic lists of later Vaidehas as of doubtful historical and chronological value. He says distinctly even in the first edition of his work (p. 38) that "with the exception of Ariṣṭa and Nemi or Nami none of the kings in the Purāṇic lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the Purāṇic lists are historical". The point has been made clearer in the later editions of the *Political History*, where it is stated that "as the identification of Sīradhvaja with the Vedic Janaka is by no means certain, it is not easy to deter-

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mine which of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇic lists actually came after the contemporary of Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya".

The view, however, that has evoked the most bitter criticism is the identification of Āśvalāyana with Assalāyana, the contemporary of Buddha, with which is connected the problem of the identity of Kabandhī Kātyāyana. The identification of Āśvalāyana with Assalāyana was suggested on the following grounds:—

(1) Identity of names: Āśvalāyana = Assalāyana.

(2) Identity of the place of residence: Āśvalāyana was a man of Kosala (Kausalya). Assalāyana, too, was a man of Kosala, being an inhabitant of Sāvatthi in Kosala.

(3) Connection with the *Kalpa* literature: Āśvalāyana is a great master of the *Kalpa Sūtras* and his name is associated with the famous works on ritual known as the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* and *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*. Assalāyana, too, is described as "*Tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāragū sanighaṇḍu ketubhānaṃ*" *Ketubha* is explained as "*kappa vikappo kavīnaṃ upakārāya satthaṃ*", Kappa = Kalpa, 'the rules concerning rites, one of the Vedāṅgas.'

(4) Synchronism with the Philosopher Kātyāyaṇa who is called *Kabandhî* in the *Praśna Upaniṣad* and Pakudha or *Kakudha* in the Pāli texts. Pakudha (Kakudha) Kātyāyana was not a 'degenerate mediocrity' but "the head of an order, of a following, the teacher of a school, well known and of repute as a sophist, revered by the people, a man of experience, who has long been a recluse, old and well-stricken in years" (*Sāmaññaphala sutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 66).

Prof. Barua, who accepts the identity of Kabandhî Kātyāyana with Kakudha Kātyāyana, and traces a community of ideas in their philosophy, puts forward the suggestion that Kabandhî and Kakudha refer to the same physical deformity, viz. a hump on the shoulders (*Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, 281). But he does not develop the point. In the *Atharva Veda*, however, Kabandha, when used in reference to a *Puruṣa* (X. 2. 3), means the part

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of the body that is "four-fold" (*catuṣṭayam*), with ends connected (*saṃhitāntam,*) above the knees (*jānubhyāmūrdham*) and soft or pliant (*śithiram*). It is sharply distinguished from the *Kusindha* or trunk which supports the *aṃsau* (shoulders), and is *sudṛḍha* (firm). The *Kabandha* above the *knees*, which is *four-fold*, *śithira* and *saṃhitānta* (with ends connected), and is sharply distinguished from the *Kusindha* (trunk, not body) which supports the shoulders, must be identified, not with the belly or trunk, but with the *śroṇī* and the *urū* mentioned in the same verse (the two hips and the two thighs, four in all). And it is well known that *Kakudmatī*, lit. possessed of *Kakud*, refers, according to Amara, to the same part of the body (*kaṭo na śroṇī-phalakaṃ kaṭiḥ śroṇi kakud-matī*). It may also be noted here that in the Vedas (*Ṛg.*, V, 54, 8), *Kabandhin* is a special epithet of the Maruts who, by the way, are often styled *gomātāraḥ* 'having a cow for their mother' (*Vedic Mythology*, 78) and to whom the *Kakud* of the *ṛṣabha* ("bearing a *Kabandha*") is especially appropriated (*Atharva*, IX, 4, 38). In post-Vedic literature *kakud* frequently means a mountain peak (cf. *Raghu*, XIII, 47). The same idea may be conveyed by the word *Kabandhin*, 'cloud-capped' for according to Yāska (X, 4, 1) *Kabandha iti megha ucyate*, and *Parvatāśaya*, 'resting on mountains' means clouds and clouds alone according to the *Śabda-candrikā*. Megha-sakha, Meghmāla and Meghavat are well known mountain names (Cp. also the list of Meghanāmāni in the *Nighaṇṭu* (i. 10).

In this connection it is interesting to note that Kakudha Kātyāyana was a believer in 'seven things' that are 'steadfast as a *mountain peak*, as a pillar firmly fixed'.

Further, the word *kakudha* is frequently used in Pāli literature to mean a *kakudha-bhaṇḍa*, which literally means a vessel, decoration or equipage (*bhājanādi parikkhāra*) with a projection or bulge (*kakud*) and is specially applied to the *uṇhīsa* and four other *insignia regis*. Now, the word *kabandha* has also the sense of a barrel, cask or large bellied vessel and, if the etymology of Kṣīrasvāmin (*kasya śiraso bandhotra*

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kabandhaḥ) is correct, it meant literally an *uṣṇīs*, rather than an *apa-mūrdha kalevara*.

Lastly, in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, XV, *kakudha* is the name of a little *vāpi* (reservoir of water). According to Yāska and Amara, *kabandha* has the sense of water. So that *Kabandhin* may also mean a reservoir of water.

The chief reason why V. finds it impossible to accept the identity of Āśvalāyana and Kabandhî Kātyāyana with elder contemporaries of Buddha, is the apprehension that as a consequence of such identifications Hiraṇya-nābha will have to be placed in the sixth century B.C., and Yājñavalkya and his contemporaries will be brought down 'to only a step above Gautama Buddha'. It should be remembered by V. that Āpastamba (*Dh. S.*, 1. 2. 5. 4-6) clearly refers to Śvetaketu as an *avara* and that Pāṇini, a writer who knew the *Yavana* alphabet and made his mark, according to the *Kāvya Mīmāṃsā* (p. 55), in the city of Paṭalīputra founded after the death of Buddha, does not include Yājñavalkya's works among Purāṇa-prokta Brāhmaṇas. (IV. 3. 105 read with Kātyāyana's *Vārttika*). Cp. also the commentator's statement *Yājñavalkyādayo hi na cirakālā ityākhyāneṣu vārtā* (Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 106). The *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* are not works of single authors or the products of a single age, and though the bulk of these works may be very old (*purāṇa-prokta*), particular portions may be late as is suggested by the evidence of Pāṇini and others.

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Uvvaṭa on Syllabication of Consonants

Consonants are considered to be the dependants of vowels. Generally the letters are to be seen in words in three different modes: separate vowels, vowels combined with consonants, and vowels combined with two or more combined consonants. Regarding the last two, there arises a doubt about the dependence of a particular consonant to a particular vowel (the preceding or the following). The settlement of this is important for accentuation. So Kātyāyana, in his *Prātiśākhya* treats of this subject in six sūtras I. 102 to 107. This subject is termed *pūrvāṅga-parāṅga-cintā*.

(1) The first letter of a *saṃyoga* (combination) becomes part of the preceding vowel.

E.g., *Aśśvaḥ*.

Here is a combination of two 'ś' and one 'v'. So the first 'ś' becomes part of the previous 'a', and the latter 'ś' and 'v' becomes part of the following 'a'. The production of the sound of the word is thus indicated by *aś|śvaḥ*.

(2) The yamas, with the preceding letter, become part of the previous vowel.

E.g., *Rukkmam*.

Here is a combination of 'k', 'yama', and 'm'. The letters 'k' and 'yama' are part of the first vowel, and 'm' of the second.

(3) The *kramaja*-letter is also considered to be part of the previous vowel. *Kramaja* (kramāj jāta), means a duplicated letter which follows the first letter of a combination.

E.g., *Pārśśvyam*.

Here the letter 'r', two 'ś's, 'v', and 'y' are combined. The 'r' is the first letter of a combination, the first 'ś' is *kramaja;* so these two form part of the preceding vowel, the second 'ś', 'v' and 'y' being part of the latter. The sound-product of this word is *pārś|śvyam*.

Another example—*Varṣṣyāya*.

Here the letters 'r', two 'ṣ's, and 'y' are combined. *Repha* is the

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first of the combination, the first 'ṣ' is *kramaja;* these two are part of the previous vowel, and the remaining 'ṣ' and 'y' are of the latter.

(4) The next letter of the *kramaja* is also considered to be part of the preceding vowel, if it is followed by a mute.

E.g., *Pārṣṇṇyā.*

Here repha, 'ṣ', two 'ṇ's, and 'y' are combined. *Repha* is the first letter of a combination, 'ṣ' is *kramaja,* the next to the *karmaja* is 'ṇ', and it is followed by a mute (another 'ṇ'), so the first three become part of the preceding vowel, and the remaining 'ṇ', and 'y' of the last vowel.

This statement of Uvvaṭa (*vide* sūtra, I. 105,), does not seem to be correct, because he states that 'ṣ' is *kramaja.* In the previous sūtra he has described *kramaja* as a term of the letter which undergoes duplication. Here 'ṣ' is not doubled. So leaving the letter 'ṣ', the first 'ṇ' is to be considered as *kramaja* and its following letter, the second 'ṇ', according to present rule, fails to become as part of previous vowel, because it is not followed by a mute, but it is followed by 'y'. Therefore '*pārṣṇṇyā*' is not a suitable illustration for this rule. If the syllabification alone of the above illustration is changed as '*pārṣṣṇyā*', there is no difficulty. The 'r' is the first letter of a combination; the first 'ṣ' is *kramaja;* these two with the following letter. the second 'ṣ' (which is followed by a mute 'ṇ') these three become part of the preceding vowel, and the 'ṇ' and 'y' of the latter. The author of the *Prātiśākhya-pradīpa-śikṣā* also supports this (*Śikṣāsaṃgraha,* Benares ed., p. 225). It runs as follows:

"क्रमजाद् उत्तरं व्यञ्जनं स्पर्शे परे पूर्व्वाङ्गं भवति। पाष्ण्यर्या वा। रेफो द्वौ षकारौ पूर्व्वस्य, णकारयकारौ परस्य।"

Therefore it is suggested that the commentary of Uvvaṭa on I. 105 might be read with slight modification:

"यथा—पाष्ण्यर्या। रेफो द्वौ षकारौ णकारो यकारश्च संयोगः। तत्र रेफः संयोगादिरिति कृत्वा, पूर्व्वषकारः क्रमज इति कृत्वा, 'तस्माच्चोत्तरं स्पर्शे' इति कृत्वा अपरः षकारश्च, इति पूर्व्वाङ्गम्, णकारः यकारश्च उत्तरस्वरस्याङ्गम्।"

(5) The letters at the end of a word are also to be part of the preceding vowels.

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E.g., *Vāk*.

Here 'k' is the ending letter.

Ūrk.,

Here *repha* and 'k' are combined, the *repha* being the first letter of a combination, and 'k' being the ending letter, both of them form part of the preceding vowel.

In sūtra I. 107 Kātyāyana describes the object of these rules. It is evident that the accents *ucca* (acute), *nīca* (grave), and *svarita* (circumflex) are the qualities of vowels. There is no special rule anywhere narrating the accentuation of consonants. On the other hand, the consonants also undergo the changes of accentuation when they are pronounced. So there must be some decided understanding in the accentuation of consonants. The idea is, that the consonant, which depends on a particular vowel, should be pronounced in the same accent, as the vowels.

"स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च।
स्वरप्रधानं त्रैस्वर्यं व्यञ्जनं तेन सस्वरम्॥"

APPENDIX

KĀTYĀYANA-PRĀTIŚĀKHYA (chap. I. 100-107)

(*with Uvvaṭa's Commentary*)

सहाद्य व्यञ्जनैः ॥ १ ॥

आद्यैः व्यञ्जनैः सहितः स्वरोऽक्षरं प्रत्येतव्यम्। यथा—मो। ओकारसहितोऽक्षरं प्रत्येतव्यम्। यथा—द्रु+अन्नः < द्रवन्नः। उकारो दकाररेफसहितोऽक्षरम्।

उत्तरश्चावसितैः ॥ २ ॥

आद्यैर्व्यञ्जनैः उत्तरैश्चावसानगतैः सहितः स्वरोऽक्षरम्। यथा- वाक्। वकार-ककारसहित आकारोऽक्षरम्। प्राङ्—पकाररेफडकारसहित आकारोऽक्षरम्। एवं तावद्यथैकः स्वरो भवति तदधस्तनान्युपरितनानि च व्यञ्जनानि तदङ्गानि भवन्तीत्येतत प्रतिपादितम्।

अधुना स्वरयोर्मध्ये द्विप्रभृतीनां व्यञ्जनानामङ्गत्वनिरूपणायाह—

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सँय्योगादिः पूर्वस्य ॥ ३ ॥

सँय्योगादिभूतो वर्णः पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्गं भवति। यथा—अश्श्वः। द्वौ शकारौ वकारश्च संय्योगः; तत्र संय्योगादिः पूर्वस्येति कृत्वा पूर्वशकारः पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्गम्; उत्तरशकारवकारावुत्तरस्य स्वरस्याङ्गम्। यथा—हव्व्यम्। द्वौ वकारौ यकारश्च संयोगः; तत्रैको वकारः संयोगादिः पूर्वस्येति कृत्वा पूर्वस्याङ्गम्; वकारयकारावुत्तरस्य।

यमश्च ॥ ४ ॥

यमः पूर्वस्याङ्गं भवति, चशब्दात् पूर्ववर्णसहितः। यथा—रुक्क्मम्। ककारद्वय-यममकाराः संयोगः; तत्र ककारयमौ पूर्वस्य; मकार उत्तरस्य।

क्रमजं च ॥ ५ ॥

क्रमाज्जातं क्रमजम्; यत्संयोगादेः परस्य वर्णस्य द्विरुक्त्या जायते तत् क्रमजमित्युच्यते यथा—पाश्श्र्य्यम्। रेफो द्वौ शकारौ वकारो यकारश्च संयोगः। तत्र रेफः संयोगादिः, क्रमजश्च प्रथमः शकारः, पूर्वाङ्गम्; द्वितीयः शकारो वकारो यकारश्चोत्तराङ्गम्। वर्ष्य्याय। रेफो द्वौ षकारौ यकारश्च संयोगः; तत्र रेफः संयोगादिः पूर्वषकारः क्रमजः एतौ पूर्वाङ्गम्; अपरः षकारो यकारश्चोत्तराङ्गम्।

तस्माच्चोत्तरँ स्पर्शे ॥ ६ ॥

तस्मात् क्रमजाद्यदुत्तरं व्यञ्जनं तत् पूर्वाङ्गं भवति स्पर्शे परभूते। यथा—षाण्ण्यर्या, रेफषकारौ द्वौ णकारौ यकारश्च संयोगः। तत्र रेफः संयोगादिरिति कृत्वा, षकारः क्रमजमिति कृत्वा, तस्माच्चोत्तरं स्पर्शे इति कृत्वा पूर्वणकारश्च, एते पूर्वाङ्गम्; द्वितीयणकारो यकारश्चोत्तरस्य स्वरस्याङ्गम्।

अवसितं च ॥ ७ ॥

अवसानगतं पूर्वाङ्गं भवति। यथा—वाक्, ककारोऽवसितः। ऊर्क्, अत्र रेफ-ककारयोः संयोगः; रेफः संयोगादिः, ककारोऽवसितः, एतौ पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्गम्।

पूर्वाङ्गपराङ्गचिन्तायाः प्रयोजनमाह—

व्यञ्जनँ स्वरेण सस्वरम् ॥ ८ ॥

व्यञ्जनं यद्यस्य स्वरस्याङ्गं तत्तेनैव स्वरेण समानस्वरं भवति। अधस्तनान्येवोदा-हरणानि।

V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA

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The Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri in his very interesting paper, *The Mahābhārata and the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros* which originally appeared in *JASB*, 1922, Vol. XVIII, p. 269, ff. and is now incorporated in his *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, Calcutta University 1932, has very satisfactorily shown the relation of the *Mahābhārata* with the inscription of Heliodros in which occurs the following couplet:

trini amuta padāni (su) anuṭṭhitāni
nayaṃti svaga dama cāga apramāda

Dr. Raychoudhuri has quoted a verse from the *Strīparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* showing the relation between them. From the same work two more verses may be quoted in this connection, which have closer relation to the stanza of the Inscription. They are found in the *Sanatsujātā Parvan* included in the *Udyogaparvan*, in which *dama*, *tyāga*, and *apramāda* are much praised. They are as follows:—

दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् ।
तानि सत्यमुखान्याहुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥
Udyogaparvan, 43. 22.

दमस्त्यागोऽथाप्रमाद इत्येतेष्वमृतं स्थितम् ।
एतानि ब्रह्ममुख्यानां ब्राह्मणानां मनीषिणाम् ॥
Udyogaparvan, 45. 7.

In passing it may be noted that as regards *apramāda* the following lines of the *Dhammapada* and the *Mahābhārata* are striking:

अप्पमादो अमतपदं पमादो मच्चुनो पदं ।
Dhammapada, I. 1.

प्रमादं वै मृत्युमहं ब्रवीमि तथाप्रमादममृतत्वं ब्रवीमि ।
Udyogaparvana, 41. 4.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

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Identity of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya

The following few lines are intended to furnish a reply to the material points raised by Mr. Rama Rao in his article "Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya" published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1930 wherein an attempt is made to disprove the identity of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya. As regards external evidence the author bases his theory on the fact that "if Mādhavācārya is identical with Vidyāraṇya, the fact would have leaked out in one or the other of the good number of inscriptions", and "that the few inscriptions which refer to Mādhavācārya (brother of Sāyaṇa) never indicate any connection between him and Vidyāraṇya".

The whole basis of the statement is unsound as absence of mention of any fact does not necessarily disprove the fact itself. The identity in question can only be disproved if there is any positive identification of Vidyāraṇya with anybody else or if the inscriptions definitely speak of the non-identity of the two persons. It must be noted moreover that it was not customary for a Sannyāsin to be referred to by his name in the "Pūrvāśrama" i.e. pre-Sannyāsa stage. It is not understood how the writer expects any reference to or mention of the name 'Vidyāraṇya', which was adopted by him in his subsequent Sannyāsa stage, in the inscriptions that might have come into existence in the pre-Sannyāsa period of his life.

As regards the internal evidence, it is stated "that the details about the life of Mādhavācārya found in his own works failed to show any connection between him and Vidyāraṇya". There is no reference to Mādhavācārya in Vidyāraṇya's works, because, a Sannyāsin is not expected to make references to his past life and there cannot be any reference to Vidyāraṇya in Mādhavācārya's works, because the name Vidyāraṇya was adopted by him in a subsequent stage of his life, perhaps years later.

There is no difference of opinion regarding the authorship of the first three works of Mādhavācārya, viz., *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*, *Vyavahāra-Mādhava* and *Kāla-Mādhavīya*. Regarding *Jīvanmukti-viveka*, the very reference in the introductory works to his Guru Vidyātīrtha, only proves that the author of that work was identical with

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that of *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*. Though there is no mention of the author in the colophon in the Mysore Oriental Library Ms., no. 145, other Mss. of the work noticed in R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, vol. 4, p. 82, no. 1486; and Stein's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir*, nos. 1989-1992 mention Vidyāraṇya as the author. Mr. Rama Rao has proved that the author of the work is Mādhavācārya. But we have just pointed out that Vidyāraṇya is definitely mentioned as the author elsewhere. So it automatically follows that they are identical.

The attribution of the *Jīvan-mukti-viveka* to Vidyāraṇya by the editor of the Ānandāśrama edition is not simply a groundless presumption, but is supported by such authorities as Acyutarāya, a commentator on the same work. It is curious that the writer tries to disprove the identity of the two names by referring to Mādhavācārya as a householder and Vidyāraṇya as a *Sannyāsin* as if a *Gṛihastha* cannot turn to become a *Sannyāsin* at a later stage. The entire argument falls to the ground when it is made clear that Vidyāraṇya is the name adopted by Mādhavācārya when he assumed the yellow robe. The author of the *Jīvanmukti-viveka* has announced himself in the following verse to be the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* also:—

eteṣāṃ tu samācārāḥ proktāḥ pārāśara-smṛtau/
vyākhyāne 'smābhir atrāyaṃ parahaṃso vivicyate//

There is no difference of opinion that the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* is Mādhavācārya. It automatically follows therefore that "Vidyāraṇyā" and "Mādhavācārya" are identical.

The next course adopted by the author is an attempt to disprove Mādhavācārya's authorship of the Vedic commentaries and foist it on his brother Sāyaṇa. The statement of the *Śivatattva-ratnākara* and other evidences cannot be accepted as more reliable proofs are forthcoming in favour of the identity.

In a subsequent issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (March 1931) the writer states that Vidyāraṇya is considered to be the author of the *Veda-Bhāṣya*, and that he should be identified with Sāyaṇacārya who, he asserts, is alone the author of the *Bhāṣya*. Though the names of both Mādhava and Sāyaṇa appear in the commentaries the writer

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gives prominence only to Sāyaṇa for the simple reason that only his name occurs in the colophon.

The arguments advanced to prove that Mādhavīya does not mean the production of Mādhava are not very convincing. It is not made clear why, if Sāyaṇa had written them, the term Mādhavīya should have crept in, instead of 'Sāyaṇīya' or 'Bukkabhūpalīya', after the patron-king.

The same argument could be easily turned against the writer, as Mādhavācārya who had already gained a wide reputation, might have admitted his brother Sāyaṇa also to a share of the credit. However no significance need be attached to these presumptions for neither of these brothers was lacking in scholarship or skill. It is quite clear from internal references, that the Bhāṣya was undoubtedly a production of the combined intelligence and genius of the two brothers. References such as "*kṛpāluḥ Sāyaṇācāryo vedārthaṃ vaktum udyataḥ*" and "*kṛpālur Mādhavācāryo vedārthaṃ vaktum udyataḥ*", in the commentaries lead to the conclusion that each of them devoted his attention to a particular part and produced between them the great *Bhāṣya*.

The writer disposes of Ahobalapaṇḍita's authority, as the Paṇḍita was a recent man of 1700 A.D. and that 'the information given by him might have had its origin in a legend'. The Paṇḍita's statement should not be so easily disregarded, as he lived in an age not very distant from Vidyāraṇyā's. The 'Legends' too were not only prevailing among eminent scholars of his time, but were found to have been current even about Vidyāraṇyā's age.

Kauṇḍapācārya, the author of the *Prayogaratnamālā* (or the *Āpastamb-ādhvara-tantra-vyākhyā*) was a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya whom he alludes to as the author of the Vedic commentaries:

vedārthaviśadīkartā vedavedāṅgapāragaḥ/
Vidyāraṇyayatir jñātaḥ śrautasmārtakriyāparaiḥ//

It has been admitted that the Bhāṣyas are the works of either Mādhavācārya or Sāyaṇacārya or both. It therefore necessarily follows that Vidyāraṇya must be identical with either Mādhavācārya or Sāyaṇācārya or with both. Since Sāyaṇa and Mādhava are two different

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persons Vidyāraṇya could be identical with only one of them. Which one, evidences cited will prove.

Mitra Miśra, the author of the *Vīramitrodaya* (a digest of Dharmaśāstras of the sixteenth century) refers in the *Vyavharārādhyāya*, pp. 583, 672 to Vidyāraṇya as the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*.

Another author Narasiṃha by name (who lived from 1360 to 1435 A.D.) in his work *Prayogapārijāta* makes mention of Vidyāraṇya as the author of the *Kāla-nirṇaya* otherwise known as *Kāla-Mādhavīya*:—

Śrīmad Vidyāraṇyamunīndraiḥ *Kālanirṇaye* pratipāditaḥ prakāraḥ pradarśyate:—tatra Paiṭhīnasiḥ:—śrautasmārtakriyāḥ (*Prayogapārijāta*, p. 411, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay). Since it is now admitted that the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* and the *Kāla-Mādhavīya* is Mādhavacārya he must be identical with Vidyāraṇya.

The writing of Narasiṃha (between 1360 and 1435 A.D.) and Kauṇḍapācārya (of the latter part of the 14th century) referred to above cannot but be taken as evidences from contemporary authors, and similarly the writings of Ahobalapaṇḍita and Mitramiśra shown above are evidences from authors who flourished a few centuries immediately after. These clearly prove the identity of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya.

It is only on such solid grounds that the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya was established by a number of ancient scholars of repute and the Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya theory was erected thereon by the modern scholars. By a reference to Kauṇḍapa's works it has been shown in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* that the character and description of Vidyāraṇya agree point by point with that of Mādhavācārya, the brother of Sāyaṇa.

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that Vidyāraṇya cannot but be identical with Mādhavācārya, the author of the commentaries. Other points noted by the writer are not touched as they are either based on indirect evidences or loose presumptions.

K. Markandeya Sarma

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Nālanda Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva

(A Rejoinder)

I have carefully read Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's criticism of my note on Dr. Hirananda Sastri's article on the above-named document in the June issue of this Journal but find in it nothing which has not already been refated. All this is stated by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey Department* for 1925-26 (p. 131).

If I can understand matters, Dr. Sastri based his original view on the script of the inscription. Dr. Mazumdar also does the same. Dr. S. found that the script of the inscription cannot be called late for it is used in documents which are decidedly early. The name Yaśodharman does not appear to be a cogent one for *yaśas* can hardly be called a '*dharma*' or 'quality.' Fleet also did not consider it to be a very reasonable appellation. The quotation which Dr. M. has given does not improve matters. Dr. S. has noticed it. Had Dr. Mazumdar shown that the name Yaśodharman exists elsewhere, or that so-and-so was called Yaśodharman, there would have been some force in his argument. The names given by Fleet in the footnote which Dr. M. has quoted in extenso do end in *dharman* and look all right with this termination. But *yaśas* does not. Consequently I agree with Dr. S. that the name of the king was Yaśovarman and not Yaśodharman. If Fleet was against the idea where was the need for him to dilate on the matter? Nobody denies that names ending in *dharman* existed in ancient India. What has been doubted is the existence of the name Yaśodharman in earlier times. Let Dr. M. cite an instance showing that so-and-so was so called.

I think there is another point the importance of which Dr. M. has not fully appreciated. It is the use of the word *Śāstā* in the epigraph. Dr. S. has given both the views. It is not understood how Dr. M. calls his translation of the verse containing this word as 'apt to mislead the unwary'. Dr. Vogel's suggestion regarding the interpretation of Śāstā is there and every reader of the article, be he wary or unwary, will read and consider it. This interpretation does not appeal to me and it appears that Dr. S. was also of the same opinion. The idea of

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calling an image of Buddha as of so-and so is '*un-Buddhistic*' and those who have seen the Buddhists making donations or benefactions of any kind must have noticed how particular the Buddhists are in making everybody present touch the gift to make it common. The same idea was prevalent among the ancient Hindus who in their *āhutis* laid special strees on repeating *idaṃ=agnaye idaṃ na mama*—'it is for Agni and is *not* mine'. It is doubtful if Bālāditya could call the image as his own=(i.e. the Buddha of Bālāditya). It might be contended that he did not do so, but the other people. Besides, is it the Buddha of Bālāditya or of anybody else who resides within, or the Buddha, the Enlightened, the Emancipated Lord, the exclusive property of nobody that pervades us all according to the Mahāyānists? Which interpretation looks more plausible? The composer of the *praśasti*, especially when he came in long after Bālāditya, could hardly have paid special regard to the image because of its being set up by Bālāditya. Why should he think of Bālāditya who was dead and gone? For a Buddhist of later period it will be immaterial whether an image was made by a chief or an ordinary fellow so long as it represents the Lord. On the contrary, if the maker is alive, or died recently, it might be of some significance. That much could be conceded, if the royal maker was so egoistical as to call the image after his own name. But could he not issue a command regarding its safety? Why should it be said that the *śāstā* of Bālāditya is present in us? Will not Lord Buddha or mere *śāstā* do? And can he not punish the offender? It is true that the image is mentioned by later writers as a piece of history but not as the *śāstā* or Buddha of Bālāditya. Whether this image was made by Bālāditya or by anybody else, Buddha remains the same. It is the order of the king which is to be respected in such cases. The image is protected because of the order or the sword behind it. It is this point which goes to decide the matter to a large extent.

The question of the alphabet has been fully answered by me and I need not recapitulate what has been stated already. Every letter can be a test letter. Earlier forms continue to be retained in later documents. Could we call them antique on that account? That an alphabet is used in books or *granthas* does not imply

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that it is not employed in inscriptions. The fact that the whole *varṇa-mālā* is given in the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscript is very significant and its value should not be under-estimated.

I have already explained the use of *śaśāsa* in the record. In fine, nothing which has so far been found controverts Dr. Sastri's view. On the contrary his opinion that Bālāditya was probably a vassal of Yaśovarmadeva would explain the whole question of the part taken by Bālāditya in fighting the Hūṇas. Perhaps Mihirakula was attacked by Yaśovarman while engaged in an expedition against Bālāditya.*

A. K. MRITHYUNJAYAM

* The controversy is closed.—Ed.

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Cauhān Mahārājās of Pāṭnā State (Mahākośala)

In a previous paper[1] I dealt with the "Dates of the Cauhān Mahārājās of Sambalpur Aṭhārāgarh". In this I propose to deal with the main house of Pāṭnā, the first and oldest seat of Cauhān Mahārājās of Mahā-Kośala.

In the absence of any inscriptional document, we have to depend entirely on official records and on the writings of later day authors, both Vernacular and Sanskrit, but these too are comparatively meagre.

These Sanskrit and Vernacular works are:—(1) *Prabodh Candrikā*[2] by Mahārāja Baijal Deva of Pāṭnā (ii) *Kośalānanda Mahākāvyam* by Paṇḍit Gaṅgā Dhar Miśra of Sambalpur (iii) *Cikitsāmañjarī*[3] by Paṇḍit Gopīnāth Sadaṅgī of Sambalpur (iv) *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* in 9 lettered Oriya verses by Gopāl Telaṅga of Sambalpur (v) *Jaya Candrikā*[4] (a poem in Hindi) by Paṇḍit Prahlād Dube of Sarangarh.

The first official statement pertaining to the history of the Pāṭnā Rāj family is found in the *C. P. Gazetteer*, compiled by C. Bernard.

It gives a complete list of the Pāṭnā Cauhān kings, who are designated as '*Mahārājās*'. "The following is a list of the Mahārājās of Pāṭnā from the time of Rumail Deo to the present Mahārāja, showing approximately the period that each reigned:

1	Rumail Deo	32 years
2	Mahaling	6 ,,
3	Baijal Deo I	65 ,,
4	Baikraj Deo	13 ,,
5	Bhojinj Deo	34 ,,
6	Pratap Roodra Deo	39 ,,
7	Bhopal Deo	11 ,,

1 *IHQ.*, September, 1930 p. 568.

2 Found by me at Ratanpur, the ancient capital of the Haihaya Princes of Mahākośala. The manuscript was written by Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa about 100 years ago.

3 A Palm-leaf manuscript is in possession of one Ghansyām *Kumbhakār* a local physician of Padigaon in the Raigarh state.

4 The original manuscript of this poem is in the possession of the Ruling Chief of the Sarangarh state C. P.

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8	Nagsingh Deo	...	...	...	30 ,,
9	Bikramadit Deo	...	...	...	34 ,,
10	Baijal Deo II	...	...	...	39 ,,
11	Bhunjun Hīrādhar Deo	...	...	...	30 ,,
12	Narsing Deo	...	...	...	7 ,,
13	Chutterpal Deo	...	...	...	3 ,,
14	Baijal Deo III	...	...	...	63 ,,
15	Hirdai Narayan Deo	...	...	...	15 ,,
16	Partap Deo ...	...	...	...	22 ,,
17	Vikramaditya Deo	...	...	...	15 ,,
18	Mukund Deo	...	...	...	30 ,,
19	Balram Deo	...	...	...	8 ,,
20	Hridaysai Deo	...	...	...	7 ,,
21	Rai Sing Deo	...	...	...	80 ,,
22	Pṛthviraj Singh Deo	...	...	...	3 ,,
23	Ram Candra Deo	...	...	...	55 ,,
24	Bhopal Deo ...	...	...	...	28 ,,
25	Hirabhaujjur Deo	...	...	...	18 ,,
26	Sur Pratap Deo	...	...	...	1 year

present in 1868 A.D.

The total length of years from Rumail Deo to Hīrādhar Deo, 11th Mahārājā is 333 and from the 12th Mahārājā to the last 354, in all 687 years. If we deduct 687 years from 1866, we get 1179 A.D. as the approximate date when the Cauhān family first assumed sovereignty over the Pāṭnā State. It was administered by a council of eight *malliks* or representatives, otherwise known as the *Āṭh-mallik* form of government.

From the *Jayacandrikā* we learn that after the fall of Pṛthvirāj Cauhān, the last Hindu Emperor of Delhi, one of his daughters-in-law, who was then in a state of pregnancy, was sent to a safe place. This lady in due course came to the Pāṭnā State and gave birth to a son named Rumail Deo. This must have occurred soon after the battle of Thāneśvar about 1193-94 A.D. Assuming that Rumail Deo proclaimed himself as a ruler of Pāṭnā State when he was about 20 years, we find a difference of 14+20=34 years only. If we omit the period of reign

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of Nagsing Deo, whose name does not appear in the list of kings given by Prahlād Dube in the *Jayacandrikā* the difference vanishes. The name of Nagsing Deo (no. 8 of *C.P. Gazetteer* List) is not also mentioned in the Sanskrit work, *Kośalānanda Kāvyam* which furnishes us with the following list:

1	Rāma Deva reigned for	52 years*
2	Mahāliṅga[5]	6 ,,
3	Baijal Deva	65 ,,
4	Vatsarāja Deva	29 ,,
5	Bhojarāja Deva	0 ,,
6	Vīramalla Deva	30 ,,
7	Pratāpamalla Deva	44 ,,
8	Bhūpāla Deva	0 ,,
9	Vikramāditya Deva	34 ,,
10	Baijala Deva II	13 ,,
11	Hīrādhar Deva	30 ,,
12	Narsingh Deva	

Instead of Nagsing Deva, this list gives a new name (no. 6) Vīramalla Deva.

The Ratanpur list as given in a manuscript called *Ratanpurke havāl* omits two names and reverses the order as shown below:

1	Ramai Deo	6	Bhojrāj Deo
2	Mahāliṅg Deo	7	Vikram Deo
3	Vatsarāja Deo	8	Baijal Deo II
4	Vīramalla Deo	9	Hīrādhar Deo
5	Baijal Deo I	10	Narsingh Deo

* This might be the years of his age. 26 years of his region which he would have begun at his 26th years. But this is mere supposition.

5 वर्त्तमाने गजपतौ राजराजेश्वरक्षितौ। रविरामयुगे ख्याते विद्यमानेब्दके कलौ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महालिङ्गः समाःषट् बुभुजे महीम्। पितुः प्रतापतपनार्दितभूपतिसेवितः॥

रवि=12; राम=3; युग=4=4312 Kali era.

in 1931, the Kali era is 5032. The śloka refers to 4312 Kali era i.e. back whether this is the date for the coronation of Rāma Deva or of his son Mahaling, is not clear.

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This list is not very reliable. In it Baijal Deva I has been shown as the 5th king while all other documents mention him as the 3rd Mahārājā of Pāṭnā, who conquered about 72 forts and reduced Bāmrā, Gaṅgāpur, Bonai, Baud, Surguza, Dhenkanal, and Sonepur to subjection.

Prahlad Dube's *Jayacandrikā* has:

1	Ramai	6	Pratāpamalla Deva
2	Mahāliṅga	7	Bhūpāl Deva
3	Baijala Deva I	8	Vikramajit Déva
4	Bhojrāj Deva	9	Baijala Deva II
5	Vikram Deva	10	Hīrādhar Deva

11 Rāma Deva (Narsingh Deva of other Lists)

In the absence of any inscriptional record giving the genealogy of the Cauhān Mahārājās of Pāṭnā, it is very difficult at this distance of time to say which of the lists is more correct. It may be that Vatsarāja might have assumed the title of *Vīramalla*, and both these might mean one prince or 'Bhūpāl Nagsing Deva' representing one name, might have been taken to be two names.

The *Prabodhacandrikā*[6] gives three names Vikramārka (Vikramāditya), Baijala Deva II and Hīrādhara Deva (father of Balaram Deva I ruler of Sambalpur).

The only inscription hitherto brought to light which mentions Baijal Deva is incised on a stone slab affixed to the temple at Narsingh-

6 The authorship of this treatise on Sanskrit Grammar, is attributed to Maharaja Baijal Deva (II) himself. He composed it for the use of his son Hīrādhar Deva.

संसाराम्भोधितरणं रामनामानुकीर्तनम् ।
रामनामान्विता तस्मात् प्रक्रिया क्रियते मया ॥
बालकानां प्रबोधाय तोषाय विदुषामपि ।
साफल्यमपि संसारे कीर्त्यवस्थापनाय च ॥
चिन्तयन्निति निर्यातः क्रीडन्तं श्रीहिराधरम् ।
श्रीमान् बैजलभूपालो विलोक्य सुतमब्रवीत् ॥

This बैजलचन्द्रिका is known in Bengal and Orissa as बैजलकाव्यम् or बैजलकारिका ।

माधुरी (Lucknow), p. 750 vol. IV, No. 48,

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nāth, now in the Bora Sambhar Zamindari, Dist. Sambalpur, Orissa. This inscription is in transitional Oriya characters and has not yet been published anywhere. It was dated but now the date cannot be deciphered as it has been worn out.

According to Mr. Beglar, "the date is either 672 or 728 which is utterly inconsistent with the forms of the characters, if referred to either the Śaka or the Vikrama era. I am therefore inclined to consider it as a Hijra date."

In 1904-5, Dr. Bhandarkar visited Narsinghnāth but by that time the date was worn out. But taking other points (Vikārināma Saṃvatsar, Caitra Pūrṇimā and Friday) into consideration, he came to the conclusion that the inscription was dated in A.D. 1359-60. I, with the help of Prof. Mahavir Prasad Sribastavya have tried to work out the details and find that the cyclic year Vikāri fell on a Friday with हस्त। नक्षत्र and चैत्र पूर्णिमा in the Vikram year 1470=1413 A.D. March 17th, and not in A.D. 1359 as shown by Dr. Bhandarkar. This inscription mentions that Baijal Deva, son of Bairaj Deva king of Pāṭnā built the temple of Narsingh on the Gandhamādan hill, and to quote Mr. Beglar "made a gift of one hundred (cows?) coins with village Loisinghā. It was consecrated by Loma Harsan (लोमहर्षण ?) Panigrahi, sent by Baijal Singh." In the list of kings we find three Baijal Devas. The father of the first is named Mahaling and that of the third, Chutterpal Deva. Now remains the second Baijal Deva the author of *Prabodhcandrikā*. His father was Vikramārka or Vikramāditya Deva. If Bairājdevarāja (as Dr. Bhandarkar deciphers it and which Mr. Belgar reads as Bachha Raja) stands for Vikramāditya, then it is certain that Baijal Deva of the inscription is no other than Baijal Deva II of the list, and he must have been reigning about Vikram Saṃvat 1470 or 1413 A.D.

Mr. Beglar writes:—"On the southern side of the hill, there is a temple called '*Dewul Durla*' after the name of the Rāṇī who constructed it. Close to the temple is a thatched *hut* in which the image of Bhairava is enshrined. On this image, too, there is an inscription in old characters, from which only the words '*Pāṭnā* and Baijal Deva' can be deciphered, the rest of the inscription is not readable".

The above name is also engraved in the hall attached to Narsingh Nāth's temple. (*Arch. Sur. Report*, 1881-82, vol. XVII).

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While describing the Narsinghnāth temple[7] Dr. Bhandarkar says:—

The door-frame on the north * * * * * * Near this door-frame on its proper left is the standing image of a warrior with hands folded and with a sword held against the breast between it and the left hand. Judging from the analogous instances, this seems to have been the figure of the personage who was principally connected with either the construction or the restoration of the temple.

L. P. PANDEYA

[7] Text of the Narsinghanath Temple inscription:—

ॐ नमः श्रीनृसिंहाय। अस्ति स्वस्ति श्रीविकारीनाम संवत्सरे चैत्रपूर्णिमा शुक्रवासरे हस्तानक्षत्रे पाटणानगरस्थित वच्छराज (बइराज या बैकराज) देवराजाके स्वपुत्र श्रीबैजलदेव राजा हरिपापतीर्थे गन्धमादनपर्वते विडाल नरसिंहनाथस्वामीङ्कर देउल तोल इला ❀ ❀ ❀ गाइ ज्ञतिक लोरमसिंगाग्रामदिलो ❀ ❀

(In transitional Oriya characters).

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REVIEWS

PRAMĀṆASAMUCCAYA of Diṅnāga edited and restored into Sanskrit with Vṛtti, Ṭīkā, and Notes by H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar, M.A., Government Oriental Library, Mysore (Mysore University Publication).

As observes Dr. Brajendranath Seal in his Foreword, Dīṅnāga is rightly regarded as the father of the mediæval school of Indian Logic. His views are referred to or quoted in order to support or refute them in the most important works on the subject, whether Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist, or Jaina. Indeed, no student of Indian Logic can follow its growth and development without being thoroughly acquainted with the views of Diṅnāga.

Unfortunately his works of which the most important is the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* are now not extant in original Sanskrit excepting some fragments or passages referred to or quoted in different books, such as the *Nyāyavārttika* of Uddyotakara, *Tātparyaṭīkā* of Vācaspatimiśra, *Mīmāṃsāślokavārttika-ṭīkā* of *Pārthasārathimiśra*, *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kamalaśīla, and so on. A number of these passages has been collected in a book form by Professor Randle. However, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* in its entirety, as the other works of Diṅnāga, is still available in Tibetan. Its detailed account has been given by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana in his *History of Indian Logic*. It has been announced that Prof. Stcherbatsky is preparing an edition of the Tibetan text and a translation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya-vṛtti* for the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series. Our sincere thanks are now due to Mr. H. R. Rangaswamy, (and not *Ramaswamy* as writes Jarl Charpentier in reviewing the present volume in the *BOSS.*, vol. VI, p. 1031) for publishing the first chapter of the work in its Sanskrit form. It is complete in six chapters, and we hope, the remaining chapters will follow in due course. The Sanskrit text in the volume under review is mostly restored or reconstructed from its Tibetan version, while some of the kārikās have been collected from different Sanskrit works in which they are found as quota-

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tions. Generally the kārikās of such logical or philosophical books are written in utmost brevity and as such are not in all cases easy to understand. Hence the authors themselves used to write *vṛttis*, and Diṅnāga, too, wrote a *vṛtti* on his *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. In order to elucidate the meaning of the kārikās, reconstructed or original, Mr. Iyengar has added extracts from this *vṛtti* in Tibetan along with its restoration in Sanskrit. In the same way he has given copious extracts from another commentary called *Viśālāmalavatī* of Jinendrabuddhi. Besides, there are valuable notes by Mr. Iyengar based on different works closely bearing on the points. That the task before the author is in no way an easy one can be realized only by those who have some idea of, or acquaintance with, the work of this nature. Yet a perusal of the volume would evince that Mr. Iyengar is quite fit for the work he has undertaken, and the students of Indian Logic will ever remain thankful to him.

There are, however, some cases for correction or modification, or improvement with regard to the reconstruction or other matters, and it is hoped it will be effected in the next edition.

Let us quote a kārikā (I. 11)) in its Tibetan version:

śes pa gžan gyis ñams myoṅ na/
thug med de la'ṅ dran pa ste//
de bžin yul gžan la'pho ba/
med gyur de yaṅ mthoṅ ba ñid//

Its Sanskrit as given by Mr. Iyengar is as follows:

ज्ञानान्तरेणानुभवेऽनवस्था तत्र च स्मृतिः ।
विषयान्तरसञ्चारस्तथा न स्यात् स चेष्यते ॥

Excepting the word *iṣyate* at the end which, according to Tib. (*mthoṅ ba ñid*) must be nothing but *īkṣyate*, it is all right. But this kārikā is partly or entirely quoted twice by *Pārthasārathimiśra* in his commentary, *Nyāyaratnākara*, on the *Mīmāṃsāślokavārttika* of Kumārila (Benares ed., pp. 277 and 321) with different readings, first there being *anubhave hīṣṭā tatrāpi ca*, and the *anubhavo'niṣṭas tatrāpi hi* for *anubhave'navasthā tatra ca* of Mr. Iyengar in the first half. That his restored reading is quite right according to the Tib. text (*ñams myoṅ na thug med de la'ṅ*) is beyond doubt. But the question is with

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regard to the two readings referred to in the *Nyāyaratnākara*. That one of these two is wrong goes without saying. But which is the correct one? I think, it is the second with the single exception of *hi* which must be *ca* as in its first reading, and it is supported by Tib. (*'aṅ*), though the first reading itself requires modification, as we shall see presently. However, the difficulty lies in accounting for the difference between the Tib. and this second reading, in accordance with which one should read *dod med* for *thug med* in the Tib. text, but it would be taking too much liberty. That the word *anavasthā* (Tib. *thug med*) is here required is quite clear also from Kumārila's words (*tasya tasyāpi cānyena saṃvittāv asthitir bhavet*, and *anyena vānubhāve'sāv anavasthā prasajyate*, pp. 277 and 321), in connection of which Pārthasārathimiśra quotes the line. Besides, as the Tibetan version reads it very clearly we can in no way discard the reading given by Mr. Iyengar in favour of *anubhavo'niṣṭa°* in the printed text of the *Nyāyaratnākara*. Undoubtedly, somehow or other the mistake crept in. The reading *jñānāntareṇānubhave* once given by Pārthasārathimiśra, and literally supported by Tib. finds further support from the following words of Kumārila: *anyena vānubhāve*. The reading (p. 321) *īkṣyate* suggested by Tib. *mthoṅ ba ñid*, as referred to above shows that the Skt. Mss. before the Tib. translator had it for *iṣyate*, or he himself wrongly read it as *īkṣyate*. We wish Mr. Iyengar had discussed such readings also in other cases.

We should like to quote one kārikā more (I. 4):

thun moṅ min pa'i rgyu yi phyir/
de yi tha sñad dbaṅ pos byas/
der don du mas bskyed pa'i phyir/
raṅ don spyi yi spyod yul can//

Mr. Iyengar reconstructs it thus:

असाधारणहेतुत्वाद् व्यपदेश्यं तदिन्द्रियैः ।
तत्र नैकार्थतोत्पादात् स्वार्थसामान्यगोचरः ॥

As regards the second half one may propose to read *tatropādād anekārthaiḥ*, or preferably *utpādanād anekārthaiḥ* even omitting *tatra* (*der*) for *tatra naikārthatotpādāt*, the suffix *-tā* in *arthatā* being not required, as it gives a meaning which is not appropriate here. Now with regard to the first half, strictly speaking, Tib. *tha sñad byas*

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suggests *vyapadiṣṭaṃ* or *vyapadiśyate* and not *vyapadeśyaṃ* for which Tib. would read *tha sñad bya.* However, the actual reading of the line, as Mr. Iyengar himself has discovered as a quotation in the *Tattvārtharājavārttika* of Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅkadeva, Benares, p. 38, is *asādhāraṇahetutvād akṣais tad vyāpadiśyate.* Yet he has rejected it in his restoration without any ground. This line is quoted also by Haribhadrasūri in his *vṛtti* on the *Nyāyapraveśa,* Sanskrit Text, *GOS.*, p. 35, 1. 23, and it is to be noted that it has been pointed out, though with some doubt, by Prof. Mironov in his edition of the same work reconstructed from Haribhadra's *vṛtti,* which is published in the *T'oung Pao,* 1931, l. 8. With the line under discussion the Benares edition of the *Tattvārtharājavārttika* referred to above reads the following as the first half of the couplet:

pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍhaṃ nāmajātyādiyojanā.

Evidently the reading *-yojanā* in *nāmajātyādiyojanā* is a wrong one.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1 KEŚAVPAṆḌIT'S RĀJARĀMA-CARITAM OR ŚRĪ CHATRAPATI RĀJARĀM'S JOURNEY TO JINJI edited by V. S. Bendrey, published by the Bhārat Itihās Saṃśodhak Maṇḍal. Poona 1931. Pp. 23+80.

2 RISE OF THE PESHWAS by Prof. H. N. Sinha, M.A., The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1931, pp. 255.

For the last twenty-five years Mahārāṣṭra scholars have been engaged in searching, sifting, editing and publishing original sources of Marāṭhā History and their devoted zeal and indefatigable industry have been amply rewarded by important discoveries and valuable finds. The work of Sane, Rajwade, Parasnis and Khare is widely known to all students of Indian History. The contributions of the late Mr. S. M. Divekar, however, still remain inadequately appreciated. It was he who brought to our notice such contemporary Sanskrit works as *Śiva Bhārat* and *Parnal Parvat Grahaṇākhyān.* These historical poems were discovered in the famous library at Tanjore. Mr. V. S. Bendrey

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belongs to the same confraternity of scholars as the late Mr. Divekar, and he has practically made the period of Sambhaji his own. It is to him that we are indebted for another addition to the Sanskrit sources of Marāṭhā History. Keśav Paṇḍit's *Rājārāma caritam* is written in the customary Paurāṇic style and consists of five brief cantos. He describes Rājārām's flight to Karṇāṭak and then brings his narrative to an abrupt end. The editor suggests that the poet probably died early in 1690 and did not live to add further to his account of the life and exploits of his hero. In the learned introduction we read that Keśav Paṇḍit was a Karhāḍā brāhmin of Saṅgameśvar and had served under Śivāji, Sambhāji and Rājārām. It was under Sambhāji that he attained some prominence and obtained from that prince a generous gift. The manuscript was known to Dr. Burnell but he wrongly described it as an account of the coronation of Rāma, the epic hero. The error was corrected in the new catalogue and Mr. Bendrey obtained a transcript of the text. He has published it with a Marāṭhī translation and notes and added a map to illustrate the campaign of Rām Candra Pant during the closing months of 1689. The introduction is really useful and interesting.

Prof. H. N. Sinha is to be congratulated on the handy little volume he has produced. He ably surveys one of the most important periods of Marāṭhā history and gives an accurate and reliable account of Bālāji Viśvanāth and his two immediate successors. With the notable exception of Mr. G. S. Sardesai few Mahārāṣṭra scholars have turned their attention to the important work of synthesis demanded by the fast accumulating original materials, and as they usually write in Marāṭhī, the average student in other parts of India hardly derives any benefit from their publications. His needs should no longer be overlooked as Marāṭhā history has of late come to its own and forms a recognised subject of study in most of the Northern Indian Universities. Prof. Sinha has not unearthed any new evidence and his examination is confined mainly to the published sources, Marāṭhī and English. But his work will be of very great use to those non-Marāṭhā students to whom Sardesai's *Marāṭhī Riyāsat* remains a sealed book. Moreover, the period surveyed by Prof. Sinha is full of intricacies which often bewilder the beginner, and a lucid and clear narrative had been a long-

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felt need. University students all over India will be grateful to Prof. Sinha for providing them with an excellent text book.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AROUND BOMBAY by Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., pp. XX+160, Plates 59. Published by D.B. Taraporevata Sons & Co., Bombay.

The celebrated cave temples of Elephanta and the less-famed rock-cut shrines of Jogeshwari, Kanheri and Mandapeshwar are made the subject-matter of study in this neat little volume by Mr. Vakil, well-known as an art-critic. His book is divided into several parts, the first giving general information about these monuments, such as their age, their relative importance etc., while the second, third, fourth and fifth present in some detail the sculptural and architectural features of the respective rock-hewn structures. In the appendix, the learned author describes at some length the very interesting stone reliefs discovered at Parel (Bombay), and while discussing their iconography and age emphasises the importance of these new discoveries to the students and exponents of Indian Art.

The cave shrines at Elephanta, as these are situated in and near the city, very appropriately called the 'Gate of India', are among the most frequently visited and described monuments of India. From mere travellers' guidebooks to the learned archæological publications, dealing with objects of general and antiquarian interest in this part of the country,—in none of these, have the massive grandeur and sublime beauty of their architectural and sculptural designs failed to evoke more than their proper share of admiration and appreciation. Though such has not been the fate of the three other less known shrines, still they have also been, in a manner, studied and admired. But Mr. Vakil's style of presentation of the essential features of these noble memorials of India's past and of showing how to study and appreciate their beauties in their proper perspective has struck a new line. To put his viewpoint in his own words:—"The current emphasis on 'what' is being represented is shifted to 'how' it is being

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represented"; thus while taking stock of all the notable contents of these ancient structures, he does not set much store by the enumeration of what according to him seems to be unnecessary architectural and iconographic details, but lays special stress on the manner of representation of the sculptural and architectural motifs. To refer to a typical example:—The well-known and much admired relief in Elephanta depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī does not appeal to him merely on account of the "proportion", "the careful execution" and "minuteness" noticeable in individual figures of this relief; 'these are not the sole or the best claim of the panel'. 'The unerring concentration of the sculptor towards the interpretation of the poetic solemnity of the main incident of his theme is its unmistakable and indisputable triumph'. Again, the above relief, when considered in relation to the one on the opposite side of the panel showing Śiva as Kāla-Bhairava, cannot but suggest the idea to an observant mind that the sculptor in a masterly way has depicted the contrast between the normal appearance of the great god and his appearance as the lover and the bridegroom. This contrast has been beautifully described in the immortal lines of the great Kālidāsa, and the learned author's extremely apt quotation of these from *Kumārasambhava* emphasises his point. This has throughout this book been the writer's attitude in appraising the real value of the architectural and sculptural themes of these shrines,—each of which has been discussed in its own proper setting and environment.

Thus, this well-written little volume will be of extreme benefit not only to the general visitors to these noble monuments, for they are here fully informed by the writer *about what to see and how to see*; but also to the earnest and serious students of Indian art for it will supply them with much food for reflection about the general tendencies of the modern methods of art criticism in relation to the artistic heritage of India. One may not, however, see eye to eye with the author in all matters of opinion expressed by him and exception may be taken to the severe strictures so frequently passed by him on the archæologist's method of studying these monuments; still it must be observed that the author has made the study of these specimens of the Indian achievements in the domain of art a really fascinating one, and has been able to do so, because he could approach his subject with

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genuine love and admiration, and with broad, but at the same time, circumspect vision.

The publishers should be congratulated on the nice get-up of this brochure. It has a large number of illustrations some of which are very helpful.

J. N. BANERJEA

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. XIII, pts. iii-iv

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Gleanings from the Udayasundarī-kathā.* Soḍḍhala writing his *Udayasundarīkathā* in the 11th century A. C. has given an account of his family in the first chapter of the work. The historical facts contained therein have been culled together in this paper, specially the interesting information about the Kāyasthas. According to the story given here, the Kāyastha caste originated in the eighth century of the Christian era. It is noteworthy that the author of the *Kathā* calls himself a Kāyastha, and at the same time, claims to be a Kṣatriya.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Kulārṇavatantra—Its Extent and Contents.* This is mainly an account of a Ms. of the *Kulārṇava-tantra* which differs materially from the published editions of the work.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.—*Some Notes on the Chronology of the Sena Kings of Bengal.* From a study of the inscriptions connected with the Sena rule, as also of the two works, *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara,* the writer has come to the conclusion that Vijayasena ruled from *c.* 1095 A.C. to 1157 A.C. followed by Ballālasena's reign extending up to 1169 A.C.

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJI.—*The Mālavas.*

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*On the Date of Śrīkaṇṭha and the Bṛhatsaṃhitā.*—Evidences have been put forward in the first part of the article to show that Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the *Brahma-mīmāṃsā* flourished in the 12th cent. A.C. It has been argued in the second part that the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* quoted by Madhva was a Purāṇic work no longer extant. Mr. T. R. Chintamani's view that Śrī-kaṇṭha belonged to the 13th century and quoted from Akhaṇḍā-nanda's *Tattvadīpana* as also his assertion that the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* cited by Madhva was nothing more than an anonymous contem-porary work, have been vehemently opposed here.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*Pāli Chronicles.*

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*The Date of Harṣa-Pulakeśin War.* The date of

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the war between Harṣavardhana and Pulakeśin II in which the former could not get the upper hand has been put within the limit of the years 630 to 634 A.C.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA—*The Age of Janaka and Others.* In comparing some of the results obtained by Dr. S. N. Pradhan in his *Chronology of Ancient India* with those obtained by Dr. H. C. Ray Chowdhury in his *Political History of Ancient India*, the writer of this paper supports the former author. It is contended that the evidences advanced by Dr. Ray Chowdhury to prove that the Vedic Janaka was separated by six generations from Janamejaya's time are not convincing.

The evidence of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, where Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya by putting to him the question *Kva Pārīkṣitā abhavan*—"Whither have the Pārīkṣitas gone" rather tends to make Yājñavalkya a contemporary of Janamejaya as maintained by Dr. Pradhan on account of the use of *Laṅ* form of the root *bhū*. The writer also argues that the untenable identifications of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with the author of the *Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* as also of Āśvalāyana Kauśalya and Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Praśna Up.* with Aśvalāyana (of Sāvatthi) and Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya* as made in the *Political History of Ancient India* are at the root of the error in that work about the chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*The Arthaśāstra re-examined or the Culture and Date of the Arthaśāstra.* Against the theories that the *Arthaśāstra* was written between 480 and 510 A.C. within the Malwa territory which was then under the domination of Greeks, Śakas and Hūṇas, and that the ideals and culture reflected in the work are non-Indian, the author of this paper remarks: The similarities between the passages in the Aśoka inscriptions and the *Arthaśāstra* point to the antiquity of the latter and its connection with the Mauryas. The political ideals finding favour in the *Arthaśāstra* are also found in the Tamil *Kuṛal* of the 2nd century B.C. Further, the Śabaras, Caṇḍālas and Āṭavikas mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya* cannot be the monopoly of the Malwa kingdom. The political theories and institutions noticed in the *Arthaśāstra* have nothing in them alien to the Hindu ideals on polity.

BETTY HEIMAN.—*The Philosophical Aspect of Ahiṃsā.*

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Indian Antiquary, July 1932

PURAN CHAND NAHAR.—*Antiquity of the Jaina Sects.* The writer deals with some problems connected with the comparative antiquity of the two Jaina Sects, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, and regards the latter sect to represent the genuine Jaina spirit.

Ibid., Aug., 1932

B. BANNERJEA.—*An Inquiry into the Position of Women in Hindu Society.* The conclusion of the author is that the status of Hindu women though in theory not much elevated is not at all inferior to the position given them in non-Hindu societies.

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

vol. 52, No. 1 (March 1932)

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Viṣṇudharmottara, Chapter XLI.* The chapter of the work dealing with painting has been translated from Sanskrit with comments in English.

Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay

vol. XIV, No. 8

S. C. MITRA.—*A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Birhors of Chota Nagpur.*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,

vol. 8, nos. 1 and 2

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Vṛttajātisamuccaya of Virahāṅka.* In continuation of ch. 4 in vol. V of the Journal, the 5th and the 6th chapters of the *Vṛttajātisamuccaya*, a treatise on Prakrit metres, have been edited here with introduction and notes.

ALFRED MASTER.—*Some Parallelisms in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian with especial reference to Marathi, Gujarati and Kanarese.*

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Journal of Indian History, vol. XI, pt. 1 (April, 1932)

W. H. MORELAND.—*Pieter van den Broeke at Surat (1620-29).* In continuation of the previous instalment, portions of the unpublished diary of Pieter van den Broeke who was an important figure in the early history of the Dutch East India Company have been translated here with annotations.

SURENDRANATH SEN.—*Half a Century of the Maratha Navy.* This portion of the continued article describes the activities of Kanhoji Angria and Sekhaji Angria in connection with the Maratha Navy during the years 1798-1633.

V. SRINIVASAN.—*The Dutch in India.*

R. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Early Pandyan Chronology.*

ABDUL AZIZ.—*History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān.* The imperial treasury at the time of Shāh Jahān is the subject-matter of this instalment.

Ibid., August, 1932.

K. G. SESHA IYER.—*A Chēra Royal Poet of the Śaṅgam Period.*

M. GOVINDA PAI.—*The Gupta and the Valabhi Eras.*

SRI RAMA SHARMA.—*Humayun and Maldev.*

W. H. MORELAND.—*Pieter van den Broeke at Surat (1620-29).* The translation of the diary concluded.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*The Beginning of Mir Qasim's disputes with the English.*

Journal of Oriental Research, April-June, 1932

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*The Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India.*

AMARNATH RAY.—*The Dakṣiṇāmūrti Hymn and the Mānasollāsa.* This is an attempt to connect the *Dakṣiṇamūrtistotra* and the *Vārtika* thereon called *Mānasollāsa* with the *Pratyabhijñā* literature of Kashmir. The *Stotra* and the *Vārtika* ascribed to Śaṅkara and his disciple Sureśvara respectively may in fact be the productions of Abhinavagupta and his disciple Kṣemarāja.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*History of Grammatical Theories in Tamiḻ.*

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī.* This paper draws attention to the names of several writers on Dramaturgy

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noticed by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the *Nāṭya-śāstra.*

N. AYYASWAMI.—*Extracts from Jayānanda's Commentary on the Madhyamakāvatāra, Chap. VI retranslated into Sanskrit from the Tibetan Version.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1932

B. G. BHATNAGAR.—*Local Self-Government in the Vedic Literature.*

RAGHU VIRA.—*The Chandonukramaṇī of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.* The first section of the work forming a part of the *Varāhapariśiṣṭas* has been edited.

Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute, vol. II, 1932

A. E. MAHON.—*Recent Archaeological Discoveries in India.*

GEORGES DE ROERICH.—*Studies in the Kālacakra.* The Kālacakra system, the mystic religious order of Tibet so important for the study of Central Asian Buddhism, has been described in this paper. The writer proposes to translate certain Tibetan texts on the Kālacakra doctrine and the Realm of Śambhala, whence the system is said to have been brought to India in the 10th century A. C.

Nāgarīpracārinī Patrikā (Hindi), vol. XIII, 1 & 2

KASHI PRASAD JAYSWAL.—(भारशिव राजवंश) *The Bhāraśiva Kings.* after the reduction of Brāhmaṇism to a very precarious position by the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa rulers in the early Christian era, there arose in India in c. 250 A.C. two dynasties of kings, the Vākāṭakas and the Bhāraśivas, who helped in the revival of Brāhmaṇism. It is stated in a Vākāṭaka copper-plate that the Bhāraśivas established their kingdom on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī and celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice for ten times. The well-known holy place of Daśāśvamedha in Benares is said to be associated with these kings. It is conjectured that the Bhāraśiva kingdom was situated near Benares and Allahabad.

GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OJHA.—(पद्मावत का सिंहल द्वीप) *The Siṃhala-dvīpa in the Padmāvata.* The Siṃhaladvīpa mentioned in the *Padmāvata* as the birth-place of Padminī of Chitor cannot be

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taken to be the Island of Ceylon. The place is to be identified with a village called Singoli situated 40 miles east of Chitor.

VASUDEV SHARAN AGRAWAL.—(मथुरा की बौद्ध कला) *The Buddhist Art at Mathurā.*

GURUPRASAD.—(संध्यक्षरों का अपूर्ण उच्चारण) *Incomplete Pronunciation of Dipthongs.*

GORELAL TEWARI.—(बुंदेलखंड का संक्षिप्त इतिहास) *A short History of Bundelkhand.* The paper is concluded in the 2nd issue of vol. XIII of the journal.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,
vol. XXIII, No. 1 (March, 1932)

V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO.—*South Indian Temples.* The writer traces the evolution of temple architecture from the Vedic times and describes its different styles found in Southern India.

K. NARAYANASWAMI IYER.—*Śrīvidyā.* This is an exposition of Śrīvidyā or the knowledge of the highest form of Śakti worship leading to salvation.

N. SUBBA RAO.—*Chikkadevarāja Wadeyar of Mysore and his Successors* (1673-1761).

K. G. SANKAR.—*The date of the Eleventh Paripadal.*

S. SRIKANLAYA.—*Heavenly Mansions of the Hindus.*

Philosophical Quarterly, July, 1932

E. AHMED SHAH.—*Appearance and Reality.* The writer argues that inspite of Śaṅkara's efforts to establish the illusory character of the world, it has not been conclusively established as commonly supposed.

ASHUTOSH SASTRI.—*Is Vedāntism Mysticism?*

P. MODI.—*Akṣara : A forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy.* The position of *akṣara* (the impersonal Immutable) described in early philosophical literature as a metaphysical principle has been dealt with in this paper.

SAILESWAR SEN.—*The Nature of Śabdapramāṇa in Vātsyāyana's Nyāyabhāṣya.*

J. N. SINHA.—*The Nature of Pramā.* The views of the Naiyāyikas, Jainas, Mīmāṃsakas, Śaṅkara-Vedāntists, Sāṅkhyas and Buddhists

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about the real nature of valid knowledge have been examined here.

Sāhitya-pariṣat-Patrikā (Bengali), vol. XXXIX, no. 2

NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI.—(লক্ষ্মণসেনের নবাবিষ্কৃত শক্তিপুর-শাসন ও প্রাচীন বঙ্গের ভৌগোলিক বিভাগ) *The newly discovered Śaktipur-Copper plate of Lakṣmaṇasena and the Geographical Divisions of old Bengal.* The extent of the Pauṇḍravardhana Bhukti and Vardhamāna Bhukti has been ascertained and an identification of the Kaṅkagrāma Bhukti mentioned in the copper-plate has been suggested.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI.—*An Account of the Newspapers of Bengal (1835-57)*

Tirumalai Śrī Venkaṭeśvara, vol. I, no. 1 (August, 1932)

P. V. JAGADISA IYER.—*Places of Antiquarian Interest in South India.*

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Two Cryptic Words in the Arthaśāstra.* The word *Kharapaṭa* which has been printed in the Mysore edition of the *Kauṭilīya* as *Kharapaṭṭa* and taken by the translator to be 'a procession of an ass' has been corrected into *Kharapaṭa.* By a reference to the Malayalam commentary and various other texts containing the word, *Kharapaṭa* has been settled to be the name of a work.

The name of a kind of coral is *Ālakandaka* in the Mysore edition. Bhaṭṭasvāmin calls it *Ālasāndraka* explaining it to be a product of the sea coast of the country named Alasandra in Barbara. But Bhikṣu Prabhumati, author of the *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* reads the word as *Ālaksāndraka* and explains it as the product of the region of Alaksāndra in *Yavana* country.

M. DORASWAMAYYA.—*Siṅgabhūpāla—His Date.*

T. A. VENKATESWARA DIKSHITAR.—*A Reply to Some of the Criticisms of Dr. Thibaut on Śaṅkara's Interpretation of the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa.*

V. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA.—*The Śilpasūtra of Nārada.* Edited.

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word Index) by A. Chinnaswami Sastri and A. Ramanatha Sastri. Benares 1932.

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Meghasandeśa of Kālidāsa with Mallinātha's commentary edited and translated into English by G. J. Somayaji. Madras.

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THE

Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. VIII DECEMBER, 1932 No. 4

NOTICE

It was announced that the December number of the Indian Historical Quarterly would be dedicated to the memory of the late Mm. H. P. Sastri, but on account of the larger size of the volume requiring more time for revision and printing, the March issue would be made the Memorial Number. We crave the indulgence of our subscribers and contributors for this alteration.

EDITOR.

to bear upon the general theme of literary Rasa, especially the Erotic Rasa. His two works, embodying what may be called the Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, constitute a kind of Rhetoric of Bhakti, with all its psychology, conceit and imagery. If the mediæval Troubadours of France and

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THE

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The Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism

Among the six immediate disciples of Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya, the so-called six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, to whom was left the task of elaborating and defining the doctrines, creeds and practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, the credit of first systematising its supreme religious emotion of Bhakti belongs to Rūpa Gosvāmin. Himself a poet and rhetorician, as well as a devout scholar and ascetic, he took up for treatment the emotional aspect of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, and gave an authoritative exposition of its psychology and rhetoric with all the enthusiasm of a scholastic, yet devout, mind.

In Rūpa Gosvāmin's two systematic Sanskrit works on the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra, viz., the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, the religious sentiment of Bhakti has been approximated to the supreme relish of literary enjoyment, known as Rasa, of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics. A new turn was thus given not only to the old Rasa-theory of conventional Poetics but also to the religious emotion underlying the older Vaiṣṇava faith. Rūpa Gosvāmin gives an elaborate exposition of the mediæval sentiment of Love, sublimated into a deeply religious sentiment, by bringing erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the general theme of literary Rasa, especially the Erotic Rasa. His two works, embodying what may be called the Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, constitute a kind of Rhetoric of Bhakti, with all its psychology, conceit and imagery. If the mediæval Troubadours of France and

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Italy conceived the love of Christ as an aspect of the Law and wrote a Grammar of amorous sentiment,[1] the mediæval Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal conceived the love of Kṛṣṇa as an aspect of Psychology, and wrote a Rhetoric of the erotic sentiment. As Bhakti is conceived as a Rasa, it was essentially of the nature of a subjective emotion. The literary Sahṛdaya, as the recipient connoisseur, was replaced by the religious Bhakta, the devotee of nice sensibility. The love of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-rati*) was installed as the dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) which, through its appropriate Excitants (*vibhāvas*), as well as Ensuants (*anubhāvas*) and auxiliary feelings (*vyabhicāri-bhāvas*), was raised to a supreme relishable condition in his susceptible mind as the Bhakti-rasa. For the working out of this novel idea the whole apparatus of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics was ingeniously utilised, although the orthodox rhetorician himself would not regard Bhakti as a Rasa, but as a Bhāva.[2] Our poet-

1 Dr. Ganga Charan Kar has already made an ingenious comparative study of this parallelism in a thesis which we hope he will soon publish. There are three other rhetorical works produced by Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, viz., *Nāṭaka-candrikā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, *Alaṃkāra kaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra and *Kāvya-candrikā* of Kavicandra. Although they occasionally bring in Vaiṣṇava ideas and choose illustrative verses of a Vaiṣṇavite character, they are not directly concerned with Bhakti-rasa, but are regular rhetorical treatises composed on conventional lines (See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, pp. 254-259). As such they need not be taken into account here. Jīva Gosvāmin also devotes a considerable part of his *Prīti-sandarbha* (ed. Prāṇa Gopāla Gosvāmin, Calcutta, B.S. 1337) to the subject of Bhakti as a Rasa, following in general the analysis of Rūpa Gosvāmin. Jīva's treatment, however, is somewhat different, for he brings in a great deal of theological and metaphysical matter to explain the subject. The same remarks apply also to his *Bhakti-sandarbha*, which incidentally refers to the topics of Bhakti as a Rasa. As he keeps closely to Rūpa's exposition of the subject in its general outline, it is not necessary for us to analyse Jīva's treatment in detail here. We shall content ourselves with noting only striking points from it, relevant to our subject. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's exposition of the doctrine of Bhakti in his Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xix etc., is nothing more than a summary of Rūpa Gosvāmin's two Sanskrit works, and need not, therefore, be separately considered.

2 The terms *rasa* and *bhāva* are difficult to translate, but they have been rendered respectively by the terms 'sentiment' and 'emotion.' For the distinction, as well as for the difficulty of rendering these terms by modern critical vocabulary, see my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, pp. 168-70, 325-26 and 349-51. These remarks also apply to the rendering of other technical terms of the Rasa-śāstra, which often

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rhetorician, who was also an ardent devotee, follows very closely (even though his peculiar theme makes him depart in detail) the general outlines of the orthodox scheme of Poetics, adopting its main ideas and technicalities but making them applicable to the conception of emotional Bhakti. Not content with theoretical analysis, Rūpa Gosvāmin also took the trouble of writing a number of devotional poems and dramas and compiling an anthology on Kṛṣṇa-līlā for the special purpose of illustrating his theme. Every detail of his elaborate analysis is freely illustrated by more than six hundred quotations from these works, as well as very largely from current sentimental and religious literature.

For a proper understanding of this Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa, as expressed in its literary and religious productions, it would be necessary, therefore, to appreciate the fundamentals as well as the details of this presentation of Bhakti as a psychological entity, as a literary-erotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment, which is intensely pesonal and is yet impersonalised into

indicate shades of meaning or concepts for which it is sometimes difficult to find a modern equivalent. Such terms have been translated or explained, as far as possible, in accordance to their actual definitions in the texts. The question whether Bhakti is Rasa or Bhāva is more or less academic, but it has been discussed at some length by Jagannātha in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* (ed. Kāvyamālā, 1913, p. 45). In the opinion of orthodox rhetoricians, it is *devādi-viṣayā rati* and therefore a Bhāva, and not a complete Rasa. Some advanced thinkers, however, would admit the Vātsalya, Preyas, Śraddhā, and even Bhakti as a Rasa; but this admission was probably made in later times through the influence of Vaiṣṇava theory itself. Jagannātha, one of the latest writers, however, represents the general orthodox attitude. He adds further that, being based on Anurāga or attachment, Bhakti cannot, as some maintain to the contrary, be comprehended in Śānta Rasa. Replying to this, Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-sandarbha*, p. 673-4) remarks that the phrase *devādi* means "ordinary gods" and does not apply to the supreme Kṛṣṇa; and that Bhakti, along with its Vibhāvas etc., is in its own nature *alaukika*, and therefore conforms to the rhetoricians' requirements (*yat tu prākṛta-rasikai rasa-sāmagrī-virahād bhaktau rasatvaṃ neṣṭaṃ, tat khalu prākṛta-devādi-viṣayam eva sambhavet ..... tathā tatra kāraṇādayaḥ svata evālaukikādbhuta-rūpatvena darśitā darśanīyāś ca*). Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also discusses this question in the same strain in his *Bhagavad-bhakti-rasāyana* (ed. Benares, 1927, ii, 75-80), but he adds that Bhakti as a Rasa is *svānubhava-siddha* and therefore incapable of direct proof.

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a mental condition of disinterested joy. But the attitude is a curious mixture of the literary, the erotic and the religious, and the entire scheme as such is an extremely complicated one. There is an enthusiasm, natural to the analytic scholastic mind, for elaborate and subtle psychologising, as well as for developing and refining the inherited rhetorical traditions; but the attempt is also inspired very largely by an antecedent and still living poetic experience (Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala), which found expression also in the vernacular poetry (Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa), as well as by the simple piety of popular religion which reflected itself in the conceptions of such Purāṇas as the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, the fountain source of mediæval Vaiṣṇava Bhakti. But it goes further and rests ultimately on the transcendental in personal religious experience of an emotional character, which does not indeed deny the senses but goes beyond their pale.

In the following pages we propose to give a general survey of the Rasa-śāstra of Caitanyaism by a rapid analysis of the two works of Rūpa Gosvāmin mentioned above, which form the chief original authorities on the emotionalism of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The quaint figurative title of the first work, which means "The Sea of the Nectar of Devotional Sentiment" (*Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*), is fairly appropriate in designating an abstruse treatise of bewildering proportions and of boundless depths of analytical acumen. The *quinta essentia* of the devotional sentiment is the Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa, by which is meant, in terms of Vaiṣṇava emotionalism, the Śṛṅgāra or Erotic sentiment of Kṛṣṇa as the ideal hero, the term Ujjvala (=bright) having been apparently suggested by Bharata's description[3] of the Rasa, and Madhura characterising its sweet and intoxicating character. But sufficient justice could not be done to this essential sentiment in a work which crowds in its broad scope the various subtle moods and aspects of Bhakti in all its maze of sinuous detail. The next work, the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, therefore, is offered as a supplement which strictly confines itself to this topic of Vaiṣṇava amatory psychology; and its

3 The *Nāṭya-śāstra* (ed. Grosset, pp. 89-90): *yat kiñcit loke śuci medhyaṃ ujjvalaṃ vā tac chṛṅgāreṇopamīyate.*

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strange poetical title, with its obvious pun, indicates that the Ujjvala Rasa, being the bright sapphire (*nīlamaṇi*) borne out of the depths of the Sea of the Nectar of Religious Devotion, is to be embalmed as a name or symbol of the Lord of sapphire-like radiance in a work bearing this blessed name.

The Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu

The *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*[4] is divided into four parts (*vibhāgas*), respectively entitled Pūrva, Dakṣiṇa, Paścima and Uttara,—a veritable quadrangular scheme of a strange world of spiritual experience. Each part is divided into *Laharīs* (waves) in keeping with the figurative title of the work. Like all scholastic writers, Rūpa Gosvāmin delights in elaborate definitions, fine distinctions and minute classifications of the devotional sentiment in all its moods, phases, adjuncts and situations; but the master-analyst is seen in the firm grip not only upon the subtle details of the whole gamut of a peculiar religious emotionalism, but also upon its fundamentals, both in theoretical conception and in its practical realisation.

The Pūrva-vibhāga, consisting of four Laharīs, gives a preliminary discussion of the different types of Bhakti. The first Laharī discusses Bhakti in general (*Sāmānya-bhakti*); the second gives an exposition of *Sādhana-bhakti* (Bhakti attainable by special external Effort) and its two varieties, Vaidhī and Rāgānugā; the third deals with *Bhāva-bhakti* (Bhakti resulting from spontaneous inward Emotion); and the fourth treats generally of *Prema-bhakti* (Bhakti ripened into a sentiment of Love).

In the first Laharī, the *Sāmānya-bhakti* (Religious Devotion in general) is distinguished from the *Uttamā Bhakti* or the highest Religious Devotion, which is defined as harmonious (*ānukūlyena*) pursuit

4 Our references are to the Murshidabad edition of the work (Rādhāraman Press, Berhampore) in Bengali character, published in 1331 B.S. (=1924 A.D.), with the commentary, entitled *Durgama-saṅgamanī*, of Jīva Gosvāmin. Viśvanātha Cakravartin (d. about 1754 A.D.), who himself is said to have composed a commentary on this work as well as on the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, also wrote summaries or surveys of these two works, entitled respectively *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa* (ed. Prāṇagopāla Gosvāmin, Navadvīpa, 1333 B.S. = 1926 A.D. in Bengali character).

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of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇānuśīlana*), freed from all other desire (*anyābhilāṣa-śūnya*) and unconditioned by cognition and will (*jñāna-karmādyanāvṛta*). The commentary of Jīva Gosvāmin explains that the word 'harmonious' implies that the pursuit should be such as is agreeable to Kṛṣṇa and should not be perverse or contrary; that 'all other desire' refers to desire for worldly enjoyment (*bhoga-vāsanā*) and desire for liberation (*mokṣa-vāsanā*), which are thus excluded; that 'cognition' means the knowledge of the identity of Brahma and Jīva (*nirbheda-brahmānusandhāna*) which is hardly suited to an attitude of Bhakti, and that 'will' refers to such compulsory and occasional duties as are enjoined by the orthodox Smṛtis (*smṛtyādyukta-naimittikādi*), and not the acts of worship relating to Kṛṣṇa (*bhajanīya-paricaryādi*). Rūpa Gosvāmin himself establishes later on (p. 151f.) that Karma itself is not an *aṅga* or means of Bhakti, nor is Jñāna or Vairāgya. Wealth etc. are also not *aṅgas*, because by themselves they can never produce Bhakti; nor are the virtues of self-control (*yama*) or purity (*śuci*), because they come naturally to the true devotee. True Vairāgya or Renunciation is that which, without any attachment (*anāsakta*) enjoys all worldly objects properly (*yathārha*) and results in an eagerness in relation to Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-saṃbandhe nirbandhaḥ*); but that is Phalgu Vairāgya, unsuited to Bhakti, by which one desirous of liberation (*mumukṣu*) renounces, through *prākṛta-buddhi*, all objects in relation to the deity. Neither is worldly attachment (*bhoga*), nor liberation (*mokṣa*) the true object of Bhakti, although neither is in itself inconsistent with Bhakti (p. 61).[5] The section then proceeds to discuss and illustrate in detail the six characteristics of the Uttamā Bhakti, viz., (1) capacity for removing suffering (*kleśaghnatva*). Suffering may be due to sin (*pāpa*), to desire, the seed of sin (*pāpa-bīja*), or to nescience (*avidyā*). The fruits of sin may have either begun to mature (*prārabdha*) or not begun (*aprārabdha*). All these are removed by

5 Jīva Gosvāmin goes further and lays down (*Tattva-sandarbha*, ed. Murshidabad, 1910, p. 112) that Jñāna and Karma themselves depend upon Bhakti (*jñānades tu bhakti-sāpekṣatvam eva*), i.e. there cannot be any true cognition and will without Bhakti. Again, he establishes (*Bhakti-sandarbha*, ed. Gauḍīya Maṭha, Calcutta, p. 65): *bhaktyaiva jñānaṃ siddhyati*.

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Uttamā Bhakti; (2) capacity for bestowing good (*śubhadatva*), producing either good qualities (*sadguṇa*) or happiness (*sukha*); (3) capacity for producing indifference to liberation (*mokṣa-laghutā-kāritva*); (4) difficulty of attaintment (*sudurlabhatva*); (5) essential identity with a particular mood of compact happiness (*sāndrānanda-viśeṣātmatā*), which is infinitely higher than the happiness of attaining Brahma; (6) capacity for attracting and keeping under control (*vaśīkaraṇa*) Kṛṣṇa himself (*śrī-kṛṣṇākarṣaṇatva*). Of these characteristics, (1) and (2) belong conspicuously to Sādhana-bhakti, (3) and (4) to Bhāva-bhakti, (5) and (6) to Prema-bhakti; but as each of these three forms of Uttamā Bhakti constitutes also stages of realisation, the first four really belong to Bhāva-bhakti and all the six to Prema-bhakti. Although all beings are eligible for Bhakti (p. 65), the Adhikārin or person fit to receive it is one who has faith in Kṛṣṇa (*jāta-śraddha*) and who is neither too much attached (*nātisakta*) nor too indifferent (*na nirviṇṇa*) to the world.

Of the three forms of Uttamā Bhakti, viz., Sādhana-bhakti, Bhāva-bhakti and Prema-bhakti, the next section proceeds to deal with the first, the Sādhana-bhakti. It is defined as Bhakti realisable by the senses (*kṛti-sādhya*; *kṛti*=the senses)[6] and not by *bhāva* or inward emotion, of which, however, it is a means (*sādhya-bhāvo*, explained as *sādhyo bhāvo yayā sā*). It is said to have been explained in *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, vii, 1, and may be either Vaidhī or Rāgānugā, both of which are forms of Bhakti attained by extraneous means and ways. The Vaidhī Sādhana-bhakti occurs where the impulse to devotional acts comes

6 Lest the word *sādhya* 'realisable' should mislead, Rūpa Gosvāmin adds that Bhakti is *nitya-siddha* (eternally existing), but by *sādhya* is merely meant its manifestation (*nitya-siddhasya bhāvasya prākaṭyaṃ hṛdi sādhyatā*). Jīva Gosvāmin explains that Bhakti is *nitya-siddha*, because it is an aspect of the Svarūpa-Śakti or Intrinsic Energy of the Bhagavat, but this metaphysical explanation which Jīva Gosvāmin dilates upon in his *Bhakti-sandarbha* need not concern us here. What it implies is that the Sādhana of Bhakti is merely an already existing and natural impulse of bliss and love in man as a reflex of the attribute of infinite bliss and love in the Bhagavat (see *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Madhya, xxii, 103-4:

श्रवणादि क्रिया तार स्वरूपलक्षण। तटस्थलक्षणे उपजये प्रेमधन॥ नित्यसिद्ध कृष्णप्रेम साध्य कभु नय। श्रवणादि शुद्धचित्ते करये उदय॥)

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entirely from the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra (*śāstrasya śāsanenaiva*) and where the state of Rāga is not reached (*rāgānavāptatvāt*).[7] Viśvanātha Cakravartin explains that by the term Śāstra is meant exclusively the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* which enjoins acts of devotion (*tac ca śāstraṃ bhajana-pratipādakaṃ śrībhāgavatam eva*).[8] As this type of Bhakti follows the *vidhi* or injunction of the Śāstra, it is sometimes called Maryādā-mārga or the Way of Convention. The Aṅgas or means of Vaidhī having already been defined in detail in the *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, Rūpa Gosvāmin contents himself by a reference to that work, briefly summarising them as sixty-four in number and illustrating them from the scriptures. These are acts like resorting to the spiritual teacher (*guru-pādāśraya*); initiation and instruction by him (*dīkṣā-śikṣādi*); serving the spiritual teacher with confidence (*viśrambhena guru-sevā*); following the example of saintly persons (*sādhu-vartmānuvartana*); enquiry into the true *dharma* (*saddharma-pṛcchā*); renunciation of worldly enjoyment for the sake of Kṛṣṇa (*bhogādi-tyāgaḥ kṛṣṇasya hetave*); dwelling in places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) like Dvārakā, Mathurā or the banks of the Ganges; abjuring books (with the exception of the scriptures) and of the practice of the various arts and controversy (*bahu-grantha-kalābhyāsa-vyākhyā-vāda-vivarjana*); putting on the signs of a Vāiṣṇava (*vaiṣṇava-cihna-dhāraṇa*); writing the name of Hari on the body by means of sandal etc. (*hari-nāmākṣara-dhāraṇa*); prostrate obeisance (*daṇḍavan natiḥ*); worship (*arcanā*); going round the image of the deity (*parikramā*); repeating (*japa*), singing (*gīta*) or recital (*saṃkīrtana*) of the name of the Lord; partaking of the offerings made to the deity (*naivedyāsvāda*) and of the water of his holy feet (*pādyāsvāda*); observing *ekādaśī* or other days of fasting, attending the Birth-festival (*janmāṣṭamī*) etc.; constantly resorting to the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, the Tulasī plant, Mathurā and the Vaiṣṇava devotees, all of which are dear to the Lord; and so forth. Of these the first three ways of cultivation are, however, declared to be of special value; but Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-*

7 *śravaṇa-kīrtanādīni śāstra-śāsana-bhayena yadi kriyante tadā vaidhī bhaktiḥ*, Viśvanātha Cakravartin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-vindu*, p. 11.

8 *op. cit.* p. 14.

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caritāmṛta (Madhya, xxi, 125) distinguishes five, viz., the society of saintly persons (*sādhu-saṅga*), the chanting of Kṛṣṇa's name (*nāma-kīrtana*), listening to the reading of the *Bhāgavata* (*bhāgavata-śravaṇa*), dwelling at Mathurā (*mathurā-vāsa*), reverential service of his image (*śrī-mūrtir śraddhāye sevana*), i.e. fellowship, song, scripture, pilgrimage and image worship. Any one of these modes, even a little of the five, can evoke Bhakti. The Vaidhī Sādhana-bhakti, which consists of these positive acts and practices of piety and which is described as 'worship by the body, the senses and the mind' (*kāya-hṛṣīkāntaḥ-karaṇānām upāsanā*), also involves, negatively, the avoidance of the so-called *Sevāparādhas* (offences relating to worship) and *Nāmāparādhas* (offences relating to the name of the Lord). The commentary gives (p. 89) a list of thirty-two Sevāparādhas, to which are added twenty-three more from the *Varāha-purāṇa* and ten again from some other source. These consist of offences like entering the temple in a conveyance, or with one's shoes on, or without washing one's feet; not observing the festivals of the Lord; not doing obeisance; eating what is not offered to the deity; not observing silence during worship, etc. The Nāmāparādhas are the logical result of the theory of the efficacy of the blessed name (*nāma-māhātmya*). They are given as ten in number by the commentary (pp. 93-94) and include such offences as unwillingness to listening to the *māhātmya* of the name, equalising the *nāma-māhātmya* to the merit of other pious acts, instruction in the subject to persons devoid of faith, etc. Then the section proceeds to lay down that the Vaidhī Bhakti may be *ekāṅga*, i.e. attainable by means of one *aṅga* only (e.g. Parīkṣit by hearing, Śukadeva by reciting, Arjuna by friendship, Hanūmat by service, Prahlāda by recollection, Bali by self-surrender, etc., as in *Padyāvalī* 53), or it may be *anekāṅga* or attainable by more than one *aṅga* (e.g. Ambarīṣa).

But passionate souls soon pass beyond outward rule and form to an inner and more esoteric way of realisation. The second type of Sādhana-bhakti, named Rāgānugā, is so called because it follows (*anugā*) the trend of the devotion and attachment (*Rāgātmikā Bhakti*) of the people of Vraja who stood in actual relation to Kṛṣṇa.[9] Rāga is

9 *virājantīm abhivyaktaṃ vraja-vāsi-janādiṣu /*
rāgātmikām anusṛtā yā sā rāgānugocyate // p. 162.

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defined as the natural, deep and inseparable absorption (*sārasvikī tanmayī parāviṣṭatā*) in the desired object (*iṣṭa*), viz., Kṛṣṇa. The Rāgānugā is distinguished from the Vaidhī (p. 173-75) inasmuch as in the Vaidhī the realisation is through the injunction of the Śāstra, but here it is through the greed (*lobha*) of realising the feelings of the people of Vraja.[10] It consists of devoted meditation or recollection (*smaraṇa*) of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones (*preṣṭha*), and living either physically or mentally[11] in Vraja as a Sādhaka or as a Siddha, following the ways of Vraja-loka (*vraja-lokānusāratah*) with a desire to realise the same state of emotion (*tadbhāva-lipsā*). One desirous of this way of realisation will adopt the particular *bhāva* (e.g. Rādhā-bhāva, Sakhī-bhāva, etc.) of the particular favourite of Kṛṣṇa according to his or her līlā, veśa and svabhāva, and live in the ecstasy of that vicarious enjoyment. The feeling is achieved chiefly by *smaraṇa* or recollection (*rāgānugāyāṃ smaraṇasya mukhyatvam*), a concentrated imaginative process which is supposed to be more effective for a mystic union with the beloved object. It is indeed not achieved by the direct injunction of the Śāstra, but it does not also arise spontaneously in one's own self. It is engendered by imitating the action and effort of those connected with Kṛṣṇa and is thus a phase of Sādhana-bhakti attainable by extraneous ways.[12] It is, however, governed by no Śāstric

Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*op. cit.* pp. 11-12) explains: *nijābhimata-vraja-rāja-nandanasya sevā-prāpti-lobhena yadi tāni* (=*śravaṇa-kīrtanādīni*) *kriyante tadā rāgānugā bhaktiḥ.*

10 Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*op. cit.* p. 15) explains: *vraja-līlā-parikarastha-śṛṅgārādi-bhāva-mādhurye śrute idaṃ mamāpi bhūyād iti lobhotpatti-kāle śāstra-yuktyapekṣā na syāt.*

11 *kuryād vāsaṃ vraje sadā* (p. 174). The commentary explains: *sāmarthye sati vraje.....śarīreṇa vāsaṃ kuryāt, tadabhāve manasāpītyarthaḥ.*

12 The Rāgānugā Bhakti is explained in greater detail by Viśvanātha Cakravartin in his *Rāga-vartma-candrikā* (ed. as above), where (p. 69) as an example of *sādhaka*, Rūpa Gosvāmin himself is mentioned, and as *siddha* Rūpa-mañjarī of Vraja, of whom Rūpa Gosvāmin is supposed in Vaiṣṇava hagiology to have been an incarnation, and whose *bhāva* he is supposed to have realised. In *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (śl. 180-186) we are told that of the beloved Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa, Rūpa-mañjarī became incarnated as Rūpa Gosvāmin, Lāvaṇya-mañjarī as Sanātana Gosvāmin, Rati-mañjarī as Raghunātha Dāsa, Guṇa-mañjarī as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Vilāsa-mañjarī as Jīva Gosvāmin, and Rasa-mañjarī as Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa. In this way a complete scheme of reincarnation of the

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rules whatever, even if they are not necessarily discarded; but it follows the natural inclination of the heart. The devotee by his ardent meditation not only seeks to visualise and make the whole Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa live before him, but he enters into it imaginatively, and by playing the part of a beloved of Kṛṣṇa, he experiences vicariously the passionate feelings which are so vividly pictured in the literature.

As the Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the ancient people of Vraja is the model or source (*ādarśa*) of Rāgānugā, it is analysed and explained in detail. The Rāgātmikā way arises from desire (*kāma*, e.g. the Gopīs), enmity (*dveṣa*, e.g. Kaṃsa), fear (*bhaya*, e.g. Śiśupāla), or affection (*sneha*, e.g. the Yādavas). But enmity and fear with reference to Kṛṣṇa, being uncongenial, may be left aside; and affection (*sneha*) being a form of fellowship (*sakhya*) would come under the Vaidhī, or being an aspect of *preman* (love) does not come at all under Sādhana-bhakti. Hence, the Rāgātmikā Bhakti may be either

(i) Kāma-rūpā, consisting of a desire for enjoyment (*sambhoga-tṛṣṇā*) inspired by an exclusive effort to please Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-saukhyārtham eva kevalam udyamaḥ*), and resulting in Preman or love found only in the Gopīs (*vraja-devīṣu*). The attitude of the Kubjā is described as *kāma-prāyā* (and not *kāma-rūpā*) *rati*, for (as explained later in the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*) the enjoyment here is as much for oneself as for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa.

(ii) Sambandha-rūpā, consisting of a sense of relationship (as father, mother, friend etc.) to Kṛṣṇa. It is found, for instance, in Nanda, Yaśodā, the Gopas etc.

Following these two aspects, the Rāgānugā Bhakti may be either

(i) Kāmānugā, which may again be either desire for enjoyment inspired by a sense of Kṛṣṇa's sport (*keli-tātparyavatī*

Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa as Gaṇas of Caitanya is elaborated in the work quoted. This conception of the prominent Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnations chiefly of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, is based probably on the doctrine which regards Kṛṣṇa as the sole male and maintains that worshippers can fully realise passionate devotion only when they conceive themselves as females. This is indeed a curious development of the theory of Rāgānugā Bhakti; but of this there is no trace in the works of the six Gosvāmins themselves.

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sambhogecchāmayī), or a desire to realise those particular Bhāvas (*tat-tad-bhāvecchātmikā*) of particular Gopīs, especially the erotic emotion (*bhāva-mādhurya-kāmitā*). The *Padma-purāṇa*, one of the authoritative works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, is cited to support the view that even men can follow this way of the love of the Gopīs, for in the Mathurā-māhātmya of the Purāṇa it is said that the Munis of Daṇḍaka, out of their curiosity to enjoy the sport of Kṛṣṇa, became incarnated as Gopīs of Vṛndāvana.

(ii) Sambandhānugā, in which the devotee seeks to realise the feelings of personal relationship (e.g. as father, brother, friend etc.) to Kṛṣṇa.

The Rāgānugā Bhakti is sometimes called the Way of Fulfilment (Puṣṭi-mārga), because it seeks the grace of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones.

The third Laharī takes up the second type of Uttamā Bhakti, viz., Bhāva-bhakti, which is really a further maturing of the Sādhana-bhakti (*sādhana-paripākena*, as Viśvanātha Cakravartin puts it), but may also develop independently through the grace of Kṛṣṇa or his Bhaktas (*kṛṣṇa-kṛpayā tad-bhakta-kṛpayā vā*). It may, therefore, either be (i) *Sādhanābhiniveśaja*, the Sādhana way of worship being again either the Vaidhī or the Rāgānugā, as described above, (ii) *Kṛṣṇa-prasādaja*, due to the personal favour or grace of Kṛṣṇa, either through his word (*vācika*), his bestowal of light (*āloka-dāna*), or his cordiality (*hārda*), or (iii) *Kṛṣṇa-bhakta-prasādaja*, due to the grace of the followers of Kṛṣṇa. The cases (ii) and (iii) require no special effort, but they are rarely to be met with.

This Bhāva-bhakti is devotion based on inward emotion (*bhāva*), which has not yet reached the stage of the sentiment (*rasa*) of Love or Preman. It may be born of Sādhana-bhakti, but it is not the direct result of extraneous ways and means, and arises spontaneously as a personal feeling, although this feeling has not yet ripened into Prema-bhakti. It is defined as consisting of a particular pure feeling (*śuddha-sattva-viśeṣa*), which partakes of the nature of the first dawn of love (*prema-sūryāṃśu-sāmya-bhāk*)[13] and brings a smoothness of the mind

13 Explained in the commentary as *premṇaḥ prathama-cchavi-rūpaḥ*.

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(*citta-māsṛṇya-kṛt*), arising from relish (ruci). This relish, as the commentary explains, may take the form of a desire for the deity (*bhagavat-prāptyabhilāṣa*), for his favour (*tad-ānukūlyābhilāṣa*) or for his friendship (*tat-sauhārdābhilāṣa*). The following attendant efforts (*anubhāvas*) occur as signs whenever there is a sprouting of this form of Bhakti, viz., placidity of mind (*kṣānti*), an effort to apply one's time in the successful realisation of this feeling (*avyartha-kālatā*), distaste for the objects of senses (*virakti*) lack of pride (*māna-śūnyatā*), bond of hope (*āśā-bandha*), eagerness (*samutkaṇṭhā*), taste for singing the name of the deity (*nāma-gāne ruciḥ*), desire for the recital of the attributes of the deity (*tad-guṇa-vyākhyāne āsaktiḥ*), and pleasure in the place where the Lord lived, e.g. Mathurā, Vraja etc. (*tad-vasati-sthale prītiḥ*).

The semblance (and not the reality) of this feeling of attachment (*ratyābhāsa*) is then described as taking the form either of (i) Reflection or Pratibimba, attainable without much difficulty, where one or two characteristic signs (like tears etc.) appear, but where the thirst for worldly enjoyment (*bhoga*) and liberation (*mokṣa*) still remains, or (ii) Shadow or Chāyā, consisting of a little short-lived curiosity, and bearing some resemblance to the real *rati*. But this Ābhāsa or Apparent Feeling, we are told (p. 208), may all of a sudden be converted into the real feeling. It is also interesting to note that the form of worship which believes in an essential identity of the worshipper and the worshipped (Bhajanīyésa-bhāvatā or Ahaṃgrāha-upāsanā) and which is affected, for instance, by the Advaita-vādins, is considered to be an Ābhāsa only.

The fourth or last Laharī of the Pūrva-vibhāga gives a general exposition of the third and highest type of Uttamā Bhakti, viz. Prema-bhakti, which is really a further direct ripening of the Bhāva-bhakti itself (*bhāva-bhakti-paripāka eva*, Viśvanātha). It occurs when the *bhāva* or emotion has developed into (*sāndrātmā*) a sentiment of love (*preman*); it makes the soul entirely smooth (*samyaṅ-masṛṇa-svānta*) and is marked by an exclusive and loving attachment (*ananya-mamatā*). It may develop from either the Vaidha Bhāva or the Rāgānuga Bhāva, but it may also originate from the grace (*prasāda*) of the deity. The grace may be either pure, i.e. not dependent on any other circumstance (*kevala*), or the result of the knowledge of his greatness (*māhātmya-jñāna*), the former being Rāgānuga and the latter following the Vaidha

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Mārga. The sequence by which this devotional love or Prema-bhakti develops is given thus: Faith (*śraddhā*)>companionship of saintly persons (*sādhu-saṅga*)>acts of worship (*bhajana-kriyā*)>withdrawal from unworthy objects (*anartha-nivṛtti*)>devotedness (*niṣṭhā*)>relish (*ruci*)>attachment (*āsakti*)>emotion (*bhāva*)>love (*preman*).

Having thus given a preliminary analysis and exposition of the different types of Bhakti, the rest of the work proceeds to consider and analyse Bhakti as a Rasa. The Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deals with its *sthāyi-bhāva* and describes its development by means of its appropriate *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas*, *sāttvikas* and *vyabhicārins*, which are described in some detail; the Paścima treats of what are called the five Mukhya or Primary Bhakti Rasas; and the last or Uttara Vibhāga is devoted to the study of the seven Gauṇa or Secondary Bhakti Rasa, of the opposition of the Rasas, and of Apparent Rasas or Rasābhāsas.

The five Laharīs of the Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deal respectively with the Excitants (*vibhāvas*), the Ensuants (*anubhāvas*), the involuntarily expressed feelings (*sāttvika bhāvas*, which in later Poetics are kinds of *anubhāvas*), and the Auxiliary Feelings (*vyabhicāri-bhāvas*), as well as the dominant or permanent feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) in relation to Bhakti conceived as a Rasa. Although orthodox Poetics itself would not, strictly speaking, regard Bhakti as a Rasa, the nomenclature and treatment are borrowed from orthodox Poetics and applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Vaiṣṇava conception of Bhakti as a Rasa. The technicalities are the same, but of course the analysis in detail is entirely novel and ingenious.[14]

Of this Bhakti Rasa the dominant underlying emotion (*sthāyi-bhāva*) is supposed to be the feeling of Kṛṣṇa himself and his dear ones

14 Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Prīti-sandarbha* introduces further refinement into the accepted theory regarding the origin and development of Rasa. He maintains, for instance, that the *alaukikatva* of Vibhāvas etc. and of the Sthāyin is possible only in Kṛṣṇa-rati, and not in the *laukika* Kāvyas which deal with the love of ordinary heroes and heroines. If the Vibhāvas etc. appear as *alaukika* in an ordinary Kāvya, it is not natural, but is due only to the cleverness of the poet's composition (p. 574). He also maintains that in Kṛṣṇa-rati, the *locus* of the Rasa is not only in the audience (Sāmājika, here the Bhakta) but also in the *anukārya* (the deity represented, viz., Kṛṣṇa) and in the *anukartṛ*, who may sometimes be the Bhakta himself (pp. 594f.).

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(*kṛṣṇa-rati*), which by means of the Excitants (*vibhāvas*) etc. is raised to a state of relish (*svādyatām*) in the Bhakta or the devotee, who stands for the literary Sāmājika or Sahṛdaya. As in the theory of the Rasa-dvani school of orthodox Poetics, the latent germ of this feeling (*vāsanā* of *sad-bhakti*) is presumed in the heart of the Bhakta, either as acquired from previous births (*prāktanī*) or as due to present experience (*adhunikī*); and the process of the awakening of Rasa runs along the familiar grooves of Alaṃkāra expression. Against the nine conventional Rasas of Sanskrit Poetics, Rūpa Gosvāmin mentions twelve, but seven of these are regarded as secondary. Of the five primary Rasas, he practically gives prominence to one, viz., the Erotic (Śṛṅgāra). In this attitude he resembles Bhoja. Unlike Bhoja, however, our author evaluates it in terms of Vaiṣṇava devotion.

Hence, the definitions of Excitants (*vibhāvas*) etc. are *mutatis mutandis*, the same. Without going into the detailed technicalities, a general outline of the scheme of Excitants (*vibhāvas*) etc. may be given here in a tabular form. There are inevitable departures in the detailed working out (especially in the analysis and classification of the Sthāyi-bhāva and the Rasa), and these, wherever important, will also be noted.

1. The *Vibhāvas* (Excitants) which make the dominant emotion (*sthāyi-bhāva*) Kṛṣṇa-rati, capable of being relished (*ratyāsvāda-hetavaḥ*).

Two kinds: the Substantial (Ālambana) and the Enhancing (Uddīpana).

1. The Substantial Excitant or Ālambana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which consists of such material ground and object of the emotion as the hero, his dear ones, his adjuncts etc., may be represented as follows:

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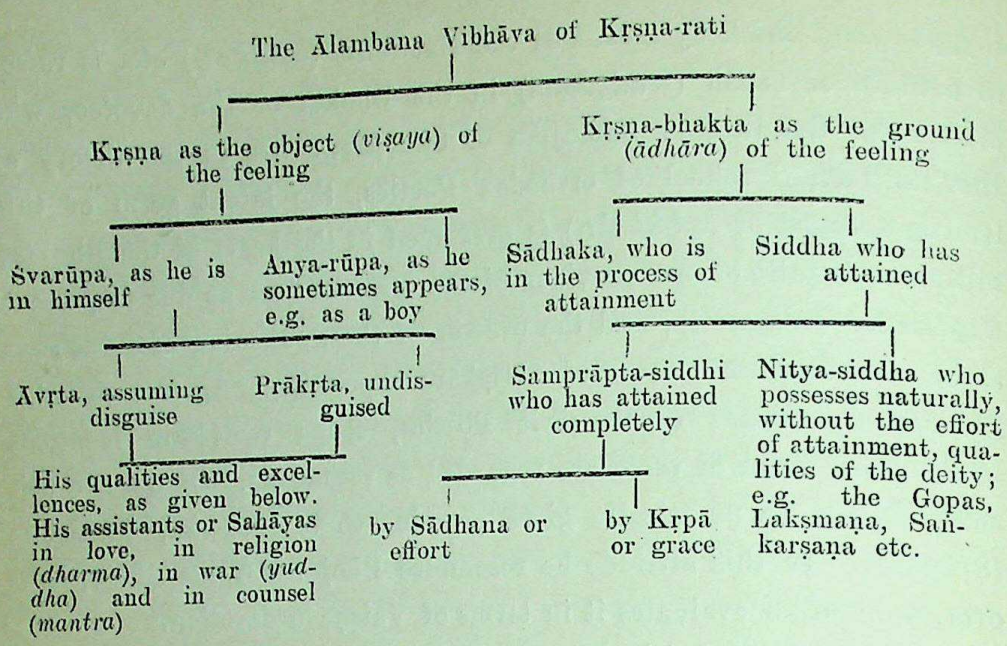

Kṛṣṇa is again conceived as the most complete (*pūrṇatama*) in Vraja, more complete (*pūrṇatara*) in Mathurā, and complete (*pūrṇa*) in Dvārakā. Viewed as an ideal hero he is, following orthodox Poetics, (i) brave and high-spirited (*dhīrodātta*), (ii) brave and haughty (*dhīroddhata*), (iii) brave and sportive (*dhīra-lalita*) and (iv) brave and serene (*dhīra-praśānta*).

His sixty-four (50+5+5+4) qualities, physical, mental and spiritual, are elaborately defined and illustrated (pp. 229-332). His fifty qualities are: Susamyāṅga (possessing fine symmetrical limbs), sarva-sallakṣaṇānvita (possessed of all the excellent lakṣaṇas or characteristics), rucira (good-looking), tejasvin (powerful and shining), balīyas (strong), vayo'nvita (youthful), vividhādbhuta-bhāṣāvit (acquainted with many and strange languages), satya-vāc (truthful), priyaṃvada (capable of pleasant speech), vāvadūka (expert in conversation), supāṇḍitya (learned and wise), buddhimat (intelligent), pratibhānvita (possessed of genius), vidagdha (well-versed in the arts), catura (ingenious), dakṣa (dextereous and quick), kṛtajña (grateful), sudṛḍha-vrata (resolute), deśa-kāla-supātrajña (possessing a knowledge of fit time, place and object), śāstra-cakṣus (acting according to the śāstra), sthira (steadfast), śuci (pure and purifying), vaśin (continent), dānta (capable of suffering), kṣamā-śīla (forgiving). gambhīra (profound), dhṛtimat (contented and placid), sama (equable), vadānya (liberal in gift), dhārmika (dutiful), śūra (brave), karuṇa (compassionate), mānya-māna-kṛt (respectful), vinayin (humble), dakṣiṇa (amiable and well-behaved), hrīmat (modest), śaraṇāgata-pālaka (protector), sukhin (happy), bhakta-suhṛt (friend of the devotee), prema-vaśya (controllable by love), sarva-śubhaṅkara (beneficent to all), pratāpin (subjugator of enemies), kīrtimat (famous), rakta-loka (popular), sādhu-samaśraya (partial to the good)), nārī-gaṇa-manohārin (charmer of women), sarvārādhya (pre-eminently adorable), samṛddhimat (prosperous), varīyas

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(the pre-eminent) and īśvara (independent and supreme). The five additional qualities are: sadā-svarūpa-samprāpta (unconditioned), sarvajña (omniscient), nitya-nūtana (ever new), sac-cidānanda-sāndrāṅga (having a self-existent, self-conscious, blissful form), sarva-siddhi-niṣevita (possessed of all powers and perfection). These qualities he shares also with Śiva and Brahmā; but as Nārāyaṇa his five exclusive theological qualities are: avicintya-mahā-śakti (possessed of infinite and indescribable powers), koṭi-brahmāṇḍa-vigraha (container of infinite worlds), avatārāvalī-bīja (the seed of incarnations), hatāri-gati-dāyaka (giver of salvation to enemies killed), and ātmārāma-janākarṣin (attractor of the wise). His four special qualities are: līlā (divine sport), prema-priyādhikya (abundance of beloved persons obtained by love), veṇu-mādhurya (sweetness of his flute) and rūpa-mādhurya (sweetness of his beauty). To these is added a set of eight inherent excellences (sattva-bheda) on the model of the eight Sāttvika excellences of the literary hero (see *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, 341), only substituting māṅgalya for gāmbhīrya. Even if some of these qualities are apparently inconsistent with each other, they can reside without conflict in Kṛṣṇa as a deity (p. 332). He is also free from eighteen great blemishes which are also enumerated, defined and illustrated (pp. 33ff.). Among his qualities (physical), his adolescence (*kaiśora*) is extolled as the proper and principal (*dharmin*) age for contemplation.

Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Prīti-sandarbha* enumerates 85 Guṇas, which he includes under the Uddīpana-vibhāvas. Some of these relate to Kṛṣṇa, while some are also shared by his Avatāras and Bhaktas. The classifications of the hero in orthodox Poetics into Dhīrodātta, Dhīra-lalita, Dhīroddhata and Dhīra-praśānta, and, as a lover, into Anukūla, Dakṣiṇa, Dhṛṣṭa and Śaṭha are also applied to Kṛṣṇa. Our author also accepts this latter classification and speaks of twenty-five excellences of Kṛṣṇa as a lover in his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* (see below).

2. The Enhancing Excitant or Uddīpana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which includes such conditions of time, place and circumstance[15] as serve to foster the emotion, may be represented thus:

15 Jīva Gosvāmin declares (*Prīti-sandarbha*, p. 724) that of the Uddīpanas, those which relate to Vṛndāvana are the best (*eṣu ca śrī-vṛndāvana-sambandhinas tu prakṛṣṭāḥ*). He classifies the Uddīpana-vibhāvas on the basis of Jāti (characteristics of a class), Guṇa (quality), Kriyā (action) and Dravya (substance) in reference to Kṛṣṇa.

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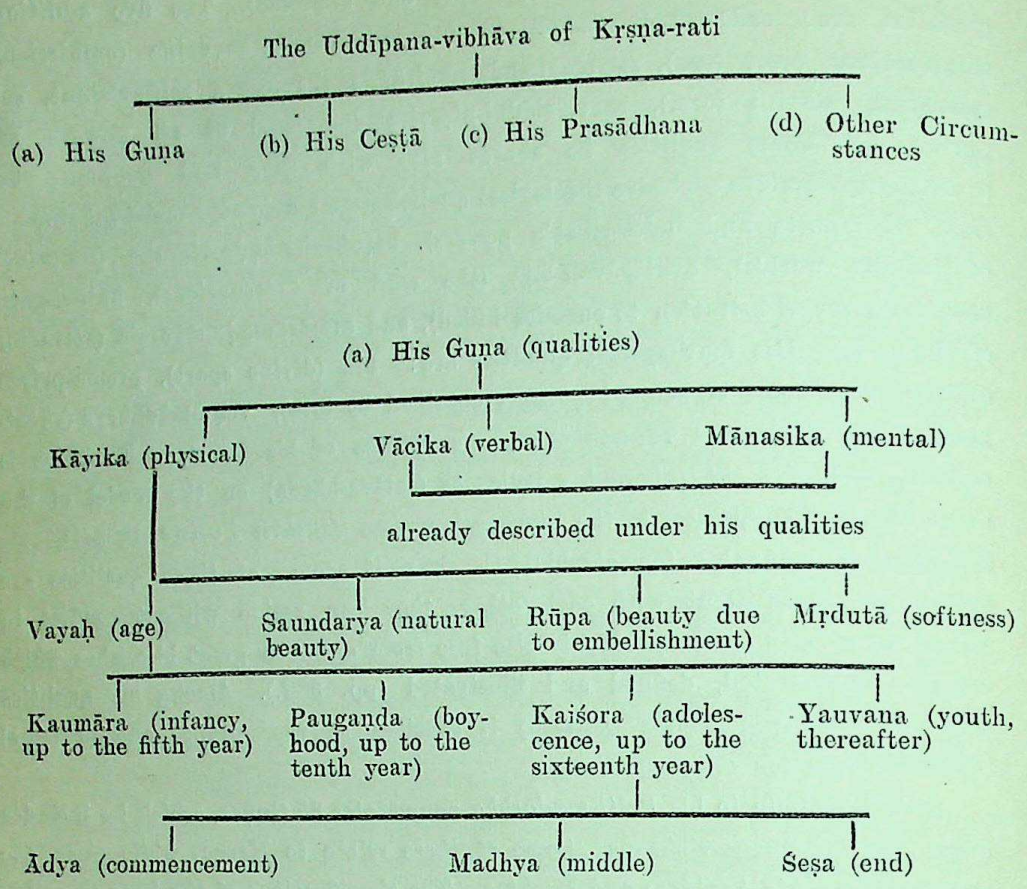

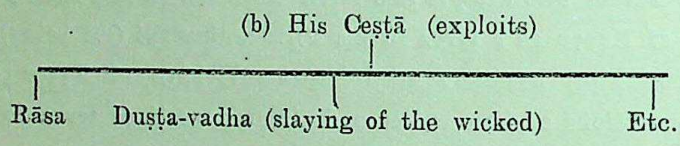

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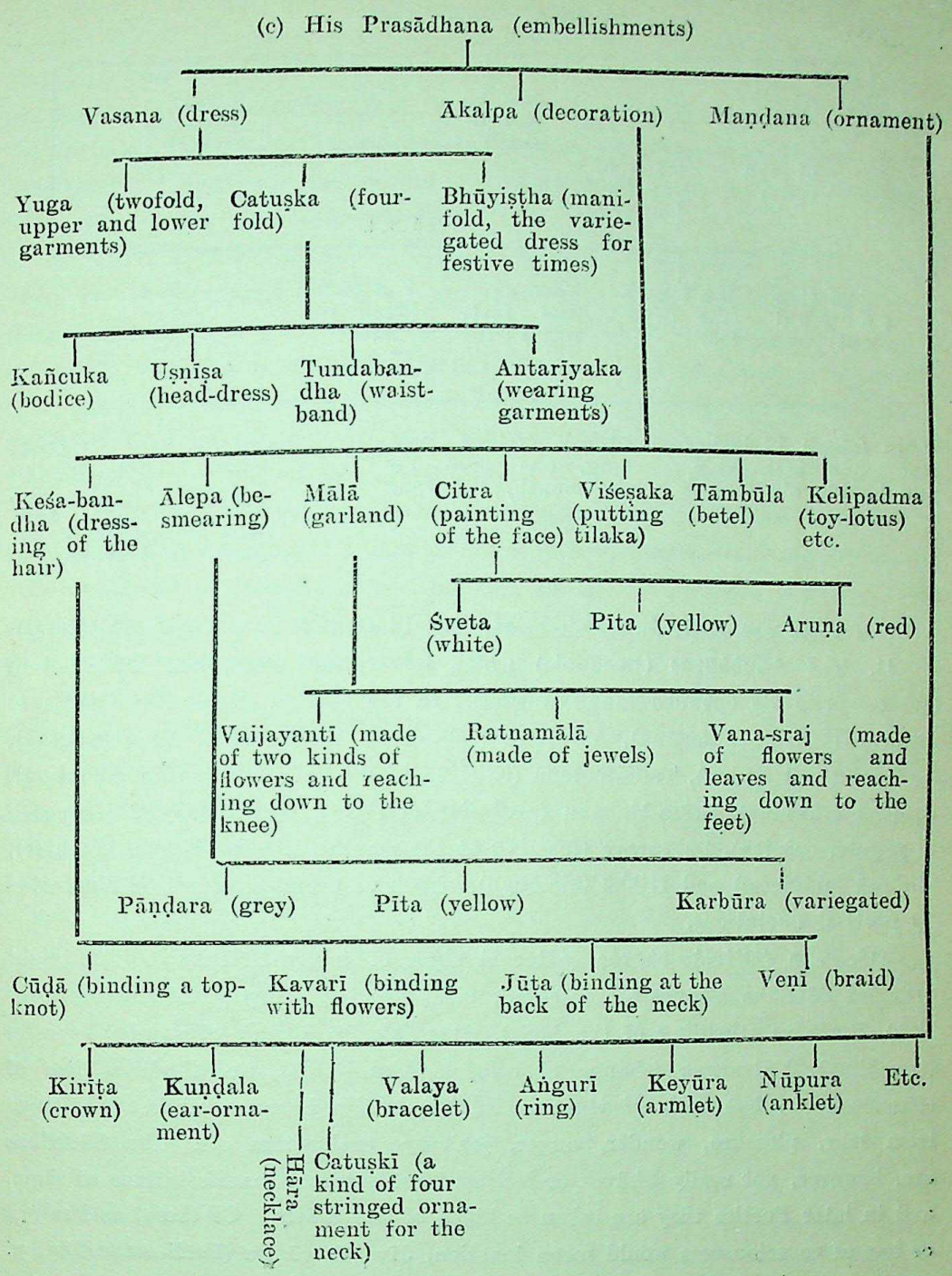

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(d) Other circumstances

- (smile) Smita
- Aṅga-saurabha (fragrance of the body)
- Śṛṅga (a kind of trumpet made of buffalo-horns)
- Kambū (conch-shell)
- Padāṅka (foot-prints)
- Kṣetra (place of sports)
- Tulasī (the sacred plant)
- Bhakta (the devotee)
- Vāsara (the fast-days)
- Vaṃśa (wind instrument for music)
  - Veṇu (about 12 inches long, one inch thick, and having six stops)
  - Muralī (three feet long, one bore for the mouth, and four stops
  - Vaṃśī (17 inches long, 8 stops at an interval of an inch, bore at every half-inch, 9 stops in all, above and below)
- Etc.

(All these are individually described and illustrated by poetical quotations).

II. The *Anubhāvas* (Ensuants) which follow and strengthen an emotion and comprise its outward manifestations. In the case of Kṛṣṇa-rati, they are given as: Nṛtya (dancing), Viluṭhita (rolling on the ground), Gīta (singing), Krośana (loud crying), Tanu-moṭana (twisting of the body), Huṃkāra (shouting), Jṛmbhā (yawning), Svāsa-bhūman (profusion of sighs), Lokānapekṣitā (disregard of popular opinion), Lālā-srava (foaming at the mouth), Aṭṭa-hāsa (loud laughter), Ghūrṇā (giddiness) and Hikkā (hiccough). Each of these, as usual, is illustrated by poetical quotations.

III. The *Sāttvika-bhāvas* (external signs of internal feeling). The eight orthodox Sāttvika Bhāvas are accepted, viz., Stambha (stupor), Sveda (perspiration), Romāñca (thrilling of the body), Svara-bhaṅga (break of voice), Vepathu (trembling), Vaivarṇya (change of colour), Aśru (tears), and Pralaya (loss of consciousness); but each of these is further analysed, according as it springs from fear, pleasure, wonder, anger, jealousy, enthusiasm etc. The Sāttvikas are, however, not really Bhāvas or feelings, but external manifestations of them, and in later Poetics they are taken as kinds of Anubhāvas. Of these, as Pralaya or loss of consciousness would mean inaction, Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-sandarbha*, p. 730) points out that in Kṛṣṇa-rati, Pralaya causes cessation of outward action indeed but not inward feeling for Kṛṣṇa.

The most notable departure occurs in the classification of these Sāttvikas, which is entirely original. They are generally classified into (i) Snigdha (soft), which may be either directly (*mukhya*) or indirectly (*gauṇa*) connected with Kṛṣṇa, (ii) Digdha (saturated), and (iii) Rukṣa (harsh), occurring in people who have no feeling for Kṛṣṇa. They are again differentiated, with reference to

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the degree of excitement produced by the presence of one or more Sāttvikas, into (a) Dhūmāyita (smouldering), when there is only one Sāttvika, (b) Jvalita (flaming), when there are two or three Sāttvikas, (c) Dīpta (burning), when there are four or five Sāttvikas, and (d) Uddīpta (brightly burning), when six or all the Sāttvikas are present. The excitement, again, may last a long time (*bhūri-kāla-vyāpi*), may pervade many limbs (*bahvaṅga-vyāpi*), or may attain its climax by its own nature (*svarūpeṇa utkarṣaḥ*).

In this connexion mention is made of Ābhāsas or semblances of Sāttvikas, which are an innovation. They are (i) those which arise from the semblance of Rati (*ratyābhāsa-bhāva*), (ii) those which arise in feeble-hearted people who are by nature incapable of them (*sattvābhāsa-bhāva*) e.g. a grammarian or an old Mīmāṃsaka, (iii) those which arise from habit in people whose heart is soft externally but hard internally (*niḥsattva*), and (iv) those which arise in people who are hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*pratīpa*) e.g. Kaṃsa.

IV. The *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas* (auxiliary feelings). These, also called Sañcāri-bhāvas, are subsidiary feelings of a more or less transitory nature, which are accessory, and accompany or interrupt the dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) without, however, supplanting it. They are likened, in the orthodox manner, to the waves of the sea, whereby the dominant feeling is understood to be the sea.

The thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicāri-bhāvas are categorically accepted, defined and illustrated with reference to Kṛṣṇa-rati. They are: Nirveda (self-disparagement), Viṣāda (despondency), Dainya (depression), Glāni (debility), Śrama (weariness), Mada (intoxication), Garva (arrogance), Śaṅkā (apprehension), Trāsa (alarm), Āvega (flurry), Unmāda (madness), Apasmāra (dementedness). Vyādhi (sickness), Moha (distraction), Mṛti (death), Ālasya (indolence), Jāḍya (stupefaction), Vrīḍā (shame), Avahittha (dissembling), Smṛti (recollection) Vitarka (doubt), Cintā (reflection), Mati (resolve), Dhṛti (equanimity), Harṣa (joy), Autsukya (longing), Ugratā (sternness), Amarṣa (impatience of opposition), Asūyā (envy), Cāpalya (unsteadiness), Nidrā (drowsiness), Supti (dreaming), and Bodha (awakening).

Thirteen more Vyabhicāri-bhāvas are also mentioned (p. 524), but they are included in one or other of the above thirty-three. Under individual Rasas in Book IV some other Vyabhicārins are mentioned, but they are special and peculiar to the Rasas dealt with.

The classification of these Accessory Feelings is peculiar. They are said to be (i) independent (*svatantra*) where they are developed independently of the dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*), or (ii) dependent on the dominant feeling (*paratantra*). The dependence may be directly (*sākṣāt*) or indirectly (*vyavahita*) connected, or may be subordinated to two different Rasas (*avara*). The independent may be either *rati-śūnya* (devoid of any touch of the Sthāyin) or *rati-gandhin* (giving a hint of the Sthāyin and incidentally touching it).

After briefly touching upon the question of Contrariety (*prātikūlya*) and

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Impropriety (*anaucitya*) of Bhāvas, the section concludes with the treatment of Bhāvotpatti (mere excitement of Bhāva), Bhāva-sandhi (conflict of two opposing Bhāvas), Bhāva-śabalatā (allaying of each preceding Bhāva by the succeeding) and Bhāva-śānti (toning down of a highly developed Bhāva).

V. The *Sthāyi-bhāvas* (the dominant feelings). All the elements mentioned above contribute towards developing the dominant or pre-eminent feeling, the Sthāyi-bhāva, into its corresponding state of relish, called Rasa. This Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-feeling is classified into eight categories in orthodox Poetics: viz. Rati (love), Hāsa (mirth), Soka (sorrow), Krodha (anger), Utsāha (energy), Bhaya (fear), Jugupsā (disgust), Vismaya (astonishment), to which some would add a ninth, viz., Nirveda (self-disparagement). To these correspond respectively the eight or nine orthodox Rasas, viz., Sṛṅgāra (the Erotic), Hāsya (the Comic), Karuṇa (the Pathetic), Raudra (the Furious), Vīra (the Heroic), Bhayānaka (the Terrible), Bibhatsa (the Disgustful), Adbhuta (the Marvellous), and the ninth Sānta (the Quietistic). Rūpa Gosvāmin accepts all these, but his classification and treatment are different.

The Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-feeling of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa is taken to be the feeling which concerns Kṛṣṇa himself (*śrīkṛṣṇa-viṣayā rati*), and the nine orthodox Sthāyi-bhāvas are evaluated in terms of this. The Kṛṣṇa-rati, as the Sthāyin, may be Mukhya (Primary) or Gauṇa (Secondary), according as it is directly or indirectly related. Thus, Sakhya (friendship) or Vātsala (parental affection) is Mukhya or Primary, while Hāsa-rati (=Hāsottarā Rati or Kṛṣṇa-rati involving Mirth) is Gauṇa or Secondary; in the former the Kṛṣṇa-viṣayā Rati is direct, while in the latter it subordinates itself to Hāsa. Under the latter, the septet of orthodox Sthāyins (excluding the erotic Rati and Nirveda) is included, while the former includes the two excluded Sthāyins, (Rati, erotic love, and Nirveda, self-disparagement), as well as Prīti (grace), Sakhya (friendship) and Vātsalya (parental affection), which are innovations. The classification of Mukhya and Gauṇa Sthāyins is therefore as follows:

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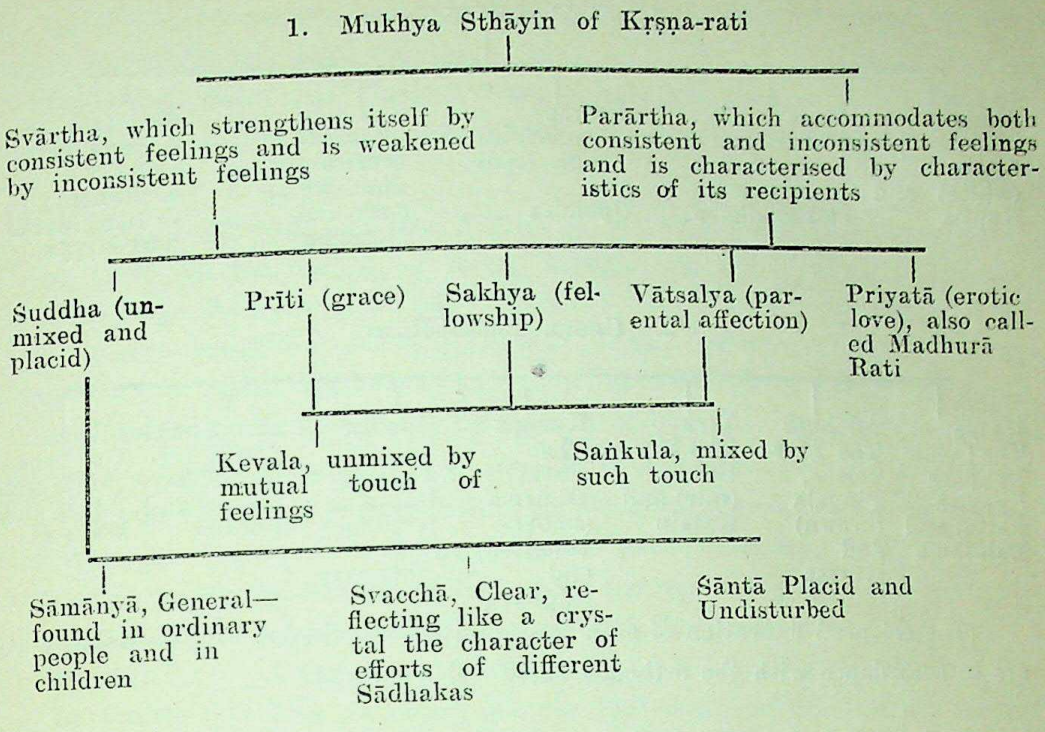

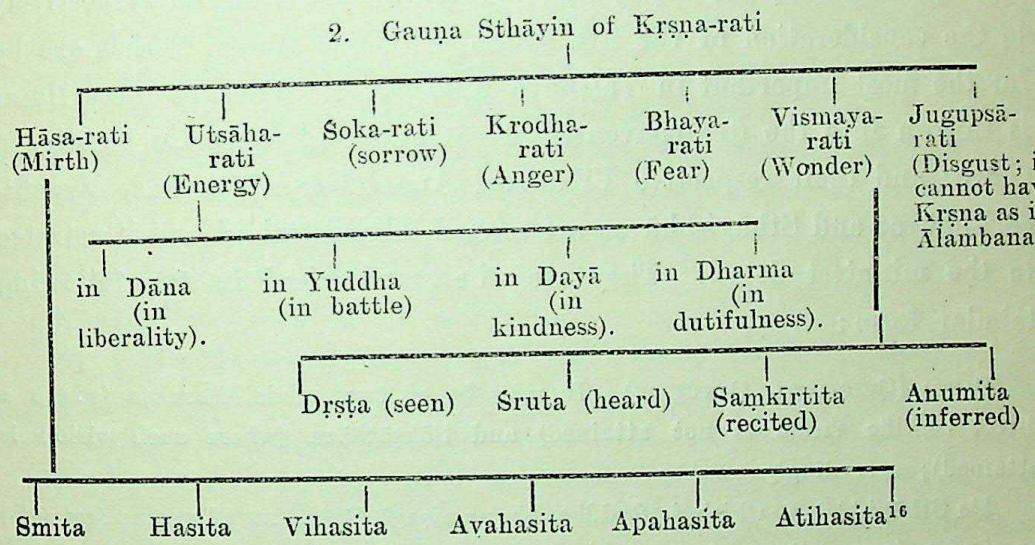

According to the above classification of Kṛṣṇa-visayā Rati as the Sthāyin, the resulting types of Bhakti-Rasa (with their respective coloured figuration and their presiding deities) would be:

16 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* has also this sixfold classification of Hāsa; but the classification is as old as Bharata (*Nāṭya-śāstra*, ed. Kāvyamālā, vi. 52f.).

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1. Mukhya Bhakti-Rasa

Śānta (Quietism), Śveta (white) and Kapila	Prīta (Faithfulness), Citra (variegated) and Mādhava	Preyas (Friendship), Aruṇa (red) and Upendra	Vātsalya (Parent-sentiment), Śona (crimson) and Nṛsiṃha	Madhura or Ujjvala (Erotic Sentiment) Śyāma (dark) and Kṛṣṇa

2. Gauṇa Bhakti-Rasa

Hāsya The Comic, Paṇḍara (greyish white) and Balarāma	Adbhuta The Marvelous, Piṅgala (brown) and Kūrma	Vīra The Heroic, Gaura (fair) and Kalkin	Karuṇa The Pathetic, Dhūrma (smoke-coloured) and Rāghava	Raudra The Furious, Rakta (crimson) and Bhārgava	Bhayānaka The Terrible, Kāla (black) and Varāha	Bībhatsa The Abhorrent, Nīla (blue) and Matsya

(The coloured figuration of each Rasa and the attribution of a presiding deity are in accordance with the orthodox rhetorical tradition).

This concludes the Dakṣiṇa-vibhāga of the work. The Paścima-vibhāga continues the topic, and devotes its five Laharīs respectively to the consideration of the five Mukhya Bhakti Rasas, which are by far the most important in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra. Each of these Rasas is thrown into the five conventional categories of Rhetoric mentioned above; and their respective Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, Sāttvikas, Vyabhicāri-bhāvas and Sthāyi-bhāvas are named, characterised and illustrated to the minutest detail. They may be summarised in the following tabular form:

Santa (Quietistic Devotion). It may be of two kinds, Parokṣa (where a direct beatific vision is not attained) and Sākṣātkāra (where such vision is attained); accordingly

Its Sthāyi-bhāva, which is Śuddha Kṛṣṇa-viṣayā Rati, may be sama (equable) or sāndra (compact).

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Caturbhuja Nārāyaṇa and the two kinds of Śāntas, viz., Ātmārāmas (Ṛṣis like Sanaka, Sanandana etc.) and Tāpasas (ordinary ascetics), (b) Uddīpana—listening to the Upaniṣads, residing in a lonely place, company of the wise devotee etc.

Its Anubhāvas: all acts of a mendicant (Avadhūta), fixing one's eyes on one's nose in concentrated meditation, Aṅguṣṭha-mudrā (different kinds of disposition of the fingers in the Pūjā) etc.

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Its Sāttvikas: thrilling of the body, sweating, trembling, fainting etc.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: self-disparagement, equanimity, joy, resolve, recollection, longing, flurry, doubt etc.

The author notes that although Śama is not admitted in the Drama by Rhetoricians, it can be accepted as a Bhakti-rasa inasmuch as it involves Śānta-rati.

II. Prita (Devotion as Faithfulness). It may be of two kinds: Sambhrama-Prīta, involving the feeling of being brought up as a younger relative (Lālanīyatva). They are separately treated:

1. *Sambhrama-Prīta.* Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Prīti, affection, due to honour (*sambhrama*) or esteem (*ādara*) towards Kṛṣṇa as a Master or Lord.

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa, and his servants (Dāsas). The latter are either Adhikṛta (Controlled, e.g. Śiva, Brahmā, Indra etc.), Āśrita (Protected), Pārisada (Courtiers or Assistants, e.g. Uddhava, Dāruka etc.), and Anuga (Servitors in Vraja or Dvārakā). (b) Uddīpana—receiving Kṛṣṇa's favour (anugraha), taking the dust of his feet, eating the remnants of his meal etc.

Its Anubhāvas: entire application of self, freedom from jealousy etc.

Its Sāttvikas: all the Sāttvikas, beginning with stupefaction (stambha).

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all excepting the following nine, viz., Mada, Śrama, Trāsa, Apasmāra, Ālasya, Ugratā, Krodha, Asūyā and Nidrā, which have hardly any scope.

2. *Gaurava-Prīta.* Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Prīti, affection, due to the sense of (inferior) personal relationship to Kṛṣṇa.

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and the persons related to him as Lālanīyas, either as Kaniṣṭha (younger brother, e.g. Śaraṇa, Gada etc.), or Putra (son, e.g. Pradyumna etc.). (b) Uddīpana—Kṛṣṇa's fondness, his smile etc.

Its Anubhāvas: sitting under Kṛṣṇa, following his footsteps, obeying his orders, obeisance (*praṇāma*), humility etc.

Its Sāttvikas: sweating etc. as above.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: those mentioned under Sambhrama-Prīta. Both these types of Prīta can become Preman (love), Sneha (affection) and Rāga (attachment), according to the degree of development and the circumstances.

Jīva Gosvāmin adopts a slightly more elaborate classification of Prīta Rasa into Āśraya-bhakti, Dāsya-bhakti and Praśraya-bhakti.

III. Preyas (Devotion as Friendship). Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Sakhya-rati or the feeling of friendship and confidence (*viśrambhātmā*).

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and his friends of the same age (*vayasya*), either in Vraja (Śrīdāman etc.) or elsewhere (Arjuna etc.). The friend, according to the difference of age and circumstances, may be Suhṛt (a little older in age), Sakhā (a little younger in age), Priya-sakhā (same age), Priya-karma-sakhā (assistant in love-affairs). A long list of their names, duties and

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characteristics is given, (b) Uddīpana—age, appearance, flute (veṇu), pleasantry, sport etc.

Its Anubhāvas: various sports and pastimes, pleasantry, close companionship, in sleep and waking etc.

Its Sāttvikas: Stambha, Sveda etc. as are suitable.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all excepting Ugratā, Trāsa and Ālasya, some appearing during union and some in separation. It may develop into Praṇaya, Preman, Sneha and Rāga.

IV. Vatsalya (Devotion as Parent-sentiment). Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Vatsalarati or parental affection of kindness and pity (anukampā).

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa, and his Elders (Gurus), such as Nanda, Yaśodā, Vasudeva etc. (b) Uddīpana—his age, appearance, childishness, smile etc.

Its Anubhāvas: touching the head and the body, blessing, ordering etc.

Its Sāttvikas: all the eight usual Sāttvikas and the flowing of the breasts (*stana-srava*) in persons standing in motherly relation.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all mentioned in Prīta, along with Apasmāra.

It may appear *like* Preman (*premavat*), Sneha (*snehavat*), and Rāga (*rāgavat*).

The author notes (p. 815) that some writers on Dramaturgy admit this Rasa, and quotes in support Viśvanātha (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, iii, 251); but Viśvanātha is perhaps singular in this respect, and it is possible that his views were themselves influenced by Vaiṣṇava ideas. See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 348. It may be noted in this connexion that Rudraṭa mentions Preyas (Friendship), which Rasa is accepted by Bhoja. Even some writers, like Bhānudatta, would add Śraddhā, along with Bhakti. These indicate the very reluctant admission of these Vaiṣṇava conceptions into the conventional eight or nine categories of Rasa of orthodox Poetics.

V. Madhura Rasa (Devotion as the Erotic Sentiment). As this topic is reserved for more detailed treatment in Rūpa Gosvāmin's next work, *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, it is only briefly dealt with here. Its classification into Sambhoga (love in union) and Vipralamba (love in separation) and their further subdivisions are only just referred to. This is, however, the most important Rasa and is styled in the latter work as *bhakti-rasa-rāj*.

Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Priyatā, love, or Madhura Rati, the sweet feeling, which inspires the mutual (*mithaḥ*) enjoyment (*sambhoga*) of Kṛṣṇa and his Gopīs.

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and his Beloved Gopīs, of whom Rādhā is the chief. (b) Uddīpana—the sound of his flute etc.

Its Anubhāvas: sidelong glances, smile etc.

Its Sāttvikas: the usual eight.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all except Ugratā and Ālasya.

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The version of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with regard to the Mauryan Bhakti-rasas, the Uttara or last Vibhāga of the work proceeds, in its nine Laharīs, to consider the seven Secondary or Gauṇa Bhakti-rasas, their mutual relation and opposition as subsidiary or contrary sentiments, and lastly the semblance (Ābhāsa) of these Rasas. Although Rūpa Gosvāmin admits a total of twelve Bhakti-rasas, he tells us that in the authoritative Purāṇas and other scriptures one finds in fact only the first five Mukhya or Primary Bhakti-rasas (*vastutas tu purāṇādau pañcadhaiva vilokyate*, p. 601), that these five are considered to be the real Bhakti-rasas, and that the seven Secondary Rasa of Hāsa etc. are generally ancilliary to them (*amī pañcaiva śāntādyā harer bhakti-rasā matāḥ| eṣu hāsādayaḥ prāyo bibhrati vyabhicāritām||*). The septet of Secondary or Gauṇa Rasas includes, however, seven out of the nine conventional Rasas, the remaining two alone being admitted into the Primary or Mukhya. The exposition, therefore, of the seven Gauṇa Rasas follows in the main the treatment of orthodox Poetics, and need not be summarised here in detail, especially as they are not regarded as Rasas of primary importance in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra. They are secondary, because they are not always present (*kādācitkodbhavatvena*, Jīva) and because they can become Rasas only when they involve Kṛṣṇa-rati, which raises them to such a status (*aniyatādhāratvāt*, Jīva). Thus, Heroism is not essential to Kṛṣṇa-rati, but Heroism which involves Kṛṣṇa-rati becomes a Rasa for that very reason. It is also maintained that these seven Gauṇas can be easily included (*antaḥ-pāta*) in the scope of the five Mukhyas. Thus the Adbhuta (Marvellous) is included in all the five; the Hāsya (Comic) in the Sakhya; the Karuṇa (Pathetic) in the Vātsalya; the Vīra (Heroic), in its different aspects, in the Sakhya and the Vātsalya; the Bhayānaka (Terrible) in the Vātsalya and the Prīta (Dāsya); the Bībhatsa (Abhorrent) in the Śānta; and the Raudra (Furious) partly in the Vātsalya and partly in the Madhura. The conflict and comity of the Rasa, which constitute the next topic dealt with, can be easily inferred from this relationship to one another. Of the five Mukhya Rasas, the Śānta and the Prīta are mutually agreeable; the Vātsalya is agreeable to none; the Sakhya and the Vātsalya are neither agreeable nor disagreeable to each other; the Madhura and the Prīta

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are antagonistic. Hence, it is possible that more than one of these Rasas can reside in the same person. Thus, the Sakhya, Prīta (Dāsya) and Vātsalya are found in Balarāma; the Vātsalya and Sakhya in Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma; the Sakhya and Prīta (Dāsya) in Arjuna, Uddhava, Nakula and Sahadeva; and so forth.[17] The five Mukhya and seven Gauṇa Rasas are supposed to react on the mind in five different ways. Thus the Śānta fills the mind completely (*pūrti*); the Prīta, Preyas, Vātsalya, Madhura and Hāsya develop (*vikāsa*); the Vīra and the Adbhuta expand (*vistāra*); the Karuṇa and the Raudra distract (*vikṣepa*); and the Bhayānaka and the Bībhatsa repel (*kṣobha*). This is a further working out of the attributes of Vistāra (expansion), Vikāsa (pervasion) and Druti (melting) of orthodox Poetics.

The topic of the Apparent Sentiment (Rasābhāsa) is next taken up; but the treatment is original. The Rasābhāsa occurs where the ingredients of the Rasa are either insufficient (*aṅgahānatva*) or improperly developed (*aṅga-vairūpya*). Three cases are distinguished: (i) Upa-rasa, where the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and the Sthāyi-bhāva are improper (*virūpatā-prāpta*), e.g. the Rasa developed in inanimate beings etc. (ii) Anu-rasa, where the Vibhāvas etc. have no reference to Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-sambandha-varjita*), and (iii) Apa-rasa, where the Rasa is developed in persons hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*tat-pratipakṣa*).

The learning displayed in the work is indeed varied, extensive and well digested; but it is of a limited and miscellaneous kind. The sources are chiefly the Purāṇas and other authoritative Vaiṣṇava scriptures. There is indeed much analytical acuteness, and the scholasticism, which created the Navya-nyāya at about the same period of time, is very much in evidence in its zest for formal definitions, nice and hair-splitting distinctions, elaborate classifications and industrious collection of suitable poetical illustrations. But even if analytical, the attitude is hardly critical; and in spite of its anxiety to do justice to facts of actual experience, its extreme formalism cannot be doubted. Even if there is psychologising, there is too much of dissection and

17 *Prīti-sandarbha*, pp. 441f. The Rasābhāsa is defined more comprehensively by Jīva Gosvāmin as the conflict of the dominant Rasa with an improper Rasa, as well as with improper Vibhāva, Anubhāva etc.

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elusive chasing of protean complexes; and the essentials are sometimes apt to be smothered by the overwhelming mass of wearisome details. The concern is no doubt with the peculiar psychology of Vaiṣṇava emotions, but not a single philosophical work is cited; and as Jñāna in the orthodox sense is rigidly excluded, philosophical discussions are naturally out of court. The *Bhagavadgītā* is cited only twice; and there is hardly any reference to other schools of Vaiṣṇava thought. Of the Pañcarātra, only late and apocryphal works like the *Nārada-pañcarātra* is quoted, but not very frequently. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is cited only once, the *Mahābhārata* four times and the *Harivaṃśa* only five times. Of the classical Sanskrit poets, Māgha is quoted twice; Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya-Śataka* once; and our author's taste for poetical literature is curiously circumscribed to such works as the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala (Līlāśuka) and the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva. His own religious dramas and poems furnish many illustrative quotations. Rūpa Gosvāmin shows an undoubted mastery of the principles and technicalities of Sanskrit Poetics, but his chief sources appear to be Bharata (quoted twice), the *Daśarūpaka* (quoted once), the *Rasa-sudhākara* (quoted once=*Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla) and probably Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which is anonymously quoted with approval[18] in one place. With the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas he displays an extensive acquaintance, but here again the largest number of quotations comes from the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* (especially the Daśama), the *Padma* and the *Skanda*, the first two of which are canonically accepted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. There are nearly four hundred poetical quotations in the work, which by themselves constitute an almost encyclopædic anthology of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa. We give here a classified index of the works and authors cited in the *Bhakti-*

18 In his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (ed. Rāsavihārī Sāṃkhya-tīrtha, Kashimbazar, 1907), however, Rūpa Gosvāmin does not speak favourably of Viśvanātha's work. At the outset of this work, he states that in composing it he consulted the Bharata-śāstra and the *Rasa-sudhākara*, and generally rejected the treatment of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as being opposed to Bharata's views. It must, however, be noted that Rūpa has, both in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, departed sometimes from Bharata, and sometimes quotes Bharata merely to criticise him.

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rasāmṛta-sindhu, which will give an idea of the author's erudition and his literary taste and interests:

(The references are by page, as the numbering of the verses in the printed edition is not regular).

(1) *The Epics etc.* Mahābhārata 88, 124, 258, 592; Rāmāyaṇa 605; Harivaṃśa 260, 421, 436, 441, 854; Bhagavadgītā 39, 70.

(2) *The Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas.* Śrīmadbhāgavata (especially the Daśama or the Tenth Skandha) 12, 14, 17, 18, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 45, 46-48, 49-56, 59, 60, 68, 69, 70, 71, 78, 83, 94, 96, 101, 102, 103, 104,114, 115, 124, 126, 129, 132, 135, 138, 140, 142, 147 (praise of the work), 152, 154, 160, 163, 168, 190, 191, 195, 197, 199, 214, 216, 232, 240, 257, 265, 271, 286, 287, 291, 293, 295, 298, 300, 301, 303, 310, 312, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 341, 346, 348, 349, 352, 359, 384, 387, 390, 395, 406, 407, 412, 415, 422, 423, 442, 444, 446, 447, 448, 453, 457, 465, 467, 473, 478, 480, 484, 485, 486, 490, 491, 499, 502, 505, 506, 511, 513, 514, 534, 581, 618, 651, 656, 657, 659, 662, 669, 675, 676, 687, 688, 690, 691, 715, 732, 755, 765, 766, 770, 773, 787, 788, 790, 792, 801, 808, 829, 864, 867, 874, 933.

Padma 16, 19, 20, 34, 56, 66, 82, 87, 88, 93, 95, 96, 106, 109, 110, 117, 118, 134, 136, 137, 143, 144, 177, 188, 192, 200, 215, 351, 354, 501.

Skanda 79, 82, 85, 95, 96, 100, 106, 107, 109, 112, 122, 130, 131, 132, 135, 159, 194, 196, 660, 764.

Nāradīya 81, 84, 98, 102, 123, 193; Narasiṃha 109, 117, 130, 211, 669; Brahmāṇḍa 98, 133, 167; Viṣṇu 116, 505; Āgneya 113, 225; Varāha 89, 112; Ādivarāha 133; Mahā-varāha 333; Kaurma 332; Bṛhad-vāmana 317; Ādipurāṇa 135, 143; Brahma 83; Brahma-vaivarta 85; Bhaviṣyottara 98, 113, 137; Liṅga 103; Garuḍa 114; Mahā-kaurma 180; Purāṇāntara 99, 118.

(3) *Other Religious Texts and Commentaries.* Viṣṇudharma 104, 285; Viṣṇudharmottara 111, 118, 628, 922; Viṣṇu-rahasya 86, 103; Viṣṇu-yāmala 334; Brahma-yāmala 79; Vaiṣṇava-Tantra 333; Nārada-pañcarātra 11, 23, 59, 107; Śrī-nārāyaṇa-pañcarātra 218; Pañcarātra 36, 129, 213, 216, 217; Śuka-saṃhitā 195; Agastya-saṃhitā 71, 111, 125; Brahma-saṃhitā 305; Kātyāyana-saṃhitā 86; Tantra 21, 24, 111, 170, 187; Bhāvārtha-dīpikā 27; Śrīdhara-svāmin (author of above) 630; Hari-bhakti-sudhodaya 23, 27, 99, 100, 141. 198, 639, 677, 866; Hari-bhakti-vilāsa 72, 129; (Bhagavan-) Nāma-kaumudī 630; (Hari-) Bhakti-viveka 127.

(4) *Stotras.* Haya-śīrṣīya-Nārāyaṇa-vyūha-stava 57, 58, 182; Aparādha-bhañjana 638; Bilvamaṅgala-stava 626; Stavāvalī 374, 507; Yāmunācārya-stotra 127, 267, 307.

(5) *Poetical Works.* Bhartṛhari, Vairāgya-śataka 503; Śiśupāla-vadha 267, 279; (Śrīkṛṣṇa-) Karṇāmṛta 202, 203, 379, 670, 671, 674; Bilvamaṅgala (author of above) 296, 386, 456, 472; Gīta-govinda 314, 881, 821, 829; Govinda-vilāsa 571; Mukunda-mālā 567.

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Rūpa Gosvāmin's own works (poetical and dramatic):

Uddhava-sandeśa 885; Haṃsa-dūta 479, 689, 876; Lalita-mādhava 281, 290, 303, 322, 372, 453, 470, 471, 632, 789, 808, 822, 939, 946; Vidagdha-mādhava 320, 496, 510, 654, 791, 808, 880, 889, 930, 934; Dāna-keli-kaumudī 441, 555, 749, 824; Padyāvalī 203, 254, 395, 460, 487, 512, 639, 821, 823, 825, 828, 830, 831.

(6) *Rhetorical works and Authors.* Bharata 592, 593; Daśarūpaka 865; Sāhitya-darpaṇa (anonymously) 815 (=*SD*, iii, 251); Rasa-sudhākara 451 (=*Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Siṅgabhūpāla, on ii, 13); Nāṭyācāryāḥ 922.

(7) *Authors quoted by name only, excluding those already indexed.* Hanūmat 58; Sudeva 630; Śrīmat-Prabhu (=Sanātana Gosvāmin) 200.

(8) *Anonymous References.* Purāṇāntara, see above; Granthāntara 160; Prācām 454; Nāṭyācāryāḥ, see above; Tantra and Vaiṣṇava-tantra, see above.

The Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi

Against this background of a complicated scheme is to be studied the next work, the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*,[19] in which the Ujjvala or Madhura or Śṛṅgāra Bhakti-rasa, the Erotic Love of Kṛṣṇa, among the five primary Rasas, has been baptised into transcendence. The very importance of this Rasa is borne out by the fact that it required a separate and specialised enquiry in a supplementary work which, if it did not exceed in volume the original treatise, did far outshine it in the complication of details and profusion of illustrations. As before, the entire theme is planned and modelled upon that of the Śṛṅgāra Rasa of Sanskrit Poetics, and the general terminology and main concepts belong to its current stock-in-trade. The fundamentals of the whole doctrine of the Erotic Rasa and its rhetorical psychology are worked out from the point of view of Kṛṣṇa as an ideal hero (*nāyaka-cūḍāmaṇi*); and as the hero and the heroine in their various moods, aspects and situations form the ground of this erotic sentiment, the work is really an exhaustive dissertation not only upon the sentiment itself, but also upon the *minutiae* of the hero and heroine, their adjuncts and associates, as well as an analysis of their various attributes and expressions of love.

19 Our references are to the Kāvyamālā edition (Bombay 1913) of the work, with the commentaries of Jīva Gosvāmin (*Locana-rocanī*) and Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*Ānanda-candrikā*). Viśvanātha Cakravartin also wrote a summary of this work, entitled *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa* (ed. Prāṇa Gopāla Gosvāmin, Navadvīpa 1927), to which occasional references are also made by us.

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The basic feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) of the Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa is, as we have already noted, the Priyatā or Madhurā Rati, the dearness or sweet feeling which inspires the mutual (*mithaḥ*) erotic enjoyment (*sambhoga*) of Kṛṣṇa and his Gopīs.[20] This feeling of Kṛṣṇa, being brought to a state of relish in the heart of the Bhaktas (*svādyatāṃ hṛdi bhaktānām ānītā*) by means of its appropriate Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas etc., becomes the erotic Madhura Rasa, which is styled "the chief among the Bhakti-rasas (*bhakti-rasa-rāj*)". The work, therefore, proceeds at once to the detailed analysis of the Vibhāvas etc. of this Rasa.

The Ālambana Vibhāva, or the material ground and object of this feeling, is supposed to be Kṛṣṇa himself and his beloved Gopīs (*vallabhāḥ*). As the Nāyaka or hero of this feeling, Kṛṣṇa is endowed with a long list of twenty-five attributes of a lover, although most of these are already included in the previous list of his sixty-four general excellences which we have mentioned above. The orthodox classification of the hero, appearing as the Beloved (*kāntatvena sphuran*, Jīva), into Dhīrodātta etc. is accepted,[21] but Kṛṣṇa may figure either as Pati (husband) or Upa-pati (lover), and it is on the latter aspect that the excellence of his love is supposed to rest (*atraiva paramotkarṣaḥ śṛṅgārasya pratiṣṭhitaḥ*). As an amour with a married woman is hardly permitted by orthodox theory[22] to form the dominant theme of a play or poem, Rūpa Gosvāmin cites Bharata in support, and states that if some authorities have spoken lightly of the Upa-pati, such remarks should be understood to have an application to the ordinary hero (*prākṛta nāyaka*), and not to Kṛṣṇa, who incarnated himself for tasting the essence of the Rasa (*rasa-niryāsa-svādārtham avatāriṇi*). The Parakīyā (=belonging to another) heroine who is the object of the

20 *mitho harer mṛgākṣyāś ca sambhogasyādi-kāraṇam / madhurāpara-paryāyā priytākhyoditā ratiḥ //* Of the two aspects of the Līlā (or Divine sport) of Kṛṣṇa, viz., Aiśvarya (power) and Mādhurya (sweetness), Jīva Gosvāmin, in his *Prīti-sandarbha* (pp. 704-715) declares the superiority of Mādhurya. Hence the supreme excellence of Madhurā Rati follows as a corollary.

21 See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 339.

22 Rudraṭa, xiv, 12-13; Rudrabhaṭṭa, ii, 40. But Śiṅgabhūpāla (*Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, i, 79) classifies the Nāyaka into Pati, Upa-pati and Vaiśika.

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Upa-pati's love, may however be a maiden (*kanyakā*) or a married woman (*paroḍhā*). Even if orthodox Poetics deprecates love to a married woman,[23] she is, according to Vaiṣṇava ideas, the highest type of the heroine, and forms the central theme of the later Parakīyā doctrine of the school, in which the love of the mistress for her lover becomes the universally accepted symbol of the soul's devotion to God. Kṛṣṇa as a Nāyaka is, again, conceived to be the most complete (pūrṇatama) in Vraja, more complete (pūrṇatara) in Mathūrā, and complete (pūrṇa) in Dvārakā. In their character as a lover, both the Pati and the Upa-pati may be (following orthodox classification) the faithful (*anukūla*), the gallant whose attention is equally divided among many (*dakṣiṇa*), the sly (*śaṭha*) and the saucy (*dhṛṣṭa*). Thus, ninety-six different aspects of Kṛṣṇa as the hero are obtained by this elaborate classification.

The ordinary classification of the Nāyikā of classical Poetics is accepted, but some complication is introduced by conceiving the heroine as the Beloved of Kṛṣṇa (Hari-vallabhā) from the devotional point of view. The Nāyikā may be Svīyā (one's own) or Parakīyā (another's), according as the hero is husband (Pati) or lover (Upa-pati). Mention is made of Kṛṣṇa's sixteen thousand wives in Vraja and one hundred and eight in Dvārakā, although we are assured that the actual number is infinite. We are told (pp. 41 f.) that the Gopīs in Vraja were in fact married according to Gāndharva rites (self-choice), and as such they should be taken as Svīyā heroines; but they are generally considered (*prāyeṇa viśrutāḥ*) in Kṛṣṇa's Prakaṭa-līlā (Manifest Sport) as Parakīyā because of the secrecy of their love (*pracchanna-kāmatā*) and the uncertain character of the marriage (*avyaktatvād vivāhasya*).[24] There was

23 Rūpa Gosvāmin explains that this is because the concern in orthodox Poetics is with the ordinary hero (*tat tu syāt prākṛta-kṣudra-nāyakādyanusāratah*). Rūpa Gosvāmin says similarly in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (śl. 11): *neṣṭā yad aṅgini rase kabibhiḥ paroḍhā/tad gokulāmbujadṛśāṃ kulam antareṇa/ āśaṃsayā rasavidher avatāritānām/kaṃsāriṇā rasika-maṇḍala-śekhareṇa//*

24 Viśvanātha Cakravartin adds (*Kiraṇa*, p. 34): *kiyantyaḥ gokule svīyā api pitrādi-śaṅkayā parakīyā eva.* Jīva Gosvāmin deals in some detail with this question of the relation of the Gopīs to Kṛṣṇa in his *Prīti-sandarbha* (pp. 676-686,

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however no jealousy on the part of the Gopas towards Kṛṣṇa for sporting with their wives, because through the Māyā of Kṛṣṇa each had an apparent wife with him (cf. *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, x, 33, 37); and the immaculateness of the Vrajadevīs is declared by the assumption that they never had any real union with their husbands (*na jātu vrajadevīnāṃ patibhiḥ saha saṅgamaḥ*). Each of these two kinds[25] of the heroine, the Svīyā and the Parakīyā, is classified again, in accordance with classical Poetics, into the adolescent and artless (Mugdhā), the youthful (Madhyā), and the mature and audacious (Pragalbhā). Of these, the Madhyā and the Pragalbhā, according to their capacity for Māna, may be Dhīrā (self-possessed), Adhīrā (not self-possessed) and Dhīrādhīrā (the partially self-possessed). They are further arranged according to the eightfold diversity of their condition or situation in relation to the hero, into (i) the Abhisārikā, who goes out and meets the hero in assignation, (ii) the Vāsaka-sajjā, who adorns herself in expectation of the hero, (iii) the Utkaṇṭhitā, who is disappointed by his non-arrival through misadventure or involuntary absence, (iv) the Vipralabdhā, who is deceived of her expectation by unfaithfulness, (v) the Khaṇḍitā, who is outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness in the hero, (vi) the Kalahāntaritā, who is separated by quarrel, (vii) the Proṣita-bhartṛkā, who pines for the absence of the hero gone

936). It is differentiated from ordinary sexual relation (*prākṛta kāma*) and characterised as pure love (*śuddha-preman*) and the distinction of Svīya and Parakīyā is said to be possible only in Prakaṭa Līlā (*vastutaḥ parama-svīyā api prakaṭa-līlāyāṃ parakīyamānāḥ śri-vrajadevyaḥ*, p. 936). In his *Śrikṛṣṇa-sandarbha* (ed. Prāṇa Gopāla Gosvāmin, Nadīyā 1925, pp. 547f.), Jīva offers the mystical-philosophical explanation that the Gopīs as well as Śrīkṛṣṇa's wives in Mathurā and Dvārakā are really his Svarūpa-śaktis.

25 The third kind, the Sādhāraṇī Sāmānyā or Veśyā (Courtesan), is omitted. The Kubjā, who is extolled (p. 85) for her feeling towards Kṛṣṇa, is apparently regarded as Parakīyā (*bhāva-yogāt tu sairandhrī parakīyaiva sammatā*). But Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-sandarbha*, p. 933) would frankly regard her as Sāmānyā, whose Dāsya (annointing His body) was raised into Madhura Rasa. As her desire was for Kṛṣṇa, it was directed towards a worthy object, and is therefore praised; but being selfish and frankly sensual, it is deprecated in comparison with the love of the Gopīs, which was free from these traits.

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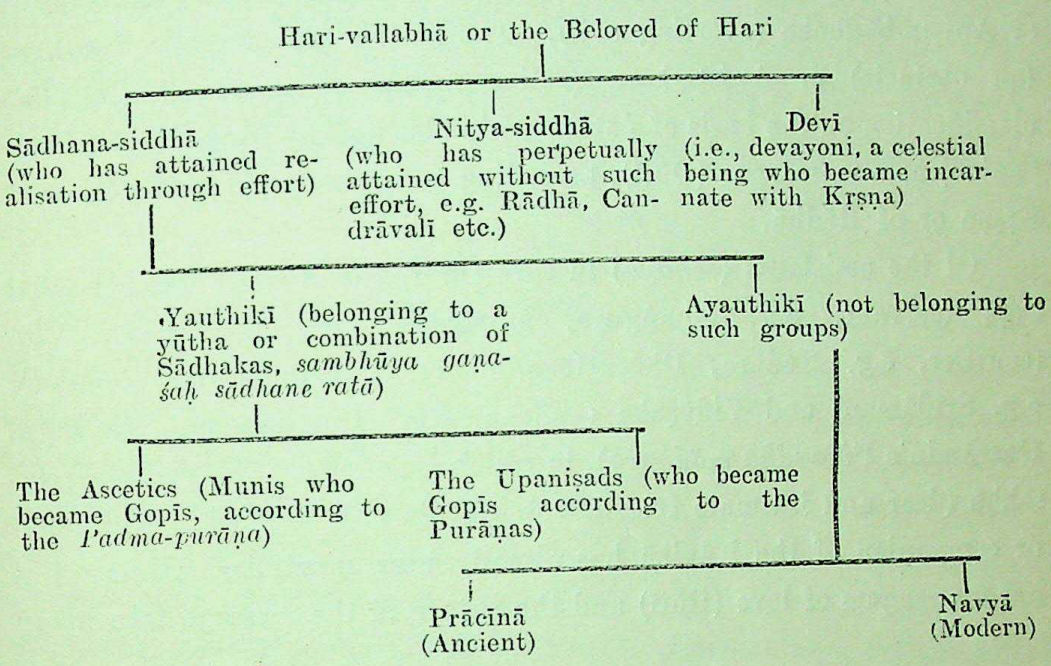
abroad, and (viii) the Svādhīna-bhartṛkā, who has the hero under absolute control. They may again, according to the rank each holds in the affection of the hero, be Uttamā (best), Madhyamā (middling) and Kaniṣṭhā (lowest).

All this follows pretty closely the older rhetorical convention; but a further classification from a different theological point of view is also attempted. This classification of the Beloved of Kṛṣṇa may be represented thus in a tabular form:



Of these Rādhā, as the Vṛndāvaneśvarī and eternal consort of Kṛṣṇa, is the foremost Beloved. A whole section is devoted to her, in which she is identified with the Hlādinī Mahāśakti of the Tantra (*tantre pratiṣṭhitā*), and a big list is given of her attributes and excellences, with the final remark that her characteristics, like those of Kṛṣṇa, are incapable of enumeration (*saṅkhyātīta*). Although the name of Rādhā is not found in general literature before *Hāla-saptaśatī*, an attempt is made to prove her antiquity by a reference (p. 60) to such late neo-vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads as the *Gopāla-tāpanī* and to the apocryphal *Ṛk-pariśiṣṭa* and the canonical *Padma-purāṇa*. Her five kinds of companions, viz., Sakhī, Nitya-sakhī, Prāṇa-sakhī, Priya-sakhī and Parama-

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preṣṭha-sakhī, are then mentioned, and their individual names are recorded (p. 79).[26]

According to their luck in love (*saubhāgya*), each of the heroine may be again Adhikā (excessive), Samā (even) and Laghvī (light). According to her Svabhāva (temperament), she may be again Prakharā (sharp), Madhyā (equable) and Mṛdvī (mild). According to her attitude to her rivals, she may be Sva-pakṣa (interested in herself), Suhṛt-pakṣa (partial to her friend), Taṭastha (indifferent) and Vipakṣa (hostile). Of these, the second and the third are not conducive to Rasa, but are incidentally mentioned; they may be either Iṣṭa-sādhaka (doing good) or Aniṣṭa-bādhaka (averting evil). The hostile type may be Iṣṭa-hara (an obstacle) or Aniṣṭa-kara (active maker of mischief). But this classification on the basis of partisanship also applies to the Sakhī (companion) as a messenger (Dūtī), according to her attitude to the cause of Kṛṣṇa or of Rādhā.

Of the assistants (*sahāya*) in love-affair, the Nāyaka has his usual Ceṭa (servant, e.g. Bhaṅgura, Bhṛṅgāra etc. in Vraja), Viṭa (courtier, e.g. Kaḍāra, Bhāratībandhu etc.), Pīṭhamarda (comrade, e.g. Śrīdāman) and Vidūṣaka (buffoon, e.g. Madhumaṅgala in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdha-mādhava*), to which is added a fifth, Priya-narma-sakhā (dear and intimate friend, e.g. Subala and Arjuna). The Sakhī or companion of the Nāyikā has already been mentioned above. But her messengers of love (Dūtī) and the nature of the message take up an

26 The *raison d'etre* of this classification is not mentioned in the text, but Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*Kiraṇa*, p. 39-40) explains it thus: One who is more partial to Kṛṣṇa is Sakhī, but the Nitya-sakhī is more partial in her affection to Radhā. Among Nitya-sakhīs, those who are the chief are called Prāṇa-sakhīs. The Priya-sakhī is not defined, but among Priya-sakhīs the chief are Parama-preṣṭha-sakhīs. In his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (ed. Rādhāraman Press, Berhampore-Murshidabad, 1323 B.S.=1916 A.D.), Rūpa Gosvāmin enlarges upon this topic of the *anciallae* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

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entire long section of the work. The classification of the Dūtī may be tabulated as follows:

Dūtī (Messenger of the heroine)

- Svayam° (where the person acts as her own messenger)
  The self-effort may take the forms of gestures, words or looks. The gestures are of many kinds: cracking of the fingers, artfully covering up one's limbs, drawing figures on the ground with one's toes, scratching the ears, dance of the eye-brows, biting one's lips etc. The words, consisting of hints, may be direct or artful, or they may concern Kṛṣṇa himself or to something relevant etc. The looks are analysed into smiling with the eyes, glancing with half-closed eyes, rolling the eyes, sidelong glances etc.
- Āpta° (where a friend is employed)
  - Amitārthā
  - Nisṛṣṭārthā
  - Patrahārikā

  They may be Śilpakārī (woman artisan), Daivajñā (woman astrologer), Liṅginī (woman ascetic, e.g. Paurṇamāsī), Paricārikā (maidservant), Dhātreyī (governess), Sakhī (companion), Vanadevī (the presiding deity of the forest), etc. (cf. *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, i, 160-161).
  The message may be directly expressed *vācya*) or suggested (*vyaṅgya*). The suggested may be spoken before the heroine or behind her, and may be either direct (*sākṣāt*) or artfully spoken (*vyapadeśena*) etc.

So much about the Ālambana Vibhāvas. The Uddīpana Vibhāvas, which serve to foster the feeling by condition of time, place and circumstance, constitute a much less extensive topic, but involve an equal elaboration of detail. Under this section come mainly the definition and classification of the various excellences of Kṛṣṇa and his Beloved Gopīs, as well as such external (*taṭastha*) objects (e.g. spring, cloud, moon etc.) as would excite the feeling of love. The excellences of Kṛṣṇa having been already catalogued and illustrated in the previous work, the present work confines itself to an elaborate definition and illustration of the excellences of Kṛṣṇa's Beloved, which may be either physical (*kāyika*), mental (*mānasika*) and verbal (*vācika*). The mental and verbal characteristics are dismissed in a few words; but of physical excellences, such as beauty (*rūpa*), complexion (*lāvaṇya*), softness (*mārdava*) etc., prominence is given to the description of the three stages of youth (*yauvana*), viz., *navya* (fresh), *vyakta* (manifest) and *pūrṇa* (complete), along with *vayaḥ-sandhi* (adolescence).[27] Other excellences refer to the peculiarities of Name (*nāma*), Exploit (*carita*), Sport (*līlā*), e.g. playing on the flute, milking the cows, lifting of the Govardhana hill etc., Maṇḍana (embellishments), and other relevant (*sambandin*) and related

27 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (i. 164 f.) speaks of four stages of Yauvana.

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(*sannihita*) characteristics, including a description of Vṛndāvana, its rivers, groves, trees, flowers, birds and beasts. The Taṭastha Uddīpanas include the conventional external objects (such as the cloud, full moon, southern breeze etc.) which excite the feeling of love.

The three kinds of Anubhāvas, which consist of such outward manifestations of the feeling as follow and strengthen it, are distinguished, viz., twenty-two Alaṃkāras, seven Udbhāsvaras, and twelve Vācikas. Of the twenty-two Alaṃkāras or embellishments, the three physical ones (Bhāva, Hāva and Helā) refer to the degree of awakening and manifestation of love in a nature previously exempt; then there are seven inherent (*sattvaja*) qualities, such as brilliance of youth, beauty, sweetness, courage etc; and eleven natural (*svabhāvaja*) graces, such as *līlā* (playful imitation of the beloved), *vilāsa* (playful gestures), *vicchitti* (decoration), *moṭṭāyita* (clear expression of desire) etc. conclude the list. All this is conventional,[28] but the seven Udbhāsvaras, which are new, include such gestures or physical expressions of love as unconscious untying of the knot of the lower garment (*nīvi-visraṃsana*), dropping of the upper garment (*uttarīya-skhalana*), yawning (*jṛmbhā*), loosening of the hair (*keśa-saṃsrana*), etc. These are really aspects of *vilāsa* and *moṭṭāyita* mentioned above, but they are separately treated beacuse they have a charm of their own. The twelve Vācikas or conversational attributes are Ālāpa (agreeable and flattering talk), Vilāpa (lamentation), Saṃlāpa (dialogue), Pralāpa (vain or meaningless words), Anulāpa (repetition), Apalāpa (contrary application of a spoken word), Sandeśa (message), Atideśa (taking another's words as one's own), Apadeśa (hinting), Upadeśa (instruction), Nirdeśa (pointed reference) and Vyapadeśa (artful expression of one's desire).[29]

There is nothing novel in the treatment of the Sātvikas which are really kinds of Anubhāvas. The eight orthodox Sāttvikas are accepted and are illustrated chiefly with respect to the heroine. But each is considered as a result of different subsidiary feelings, e.g. Stupefaction (Stambha) is illustrated as caused respectively by fear, wonder, sorrow, impatience etc. As in the previous work, the Sāttvikas are classified as

28 See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, pp. 341-342.

29 This classification of *Vācika* follows *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ed. Trivandrum, i, 220f.).

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Smouldering (Dhūmāyita), Burning (Jvalita), Brightly Burning (Dīpta) and Flaming (Uddīpta).

The section on the Vyabhicāri-bhāva or Accessory Feeling is a fairly long one, but the conventional thirty-three of these are accepted and illustrated, with the exception of Ugratā (sternness) and Ālasya (indolence), which, in the opinion of our author, are inapplicable to Śṛṅgāra. As in the case of the Sāttvikas, each of these is described as caused by different feeling, e.g. by fear, wonder, anger, shame, contempt, sorrow etc.[30] After this, a brief reference is made to the Commencement (Utpatti), Commixture (Sandhi), Conjunction (Śabalatā) and Allaying (Śānti) of different Bhāvas.

The work then proceeds to the detailed consideration of the Sthāyi-bhāva, the root-feeling, of the Madhura Rasa, and the treatment is entirely original.

The natural or worldly (*laukika*) circumstances which give rise to this Madhurā Rati are, according to the degree of excellence:

(i) Abhiyoga, manifestation of the feeling, either directly or through a messenger.

(ii) Viṣaya, objects of the senses, e.g. sound (*śabda*), touch (*sparśa*), smell (*gandha*) etc.

(iii) Sambandha, sense of glory in beauty, lineage etc.

(iv) Abhimāna, sense of desirability of a particular pleasing object.

(v) Upamā, resemblance, however slight.

(vi) Svabhāva, nature or temperament, which does not depend upon outward cause. This may again be Nisarga (instinctive and deep-rooted habit), or Svarūpa (causeless self-accomplished essential). This Svarūpa may centre either on Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-niṣṭha*) or on the Gopīs (*lalanā-niṣṭha*).

The Madhurā Rati, according as the heroine is Sādhāraṇī (courtesan), Svīyā (wife) or Parakīyā (a maiden or a married woman) respectively, may be:

(a) Sādhāraṇī, general, e.g. in the case of the Kubjā, where the enjoyment is entirely for oneself (*ātma-tarpaṇaika-tātparya*, Jīva). It extends up to the Preman (see below) stage of love.

(b) Samañjasā, well-proportioned, as in the case of the conjugal love of Rukminī etc., where the enjoyment is as much for Kṛṣṇa as for oneself. It extends up to the Anurāga stage.

30 This procedure follows that of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*.

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(c) Samarthā, capable, in the case of the Gopīs where the effort is entirely for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. It extends up to the final Bhāva or Mahābhāva stage.

The Madhurā Rati, in its different aspects or conditions, may again be, successively, according to its stages of growth or intensity of manifestation:[31]

I Preman, defined as the bond of feeling (*bhāva-bandhana*) which is the indestructible seed (*bīja*) of love and which according to its degree may be *praudha* (mature), *madhya* (middling) and *manda* (slight).

II Sneha, which is affection sublimated from Preman and causing melting of the heart (*hṛdaya-drāvana*) in sight, hearing or recollection. It may also be the best (*śreṣṭha*), middling (*madhyama*) and the lowest (*kaniṣṭha*), according to its intensity. This Sneha is of two kinds: (a) Ghṛta-sneha, constant fondness, solidifying like Ghee, but impotent in itself in producing the taste, or (b) Madhu-sneha, constant fondness, like honey, strong in itself and potent in producing its sweetness.

III Māna, affected repulse of endearment due to excess of emotion and causing a variety of amatory feelings. This may be Udātta, the high-spirited impulse of Ghṛta-sneha, or Lalita, the sportive and tortuous impulse of the Madhu-sneha.

IV Praṇaya, friendly confidence (*viśrambha*), which may be Maitra, friendship characterised by humility, or Sakhya, fellowship free from apprehension. By a contact with the Udātta and the Lalita Māna respectively, these two kinds of Praṇaya may again be Su-maitra and Su-sakhya. The interrelation or evolution of one from the other is thus indicated: Sneha>Praṇya>Māna, or Sneha>Māna >Praṇaya, the two Praṇaya and Māna acting as mutual cause and effect.

V Rāga, erotic transmutation of sorrow into joy, which, in coloured figuration, may be either Nīlima (dark-blue) or Raktima (crimson). The Nīlima-rāga may again be Nīli-rāga, indigo-coloured, unchangeable and not outwardly manifesting itself, or it may be Śyāma-rāga, dark-coloured, accomplished slowly and manifesting itself

31 This classification follows that of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii, 109.) which, however, speaks (in order) of Preman, Māna, Sneha, Rāga and Anurāga, omitting Bhāva or Mahābhāva, which is peculiarly a Vaiṣṇava idea.

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a little. The Raktima Rāga, on the other hand, may be Kusumbha-rāga, saffron-coloured, quickly diffusing itself and reflecting other Rāgas, or it may be Mañjiṣṭhā-rāga, coloured like madder, durable and independent.[32]

VI Anurāga, love as constant freshness. Its aspects are: (a) Paravaśībhāva, self-surrender, (b) Prema-vaicittya, loving apprehension of separation, (c) Aprāṇi-janma, desire for birth as inanimate matter connected with the beloved, and (d) Vipralambha-visphūrti, vision of the beloved in separation.

VII Bhāva or Mahābhāva, supreme realisation of love such as can be realised only by the Gopīs of Vraja. It may be:

(1) Rūḍha, where the Sāttvikas have reached the highest form of excitement (*Uddīpta*). Its characteristics both in union and separation are (a) incapacity for bearing separation even for a moment (*Nimeṣāsahatā*), (b) exciting the hearts of all present (*Āsanna-panatā-hṛd-viloḍana*), (c) appearance of a whole age as a moment, and of a moment as a whole age (*Kalpa-kṣaṇatva, Kṣaṇa-kalpatva*), (d) languishment through apprehension of malady even in the presence of happiness (*Tat-saukhye'pyārti-śaṅkayā khinnatvam*), (e) forgetfulness of self and every thing even in the absence of actual fainting (*Mohādyabhāve' pyātmādi-sarva-vismaraṇam*).

(2) Adhirūḍha, involving a special sublimation of the characteristics of Rūḍha mentioned above. It is again twofold: (i) Modana, involving a special heightened charm of the Sāttvikas (*uddīpta-sauṣṭhava*), and is found only in the Rādhā-group. It deepens into Mohana in separation, which causes a deeper heightening (*sūddīpta*) of the Sāttvikas. Its characteristics are: the hero's fainting even in the embrace of the heroine (*kāntāśliṣṭe'pi mūrchanā*), desire for happiness even by undergoing unbearable suffering (*asahya-duḥkha-svīkārād api tat-sukha-kāmitā*), causing sorrow to the whole world (*brahmāṇḍa-kṣobha-kāritva*), weeping of the animal world (*tirścām api rodanam*), craving for death for elemental union with Kṛṣṇa (*mṛtyu-svīkārāt sva-bhūtair api tat-saṅga-tṛṣṇā*), and lastly, divine frenzy (*divyonmāda*). This divine frenzy may take the form of various helpless acts and movements (*udghūrṇā*) and of deeply anxious and resentful words on meeting a friend of the hero (*citra-jalpa*). The Citra-jalpa may take ten forms: Prajalpa (spitting out of the hero's incompetence in contempt prompted by impatience, jealousy or pride), Parijalpa (display of skill in chiding the hero's cruelty), Vijalpa (jealous irony instinct with resentment), Ujjalpa (proud and jealous declaration of the hero's deception), Saṃjalpa (regretful and

32 *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii, 117f.), following Bhoja, speaks only of Kusumbha, Nīli and Mañjiṣṭhā Rāga. See also *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* iii, 195-97.

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ironical declaration of the hero's ingratitude), Avajalpa (jealous declaration of the unworthiness of the hero's love on account of his hard-heartedness, lust and deception), Abhijalpa (hinting the propriety of giving up the heroes, which brings sorrow even to birds), Ājalpa (disparaging declaration of the hero's crookedness, which causes sorrow to self and joy to those who experience his association), Pratijalpa (honouring the messenger and humbly declaring inseparability from the hero) and Sujalpa (enquiry, inspired by simplicity, gravity and humility, after the hero). (ii) Mādana, which is pleasant with the sprout of all the feelings (*bhāvas*) and which is always found in Rādhā only. Its characteristics are excess of jealousy even when there is no cause for jealousy, and reminiscent contemplation of everything related to the hero even in a state of enjoyment.

This Sthāyi-bhāva of Madhurā Rati becomes the Madhura or Śṛṅgāra Rasa, the highest type of Erotic Love. It is twofold according as it is Love-in-union (*Sambhoga*) and Love-in-separation (*Vipralambha*). The Vipralambha may take various forms:[33]

(i) Pūrva-rāga, Incipient Love i.e. love before actual union, consequent upon first sight, hearing, dream, or looking at the picture of the beloved etc. Its various attendant feelings and conditions, succeeding each other in order of intensity and leading even up to death, are minutely described and illustrated. It may be either Prauḍha (developed), Samañjasa (well-proportioned) or Sādhāraṇa (general). The sending of love-letters (*kāma-lekha*) is also incidentally discussed. The ten stages of Prauḍha Pūrva-rāga are: Lālasā (ardent desire), Udvega (anxiety), Jāgara (sleeplessness), Tānava (thinness of the limbs), Jaḍimā (stupidity), Vaiyagra (impulsiveness), Vyādhi (illness), Unmāda (dementedness), Moha (unconsciousness) and Mṛtyu (death). Of the Samañjasa the ten stages are: Abhilāṣa (desire), Cintā (reflection), Smṛti (recollection), Guṇa-kīrtana (recital of the qualities of the beloved), Udvega (anxiety), Vilāpa (lamentation), Unmāda (dementedness), Vyādhi (illness), Jaḍatā (stupor) and Mṛtyu (death). Of the Sādhāraṇa Pūrva-rāga, the stages consist of the first six of

33 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, following Bhoja, speaks also of four kinds of Vipralambha, viz. Pūrvānurāga, Māna, Pravāsa and Karuṇa; but its Karuṇa is not the same as the Prema-vaicittya of our author.

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the Samañjasa mentioned above, beginning with Abhilāṣa and ending with Vilāpa.

(ii) Māna,[34] Resentment as a bar to the realisation of love. It may be (a) Sa-hetu (having a cause), the cause or ground of resentment being something seen (*dṛṣṭa*), heard (*śruta*) or inferred (anumita), or (b) Nirhetu (without a cause), or with Kāraṇābhāsa (with the semblance of a cause). The causeless resentment is easily allayed, but the caused resentment may be allayed by sweet words (*sāma*), offering of presents (*dāna*), glorification of oneself (*bheda*) and neglect (*upekṣā*), or by the sudden accession of other feelings (e.g. sudden fear).

(iii) Prema-vaicittya, Apprehension of separation, through excessive love, even in the presence of the beloved.

(iv) Pravāsa, the psychological effect of separation due to the absence of the hero gone abroad. The separation may be either deliberate (which may again be present, past or future)[35] or forced; and the exodus may be to a place which is very distant or not very distant. The ten stages of this condition are: Cintā (reflection), Jāgara (sleeplessness), Udvega (anxiety), Tānava (thinness), Malināṅgatā (paleness of the limbs), Pralāpa (lamentation), Vyādhi (illness), Unmāda (dementedness), Moha (unconsciousness) and Mṛtyu (death). With regard to Pravāsa, the author adds that in Kṛṣṇa's Eternal Sport (*Nitya-līlā*), there is no real separation of Kṛṣṇa and the Vrajadevīs, for their union is perpetual; but the condition of Pravāsa is described according to the Manifest Sport (*Prakaṭa-līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa, in which he *appears* to go to Mathurā. In other words, there is an apparent

34 The Māna which looms so large in Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī has, like the word 'Rasa,' hardly any equivalent in modern amatory vocabulary. A curious mixture of joy and sorrow, fear and hope, pride and anger, love and repulsion, it involves also an element of *Chalanā*, an indefinable playfulness, which is wayward and yet alluring. It is not pride, anger, mere displeasure or resentment; it is neither the French "amour propre" nor the Teutonic "Empfindelei." A psychological composite like this is untranslatable.

35 So in *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii, 216).

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sojourn to Mathurā, but the association with Vṛndāvana is real and permanent.

The Sambhoga or Love-in-union is either directly (*mukhya*) or indirectly (*gauṇa*, as in a dream) fulfilled. Of each of these, again, four stages[36] are marked in order of intensity: Saṃkṣipta (brief, e.g. occurring after Pūrva-rāga), Saṃkīrṇa (mixed with contrary feelings, e.g. occurring after Māna), Sampanna (developed, e.g. occurring after return from near Pravāsa), and Samṛddhimat (complete and excessive, e.g. occurring after return from distant Pravāsa). Its various elements are sight, touch, words, barring the way, Rāsa, sport in the river, stealing of garments, stealing of the flute, kissing, embracing etc., leading up to sexual union.

The number of works cited for poetical quotations in the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* is much fewer, and the number of such quotations hardly exceeds two hundred and fifty, as against nearly four hundred of the previous work.[37] As the erotic sentiment is its theme, there is more scope here for citations from general literary works and less from the Śāstras. The quotations from the Purāṇas and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures are indeed not may, but the author strictly confines himself to such general poetical works as possess a decided Vaiṣṇava leaning or concern themselves with the theme of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Thus, works like the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva or *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala are freely drawn upon for illustration of the different phases of the Rasa, but the largest number of quotations is supplied by the poetical and dramatic works of Rūpa Gosvāmin himself, which appear thus to have been composed with the special object of illustrating the different phases of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The works and authorities cited are:

(The references are by page, as the numbering of the verses in the printed edition does not facilitate such reference).

36 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* speaks of Saṃkṣipta, Saṃkīrṇa, Sampanna and Samṛddhimat Sambhoga. Jīva Gosvāmin (p. 1071) speaks of four kinds of Sambhoga occurring after Pūrva-rāga, viz., Sandarśana (sight), Saṃsparśa (touch), Saṃjalpa (conversation) and Samprayoga (intercourse).

37 Rūpa Gosvāmin himself compiled an anthology of Vaiṣṇava poems, the *Padyāvalī*, which appears to have been one of his earliest works. It contains about four hundred lyrical pieces culled from different sources.

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(1) *The Epics and the Purāṇas.* Harivaṃśa 40, 253, 432; Śrīmadbhāgavata 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 254, 264, 265, 272, 283, 285, 290, 296, 297, 307, 308, 311, 312, 336, 342, 357, 381, 384, 385, 411, 470; Padma-Purāṇa 52, 60, 460; Viṣṇupurāṇa 252, 271, 289, 361; Bṛhad-vāmana 52.

(2) *Other Religious Texts and Commentaries.* Brahma-saṃhitā 57; Kramadīpikā 349; Gopālottara-Tāpanī 60; Viṣṇugupta-saṃhitā 57; Tantra 61; Ṛk-pariśiṣṭa 60.

(3) *Rhetorical Works and Authors.* Muni (Bharata) 11, 32; Rasa-sudhākara 91, 231, 232, 242, 295 (=Rasārṇava-sudhākara of Siṅgabhūpāla); Prācīna 87; Daśa-rūpaka 30; Prāñcaḥ 86; Rudra 43.

(4) *Poetical and Dramatic Works.* Saptaśatī (of Hāla) 468; Gīta-govinda 113, 162, 175, 183, 243, 273, 276, 284, 287, 301, 310, 314, 496; (Śrīkṛṣṇa-) Karṇāmṛta 493; Bilvamaṅgala (author of above) 277, 285, 435, as Prāñcaḥ 24; Vopadeva and his Muktāphala 450; Jagannātha-vallabha (of Rāmānanda-Rāya) 302, 430; Govinda-vilāsa 320; Rukminī-svayaṃvara (Īśvarapurī-kṛta) 272, 274; Muktā-caritra (of Raghunātha-Dāsa) 261; Chandomañjarī (of Gaṅgādāsa, on Prosody) 252, 268. Rūpa Gosvāmin's own works: Padyāvalī 10, 101, 162, 181, 228, 241, 265, 277, 287, 300, 305, 306, 364, 392, 395, 396, 417, 453, 454, 490, 491; Vidagdha-mādhava 34, 64, 68, 69, 95, 108, 160, 182, 184, 187, 222, 235, 236, 250, 251, 254, 262, 265, 279, 282, 283, 289, 292, 296, 299, 303, 304, 305, 310, 311, 319, 322, 323, 371, 417, 420, 421, 423, 424, 426, 435, 443, 450, 489, 492; Lalita-mādhava 37, 77, 83, 182, 209, 228, 233, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240, 241, 251, 278, 284, 291, 293, 294, 299, 302, 304, 309, 318, 333, 388, 395, 451, 453, 474, 485, 487, 493; Dāna-keli-kaumudī 161, 222, 231, 234, 256, 270, 321, 358, 360, 373, 375, 410, 484, 488, 492; Uddhava-sandeśa 93, 102, 147, 161, 238, 240, 282, 296, 298, 302, 347, 439, 451, 452, 469, 492; Haṃsa-dūta 189, 286, 304, 309, 316, 324, 454, 456, 470, 484.

The erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious longings in the language of earthly passion and which is a characteristic feature of later Vaiṣṇavism, is thus seen in its full bloom in these treatises and indeed forms the basic inspiration of some aspects of Caitanyaism. In the older works, Bhakti is an ethical and mystical passion of an intensely personal character, rather than an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge. It is often typified by the love of a wife for her husband, and the term is interchangeable with Prīti, Bhāva, Rāga or Sneha as expressions of ardent love and yearning. Knowledge or belief is indeed acknowledged as a preliminary, and selfless action is not excluded but they are not identical with it. The mediæval expressions of the passion, however, dispense with Jñāna and Karma in the orthodox sense, and take their stand exclusively upon mystical

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emotional realisation (Rasa). But it also borders definitely upon sense-devotion, and leans perceptibly and dangerously towards the erotic passion. In Bengal Vaiṣṇavism it goes a step further, and seeks to realise, in its theory and practice, the actual passion of the deity, figured as a friend, son, father or master, but chiefly and essentially as a lover. The too ardent tendency of the attitude lapses into sensuousness of a refined type, but the mystical sensibility is chiefly vicarious. This fervent quasi-amorous attitude, in spite of its elusive juggling with psychological complexes, inspires not only its Śāstras and professedly devotional works, but also enlivens its mass of resplendent lyrics in Sanskrit as well as in the vernacular with a mighty and mystical sex-impulse. Whatever may be the devotional value of this attitude, the literary gain was immense. This last reach of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, transmuted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism into Preman or love, became an unfailing and rich source of literary inspiration, as well as of religious emotion; for it was personal in ardour, concrete in expression and original in appeal. Along with its metaphysics and theology was also produced a psychological rhetoric of the endless diversity of the passionate condition, which reproduced, no doubt, the classical phraseology and ideas of Sanskrit rhetoric of Rasa, but whose erotico-religious application and subtilising of emotional details were novel and inspiring. These æsthetic and emotional conventions were implicity accepted in the literary productions. In spite of its psychological formalism, its rhetoric of ornament and conceits and its pedantry of metaphysical sentimentalism, there can be no doubt that the inspiration supplied by such works as those of Rūpa Gosvāmin (with their hundreds of poetical illustrations) to later Vaiṣṇava literature, especially in Bengali, must have been of a deep and far-reaching character. Even the abstruse dogmas, formulas and shibboleths have had their effect on literary conception and phrasing, but there is much in them which possess an enduring emotional and poetical value. The devotional ecstasy, the romantic idealism and the mystical erotic sensibility lifted the lyric literature they produced to a very high level of artistic and passionate expression, which has as much human as transcendental value.

S. K. De

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Catustava[1]

III

ACINTYASTAVA

I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Restored from the Tibetan Version

अचिन्त्यस्तवः

प्रतीत्योत्पन्नभावानां येनोक्ता निःस्वभावता ।
नमस्तस्मा अचिन्त्यायातुल्यायासमबुद्धये ॥ १ ॥
प्रेक्षितं धर्मनैरात्म्यं महायाने यथा त्वया ।
मतिमद्भ्यस्तथैवैतद् देशितं करुणावशात् ॥ २ ॥
प्रत्ययेभ्यः समुत्पन्नं नोत्पन्नं ते सुभाषितम् ।
नोत्पन्नं तत्स्वभावेन तस्माच्छून्यं प्रदर्शितम् ॥ ३ ॥
यथा शब्दं प्रतीत्येह समुद्भूतः प्रतिध्वनिः ।
मायामरीचिसङ्काशः समुद्भूतस्तथा भवः ॥ ४ ॥
मायामरीचिगन्धर्वनगरस्वप्नविम्बके ।
अजाते दर्शनादीनां दृष्टान्तो नैव विद्यते ॥ ५ ॥
हेतुप्रत्ययसम्भूता यथैते कृतका मताः ।
तथा प्रतीत्यजं सर्वमेवमुक्तं त्वया प्रभो ॥ ६ ॥
यत्किञ्चिदुच्यते बालैः कृतकमिति तद्भवेत् ।
उच्छेद-शून्यसङ्काशं यथार्थं न प्रदर्शितम् ॥ ७ ॥ (?)
अजाते कृतके भावे प्रत्युत्पन्नः कुतो गतः ।
अनागतोऽपि च कथं [तस्मिन्] भवेदपेक्षितः ॥ ८ ॥
* न सन्नुत्पद्यते भावो नाप्यसन्सदसन्न च ॥

1 Continued from Vol. VIII, p. 331.

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न स्वतो नापि परतो न द्वाभ्यां जायते कथम् ॥ ९ ॥[2]
नाजातस्य स्वभावोऽस्ति सम्भवस्तत्कुतो भवेत् ।
भावोऽसिद्धः स्वभावेन परतोऽपि न सम्भवेत् ॥ १० ॥
स्वभावे परभावः स्वभावः स्यात्परभावतः ।
तयोरापेक्षिकी सिद्धिः पारापारसमोच्यते ॥ ११ ॥
नापेक्षा कस्यचित्स्याच्चेत्कुत्र किं नु भवेत्तदा ।
नापेक्षा यदि दीर्घस्य ह्रस्वादि स्यात्तदा कुतः ॥ १२ ॥[3]
एकत्वादि यथा नास्ति अतीतानागतादि च ।
क्लेशाश्चापि तथा सम्यग्निवृत्तौ किं स्वतो भवेत् ॥ १३ ॥
भावो यदि स्वतो नास्ति सर्वं किं विद्यते तदा ।
अभावे स्वस्वभावस्य परो नाम न विद्यते ॥ १४ ॥
स्वभावो नैव भावानां परभावो यदा न हि ।
... ... किमस्त्यर्थसमर्थकम् ॥ १५ ॥
आदित एव हि समाः प्रकृत्यैव च निर्वृताः ।
अनुत्पन्ना हि तत्त्वेन तस्माध्धर्मास्त्वयोदिताः ॥ १६ ॥[4]
रूपादेर्निःस्वभावत्वं देशितं मतिमंस्त्वया ।
फेनबुद्बुदमायादिमरीचिकदलीसमम् ॥ १७ ॥
* इन्द्रियैरुपलब्धं यत्तत्तत्त्वेन भवेद्यदि ।
जातास्तत्त्वविदो बालास्तत्त्वज्ञानेन किं तदा ॥ १८ ॥[5]
इन्द्रियाणां निरीहत्वमप्रामाण्यं तथैव च ।
अव्याकृतत्वं मिथ्यात्वं त्वया विज्ञेन वर्णितम् ॥ १९ ॥
यस्मान्न ज्ञायते किञ्चिद्यथाभूतावबोधनात् ।
अज्ञानेनावृतो लोकस्तस्मादिति त्वयोच्यते ॥ २० ॥

2 *BCP.*, p. 589 ; Cf. *MV.*, p. 12 ; *Māṇḍukyakārikā* of Gauḍapāda, IV, 22.

3 Cf. *BCP.*, p. 555 ; *MV.*, p. 10, *MA.*, p. 227.

4 Cf. *MV.*, 225 ; SS., p. 7 ; *MA.*, p. 222 ; *Māṇḍukyakārikā* of Gauḍapāda, IV, 93.

5 *BCP.*, p. 375 ; Cf. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, 7.

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अस्तीति शाश्वतग्राहोनास्तीत्युच्छेददर्शनम् ।[6]
अन्तद्वयविहीनस्तद्धर्मोऽयं देशितस्त्वया ॥ २१ ॥
चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्ता धर्मास्तत्कथितस्त्वया ।
... ... विज्ञेयं विद्यते न वा ॥ २२ ॥
स्वप्नेन्द्रजालसम्भूतद्विचन्द्रादीक्षणोपमः ।[7]
जगत उद्भवो भावस्त्वया जातस्तु दृश्यते ॥ २३ ॥
यथा हि हेतुतः स्वप्नउद्भवो दृश्यते तथा ।
उद्भवश्च विनाशश्च सर्वभावस्य मन्यते ॥ २४ ॥
तथायुरादि दुःखं च संसारो व्यसनं तथा ।
संक्लेशो निवहो मोक्षस्त्वयोक्तं स्वप्नसन्निभम् ॥ २५ ॥
तथोत्पत्तिरनुत्पत्तिर्गतिरागतिरेव च ।
बन्धमोक्षावबोधेच्छा तथा सम्यङ् न गम्यते ॥ २६ ॥
* उत्पत्तिर्यस्य नैवास्ति तस्य का निर्वृतिर्भवेत् ।
मायागजप्रकाशत्वादादिशान्तं तु तत्त्वतः ॥ २७ ॥[8]
उत्पन्नोऽपि ह्यनुत्पन्नो यथा मायागजो मतः ।
तथा जातं भवेत्सर्वं सम्यगजातमेव वा ॥ २८ ॥
अप्रमेयैर्जगन्नाथैः सत्त्वस्याप्रमितेः पृथक् ।
निर्वाणं क्रियते तस्मात् क एतै न हि मोच्यते ॥ २९ ॥
येन सत्त्वा अनुत्पन्नाः स्वतस्तेन महामुने ।
न मुक्तः केनचित्कश्चिदिति स्पष्टं त्वयोदितम् ॥ ३० ॥
मायाविना कृता भावा यथा शून्यास्तथाखिलाः ।
शून्या हि कृतका भावा स्त्वयोक्ता कारकोऽपि च ॥ ३१ ॥
कारकोऽपि कृतोऽन्येन कृतकः खलु जायते ।
अथवा तत्क्रिया ... ... कारके हि प्रसज्यते (?) ॥ ३२ ॥

6 Cf. *MV.*, p. 272.

7 Cf. *MV.*, 445, line 1.

8 *BCP.*, p. 528. Mc. Tib. lit. *arthataḥ* (*don du*); *BCP.*, Skt. *yatnataḥ* but the Tib. of the latter *ayatnataḥ* ('*bad. med. par*).

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नाममात्रमिदं सर्वं स्तुत्वा त्वदुक्तिरुच्यते ।
नाभिधानात्पृथग्भूतमभिधेयं प्रकल्प्यते ॥ ३३ ॥[9]
* कल्पनामात्रमित्यस्मात्सर्वे धर्माः प्रकाशिताः ।
कल्पनाप्यसती प्रोक्ता यया शून्यं विकल्प्यते ॥ ३४ ॥[10]
भावाभावावतिक्रान्तं नातिक्रान्तमपि क्वचित् ।
न ज्ञानं नापि च ज्ञेयं न सन्नासन्यदस्ति च ॥ ३५ ॥
यन्नैकं नाप्यनेकं च नानुभयं न च भयम् ।
अनाश्रयं तथाऽव्यक्तमचिन्त्यमनिदर्शनम् ॥ ३६ ॥[11]
अनिरोधमनुत्पादमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतम् ।
तदाकाशप्रतीकाशं वर्णबुद्ध्योरगोचरम् ॥ ३७ ॥
* यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः शून्यता सैव ते मता ।
तथाविधश्चसद्धर्मस्तत्समश्च तथागतः ॥ ३८ ॥[12]
* तत्तत्त्वं परमार्थोऽपि तथताद्रव्यमिष्यते ।
भूतं तदविसंवादि तद्बोधाद्बुद्ध उच्यते ॥ ३९ ॥[13]
* बुद्धानां सत्त्वधातोश्च येनाऽभिन्नत्वमर्थतः ।
आत्मनश्च परेषां च समता तेन ते मता ॥ ४० ॥[14]
भावेभ्यः शून्यता नान्या न च भावोऽस्ति तां विना ।
तस्मात्प्रतीत्यजो भावः शून्यः प्रदर्शितस्त्वया ॥ ४१ ॥[15]
अस्ति हेतुप्रत्ययजं संवृतिः परतन्त्रतः ।
परतन्त्रमिति प्रोक्तं परमार्थो ह्यकृत्रिमः ॥ ४२ ॥
स्वरूपं च स्वभावश्च भूतद्रव्यत्वमस्ति च ।
नैवास्ति कल्पितो भावः परतन्त्रो न विद्यते ॥ ४३ ॥

9 Cf. *AS.*, p. 46, line 19 ; *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka*, GOS., LXII, pp. 50, 415 ; *Bhavasaṃkrāntisūtra*, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1932, p. 252.

10 *BCP.*, p. 573.

11 Cf. *AS.*, p. 54, line 4.

12 Cf. *MA.*, p. 228, line 17.

13 *BCP.*, p. 528.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 598.

15 Cf. *AS.*, p. 24 ; *BD.*, p. 53 ; *BCP.*, p. 416, line 12.

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भावः कल्पितकोऽस्तीति समारोपस्त्वयोच्यते ।
कृतकोच्छेदतो नास्तीत्युच्छेदोऽस्ति त्वयोच्यते ॥ ४४ ॥
सम्यग्ज्ञानेन नोच्छेदः शाश्वतत्वं न चोच्यते ।
जगद्भावेन शून्यं तन्मरीचिकासमं मतम् ॥ ४५ ॥
मृगतृष्णाजलं यद्वदनुच्छेदमशाश्वतम् ।
जगत्सर्वं तथा प्रोक्तमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतम् ॥ ४६ ॥
यस्य भावोद्भवस्तस्योच्छेदादितो भवेद्भयम् ।
लोकस्यान्तो भवेत्तस्यान्ताभावोऽन्यथवा भवेत् ॥ ४७ ॥
ज्ञातुः सद्भावतो ज्ञेयं तज्ज्ञाता ज्ञेयसत्त्वतः ।
यदोभयमनुत्पन्नं ज्ञानं किं नु भवेत्तदा ॥ ४८ ॥
एवं मायादिकं व्यक्तमाख्यायोत्तमचिन्तया ।
दर्शितः परमो धर्मः सर्वग्रन्थिनिषेधकः ॥ ४९ ॥
आख्यातं निःस्वरूपत्वं तदेतत्सम्यगुत्तमम् ।
भावग्राहगृहीतानां चिकित्सितमनुत्तरम् ॥ ५० ॥
अनेन हेतुना धर्मयज्ञस्यार्चनदानयोः ।
नित्यं क्रमेण सन्तत्या त्रिलोक्यां होमकारिणाम् ॥ ५१ ॥
भावग्राहभयोच्छेदस्तीर्थ्यपशुभयङ्करः ।
नैरात्म्यसिंहनादोऽसावद्भुतो भवता कृतः ॥ ५२ ॥
गम्भीरशून्यताधर्ममहादुन्दुभिराहतः ।
निःस्वभावमहाशब्दो धर्मशङ्खश्च पूरितः ॥ ५३ ॥
बुद्धशासनपीयूषैर्धर्मद्रव्यं प्रकाशितम् ।
स्वरूपमपि धर्माणां नीतार्थेनेति भाषितम् ॥ ५४ ॥
यच्चोत्पादनिरोधादि सत्त्वप्राणादि देशितम् ।
संवृतौ स तु नेयार्थस्त्वया नाथेन देशितः ॥ ५५ ॥
प्रज्ञापारमिताम्भोधेः पारं गच्छति यः स्वयम् ।
स पुण्यगुणरत्नश्रीर्नाथ त्वद्गुणपारगः ॥ ५६ ॥
एवं निरुपमाचिन्त्यजगन्नाथस्तवान् मया ।
लब्धं यत्सुकृतं तेन जगदस्तु त्वया समम् ॥ ५७ ॥

॥ महाचार्यनागार्जुनपादेन प्रणीतोऽचिन्त्यस्तवः समाप्तः ॥

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2

TIBETAN TEXT[1]

bsam. gyis. mi. khyab. par. bstod. pa. |

[**84**^{b}, **6**] gań. źig. dńos. po. rten. 'byuń. rnams |
ńo. bo. med. pa. ñid. du. gsuńs, |
[**7**] ye śes. mñam. med. bsam. mi. khyab. |
dpe. med. de. la. phyag. 'tshal. lo || 1 ||
ji. ltar. khyod. las. theg. chen. la |
ñid. kyis. chos. la. bdag. med. rtogs |
de. bźin. blo. dań. ldan. rnams. la |
thugs. rje'i. dbań. gis. bstan. pa. mdzod || 2 ||
kryen. rnams. las. ni. 'brel. [**85**^{a}, **1**], byuń. ba |
ma. skyes. legs. par. khyod. kyis. gsuńs |
ńo. bo. ñid. kyis. de. ma. skyes |
de. phyir. stoń. par. rab. tu. bstan || 3 ||
ji. ltar. 'di. na. sgra. brten. nas. |
brag. ca. kun. tu. 'byuń. ba. ltar. |
sgyu. ma. smig. rgyu. bźin. du. yań |
de. bźin. srid. pa. [**2**] kun. tu. 'byuń || 4 ||
sgyu. ma. dań. ni. smig. rgyu dań |
dri. za'i. groń. khyer. gzugs. brñen. dań |
rmi. lam. gal. te. ma. skyes. na |
mthoń. ba. la. sogs. dpe. med. 'gyur || 5 ||
ji. ltar. rgyu. rkyen. las. 'byuń. ba |
de. dag. byas. pa. can. du. bźed |
de. bźin. rten.[2] las. byuń. ba. kun |
mgon. [**3**] po. khyod. kyis. de. ltar. gsuńs || 6 ||
byis. pa. gań. dag. ci. brjod. pa |
bgyis pa. źes. bya. de. mchis. te |
chad. pa. stoń. pa. 'dra. ba. lags |
don bźin. na. lags. rab. tu. bstan || 7 ||

1 Tanjur, Bstod Tshogs, ka, fol. 84 *b*, 6—87*a*, 4 of the Narthang edition in the Visvabharati Library. See Cordier, II, p. 6, no. 19.

2 X *rkyen*.

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gaṅ. tshe. byas. pa'i. dṅos. ma. skyes |
de. tshe. da. ltar. byuṅ. ba. yi |
gaṅ. źig. pas. na. 'das. [4] par. 'gyur |
ma. 'oṅs. pa. yaṅ. ji. ltar. blots || 8 ||
* raṅ. las. dṅos. po. skye. ba. med |
gźan. daṅ. gñis. ka. las. ma. yin |
yod. min. med. min. yod. med. min |
de. tshe. gaṅ. las. gźan. źig. 'byuṅ || 9 ||[3]
ma. skyes. pa. la. raṅ. bźin. med |
de. phyir. gaṅ. las. [5] kun. tu. 'byuṅ |
raṅ. bźin. dṅos. po. med. grub. pas. |
gźan. las. kyaṅ. ni. 'byuṅ. ba. med || 10 ||
raṅ. ñid. yod. na. gźan. yod. 'gyur |
gźan. ñid. yod. na. raṅ. ñid. yod |
de. dag. bltos. pa. can. du. grub |
pha. rol. tshu. rol. bźin. du. gsuṅs || 11 ||
[6] gaṅ. tshe. ci. la'ṅ. mi. bltos. pa |
de. tshe. gaṅ. la. gaṅ. ig. 'byuṅ |
gaṅ. tshe. riṅ. la. mi. bltos. ba
de. tshe. thuṅ. sogs. ga. la. n. .is || 12 ||
ji. ltar. gcig. sogs. ma. mchis. pa |
'das. daṅ. ma. 'oṅs. la. sogs. pa |
ñon. rmoṅs. rnams. kyaṅ. de. bźiṅ [7] te |
yaṅ. dag. log. pa'aṅ. raṅ. las. ci || 13 ||
dṅos. gaṅ. raṅ. las. ma. mchis. na |
de. tshe. thams. cad. ci. źig. mchis |
gźan. źes. brjod. pa. gaṅ. lags. te |
raṅ. gi. raṅ. bźin. med. na. min || 14 ||
gaṅ. tshe. gźan. gyi. dṅos. med. pa |
de. tshe. dṅos. rnams. [85b.1] raṅ. bźin med |
de. gźan. dṅos. dṅos. 'dzin. pa |
don. gyi. theg pa. ci. źig. mchis || 15 ||

3 *BCP.*, Tib. T. Mdo, La. fol. 317b. 6 :
dṅos. po. yod. pa. mi, skye. źiṅ |
med. pa. ma. yin. yod. med. min |
raṅ. las. min. pa. gźan. las. min |
gñig. las. min. ji. ltar. skye. źes ||
In *b* X adds *yod* after *med. pa.*

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gdod. pa. ñid. nas. mñam. gyur. pa |
raṅ. bźin. gyis. kyaṅ. mya. ṅan. 'das |
yaṅ. dag. par. na. ma. skyes. lags |
de. slad. chos rnams khyod. kyis. gsuṅs || 16 ||
blo. ldan. [2] khyod. kyis. gzugs. la. sogs |
ṅo. bo. ñid. med. par. bstan. pa |
dbu. ba. chu. bur. sgyu. la. sogs |
smig. rgyu. chu. śiṅ. 'dra. ba. lags || 17 ||
* dbaṅ. po. rnams. kyis. gaṅ. dmigs. te |
gal. te. yaṅ. dag. mchis. gyur. na |
byis. pas. yaṅ. dag. rig. par. 'gyur |
[3] de. tshe. yaṅ. dag. śes. pas. ci || 18 ||[4]
dbaṅ. po. rnams. ni. bems. po. daṅ |
tshad. ma. ñid. kyaṅ. ma. yin. daṅ |
luṅ. ma. bstan. pa. ñid. daṅ. ni |
log. par. yoṅs. śes. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs || 19 ||
gaṅ. gi [s] ci. źig. ma. rtogs. pa |
yaṅ. dag. ji. bźin. thugs. chud. nas |
[4] des. na. 'jig. rten. mi. śes. pas |
bsgribs. pa. źes. kyaṅ. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs || 20 ||
yod. ces. pa. ni. rtag. par, lta. |
med. ces. pa. ni. ched. par. lta |
des. na. mtha'. gñis. bral. ba. yi |
chos. de. khyod. kyis. bstan. pa. mdzad || 21 ||
des. na. chos. rnams. ma. bźi daṅ |
[5] bral. bar. khyod, kyis. bka'. stsal. lags |
rnam. śes. bya. ba'am. ma. lags la || 22 ||
rmi. lam. mig. 'phrul. las. byuṅ. daṅ |
zla. ba. gñis. la. sogs. mthoṅ. bźin |
'gro. ba. 'byuṅ. ba. de. dṅos. su |
ma. byuṅ. de. bźin. khyod. kyis. gzigs || 23 ||

4 Cf *BCP.*, Tib. T. Mdo. La. fol. 220 *a*, 1 :
gaṅ. źig. dbaṅ. pos. gaṅ. źig. dmigs |
gal. te. de. ñid. yin. gyur. na |
byis. la. de. ñid. rtogs. skye. bas |
de. tshe. de. ñid. śes. ci. dgos ||
Cf. also *Yuktiṣaṣṭikākārikā*, 7

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ji. ltar. rgyu. las. rmi [**6**] lam. na |
'byuṅ. ba. mthoṅ ba. de. bźin, du |
dṅos. po. thams. cad. 'byuṅ. ba. bźin |
'jig. par, de. bźin. bźed. pa lags || 24 ||
de. bźin. tshe. sogs. sdug. bsñal. daṅ |
'khor. ba. sdug, bsñal, kun. ñon. rmoṅs. |
tshogs. rjogs. pa. thar. ba. yaṅ|
[**7**] rmi lam. 'dra. bar. khyod kyis. gsuṅs || 25 ||
de. bźin. skyes daṅ. ma. skyes. daṅ |
'oṅs. pa. daṅ. ni. soṅ. ba. yaṅ |
de. bźin. bciṅs. grol. ye. śes. la |
gñis. 'dod. yaṅ. dag. rig. ma. lags || 26 ||
* gaṅ. las. skyes. pa. yod. ma lags |
de. la. mya. ñan. 'das.gaṅ. [**86** *a*, 1] yod |
sgyu. ma'i. glaṅ. po. 'dra. bas. na |
don. du. bzod-nas. źi. ba. ñid || 27 ||[5]
skyes. pa. ñid. na'aṅ. ma. skyes. pa |
sgyu. ma'i. glaṅ. po. ji. bźin. bźed |
de. bźin. thams. cad. skyes. pa. yam |
yaṅ. dag. pa. ni. ma, skyes. lags || 28 ||
'jig. rten. mgon. [**2**] po. dpag med. kyis |
sems. can. dpag. tu. ma. mchis. pa |
so. sor. mya. ñan. 'das. mdzad. kyaṅ |
de. dag. gis. kyaṅ. gaṅ. ma. bkrol || 29 ||
thub. chen. gaṅ phyir sems. can. rnams |
raṅ. las. ma. skyes. de. yi. phyir |
gaṅ. yaṅ. gaṅ. gis. ma. bkrol. źes |
[**3**] de skad. khyod. kyis. gsal. bar. gsuṅs || 30 ||
ji. ltar. sgyu. ma. mkhan. gyis. byas |
dṅos. po. stoṅ. ba. de. bźin. du |
byas. pa, thams. cad. dṅos stoṅ. bźin |
khyod gsuṅ. de. bźin. byed. pa. po || 31 ||

5 Cf. *BCP.*, Tib, T. Mdo, La, fol. 290 *a*, 1 :
gaṅ. las. skye. ba. yod. min. ñid |
de. la. mya. ñan. 'das. gaṅ. yod |
'gro. ba. sgyu. ma. gsal. ba'i. phyir |
daṅ. po. nas. źi. 'bad. med. par ||
In *b* X adds *la* after *gaṅ.*

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byed. pa. po. yaṅ. gźan. gyis. bgyis |
byas. pa. can. du. 'gyur. ba. lags |
[4]yaṅ. na. de. yi. bya. ba. byed |
byed. pa. po'r ni thal. bar. 'gyur || 32 ||
'di. dag. thams. cad. miṅ. tsam. źes |
khyod. kyis. gsuṅ. ni. bstod. de. gsuṅs |
brjod. pa. las. ni. gźan. gyur-pa |
brjod. par. 'gyi. ba. yod. ma. mchis || 33 ||[6]
* de. phyir. chos. rnams. thams. cad. ni |
[5] rtog. pa. tsam. źes. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs |
gaṅ. gis. stoṅ. bar. rnam. rtog. pa'i |
rtog. pa. yaṅ. ni. med. ces. gsuṅs || 34 ||[7]
dṅos. daṅ. dṅos. med. gñis. 'das. pa.
la. lar. ma. 'das. pa. yaṅ. lags |
śes. pa. med. ciṅ. śes, bya. 'aṅ. med |
med. min. yod. min. gaṅ. [6] lags. daṅ || 35 ||
gaṅ. yaṅ, gcig. min. tu. ma'aṅ min |
gñis. ka. ma. min[8] gñis[9] kyaṅ. med |
gźi. med. pa. daṅ. ma. gsal. daṅ |
bsam. mi. khyab. daṅ. dpe. med. daṅ || 36 ||
gaṅ. yaṅ. mi. skye. mi. 'gag. daṅ |
chad. pa. med. ciṅ. rtag. med. pa |
de. ni. nam. kha'. 'dra. ba. [7] lags |
yi. ge. ye. śes. spyod. yul. min || 37 ||

6 *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka*, Tib. T. Mdo, Cha, fol. 35 *a*, 4 :
'di. dag. thams, cad. miṅ. tsam. ste |
'du. śes. tsam. la. rab. tu. gnas |
rjod. par. byed. las. ma, gtogs. pa |
brjod. par. bya. bar. brtag. mi. bya ||
See note on Skt, text.

7 *BCP.*, Tib. T. Mdo, La, fol. 310.*b*, 6 :
de. phyir. gnas, pa. tsam. ñid. du |
chos. rnams. thams. cad. bstan. pa. yin |
gaṅ. gi. stoṅ. ñid. rnam. pa. brtags |
rtog. pa'aṅ. med par, brjod. pa'i. źes ||

8 X *yiṅ*. 9 X *gcig*.

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* de. ni. rten. ciṅ. 'brel. bar. 'byuṅ |
de. ni. stoṅ. bar. khyod. bźed. lags |
dam. pa'i. chos. kyaṅ. de. lta. bu |
de. bźin. gśegs. pa'aṅ. de daṅ. mtshuṅs ‖ 38 ‖[10]
* de. ni. de. ñid. don. daṅ ni |
de. bźin. ñid. daṅ. rdzas. su. bźed |
de. [86^{b}, 1] ni. yaṅ. dag. mi. bslu. ba
de. rtogs. pas. na. saṅs, rgyas. brjod ‖ 39 ‖[11]
* saṅs. rgyas. rnams. daṅ. chos dbyiṅs. daṅ |
du. na. don. du. tha. med. do |
bdag. ñid. daṅ. ni, gź'an. rnams. daṅ |
des. na. mñam. par. khyod. bź'ed. lags ‖ 40 ‖[12]
dṅos. po. rnams. las. stoṅ. gź'an. min |
de. med. par. yaṅ. [2] dṅos. po. med |
de. phyir. rten. ciṅ. 'byuṅ. ba'i-dṅos |
stoṅ. ba. lags. par. khyod. kyis. bstan ‖ 41 ‖
rgyu. daṅ. rkyen. las. byuṅ, ba'aṅ. lags |
gź'an. gyis. dbaṅ. las. kun. rjob. ste |
gź'an. gyi. dbaṅ. źes. rab. tu. gsuṅs |
dam. pa'i. don. ni. bces. ma. yin ‖ 42 ‖
ṅo. ba. ñid. daṅ, raṅ. [3] bźin. daṅ |
yaṅ. dag. rdzas. dṅos. yod. pa'aṅ. lags |

10 Cf. *BCP.*, Tib, T. Mdo. La. fol. 290 *a*, 2 :
gaṅ. źig. rten. ciṅ. 'brel. bar. 'byuṅ |
de. ni. khyod. ni. stoṅ. ñid. bźed |
de. bźin. du. ni. dam. chos. te |
de. daṅ. mtshuṅs. pa. de. bźin. gśegs ‖

11 Cf. *Ibid.*, *a*, 3 :
de. ni. de. ñid. kho. na. med. |
de. bz'in. ñid. kyi. rdzas. su. bź'ed |
yaṅ. dag. de. ni. mi. bslu. ba |
de. rtogs. pa. ni. saṅs. rgyas. brtod ‖

12 Cf. *BCP.*, Tib. T. Mdo. La. fol. 319 *b*, 1 :
saṅs. rgyas. rnams. daṅ. sems. can. khams |
don. gyis. de. daṅ. tha. dad. med |
bdag. ñid. kyaṅ. ni. gź'an. rnams. kyaṅ |
de. daṅ. mñam. par. khyod. bź'ed. lags ‖

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brtags. pa'i. dṅos. po. med. pa. ñid ।
gźan. gyi. dbaṅ. ni. yod. ma. lags ॥ 43 ॥
btags. pa'i. dṅos. po. yod. ces. pa ।
sgro. 'dogs. lags. par. khyod. kyis gsuṅs ।
byas. pa. chad. nas. med. ces. pa ।
chad. [4] pa. lags. par. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 44 ॥
yaṅ. dag. śes. chad. pa. med ।
rtag. pa. ñid. kyaṅ. med. par. bśad ।
'gro. ba. dṅos. pos. stoṅ. pa. las ।
de. slad. smig. rgyu. 'dra. bar. bźed ॥ 45 ॥
ji. ltar. ri. dwags. skom. chu. ni ।
chad. med. rtag. pa. yod. ma. yin ।
de. dźin. [5] 'gro. ba. thams. cad. kyaṅ ।
chad. med. rtag. pa. med. par. gsuṅs ॥ 46 ॥
gaṅ. la. rdzas. dag. skye. 'gyur. ba.
de. la. chad. sogs. 'jigs. pa. 'byuṅ ।
de. la. 'jig. rten. mtha.' yod. daṅ ।
mtha'. med. par. yaṅ. 'gyur. ba. lags ॥ 47 ॥
śes. pa. yod. pas. śes. bya. [6] bźin ।
śes. bya. yod. pas. de. śes. bźin ।
gaṅ. tshe. gñis. ka. ma. skyes. par ।
rtogs. pa. de. tshe. ci. źig. yod ॥ 48 ॥
de. ltar. sgyu. ma. la. sogs. dag ।
snam. pa'i. mchog. gis. gsal. bstan. nas. ।
lva. ba. thams. cad. 'gog. byed. pa'i ।
dam. pa'i. chos. ni. bstan. pa. [7] lags ॥ 49 ॥
ño. ba. med. pa. ñid. bstan. pa ।
de. ni. yaṅ. dag. dam. pa. lags ।
dṅos. po'i. gnon. gyis. zin. rnams. kyi ।
gso. ba. de. ni. bla. na. med ॥ 50 ॥
des. na. chos. kyi. mchod. sbyin. pa ।
mchod. sbyin. rim. pas. rtag. rgyun. tu ।
'jig. rten. gsum. po. sbyin sreg. [87ᵃ, 7] mdzad ।
dṅos. 'dzin. 'jigs. pa. gcod. bgyid. cīṅ ॥ 51 ॥
mu. stegs. ri. dwags. 'jigs. bgyid. pa ।
bdag. med. seṅ. ge'i. ṅa. ro'i. sgra ।
rmad. byuṅ. de. ni. khyod. kyis. gsuṅs ॥ 52 ॥
stoṅ. pa. ñid. daṅ. ches. zab. pa'i
chos. kyi. rṅa. chen. brduṅ. ba. lags ।

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[**2**] ṅo. bo. ñid. med. sgra. bo. che'i ।
chos. kyi. duṅ. ni. bus. pa. lags ॥ 53 ॥
saṅs. rgyas. bstan. pa. bdud. rtsi. yis ।
chos. kyi. rdzes. ni. gsuṅs. pa. lags ।
chos. rnams. kyi. ni. ṅo. bo. ñid ।
ṅes. pa'i. don. te. źes. kyaṅ. bstan ॥ 54 ॥
gaṅ. daṅ. skye. daṅ. 'gag. la. sogs ।
sems. [**3**] can. srog. la. sogs. bstan. pa ।
de. ni. bkri. don. kun. rdjob. tu ।
mgon. po. khyod. kyis. bstan. pa. lags ॥ 55 ॥
śes. rab. pha. rol. phyin. mtsho. yi. ।
pha. rol. gaṅ gis raṅ. phyin. te ।
bsod. nams. yon. tan. rin. chen. phyag ।
mgon. khyod. yon. tan. pha. rol. phyin ॥ 56 ॥
[**4**] de. ltar. dpe. med. bsam. mi. khyab ।
'gro. ba'i. mgon. po. bstod. pa. yis ।
bdag. gis. bsod. nams. gaṅ. thob. des ।
'gro. ba. khyod. daṅ. mtshuṅs. par. śog ॥ 57 ॥

bsam. gyis. mi. khyab. par. bstod. pa slob. dpon. chen.
po. klu. sgrub. kyi. źal. sña nas,
mdzad. pa. rjogs. so ॥

IV

STUTYATĪTASTAVA

I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Restored from the Tibetan Version

स्तुत्यतीतस्तवः

अनुत्तरमार्गगतं स्तुत्यतीतं तथागतम् ।
भक्त्योत्सुकेन चित्तेन स्तुत्यतीतं स्तवीम्यहम् ॥ १ ॥
स्वपरोभयतो भावान् विविक्तानपि पश्यतः ।
अद्भुतं तव सत्त्वेभ्यः करुणा न निवर्तते ॥ २ ॥

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अनुत्पन्नाः स्वभावेन वाक्पथातीतगोचराः ।
यत्त्वया देशिता धर्मास्तदेतदद्भुतं तव ॥ ३ ॥
स्कन्धायतनधातूनामुद्देशेऽपि कृते त्वया ।
तेषां परिग्रहः पश्चात्त्वयेह विनिवर्तितः ॥ ४ ॥
नास्ति तत्प्रत्ययाद्यत्स्याद् भावाः स्युः प्रत्ययात्कथम् ।
प्रपञ्चोच्छेद एवं ते प्राज्ञस्य वचनाद्भवेत् ॥ ५ ॥
उत्पादं ये तु पश्यन्ति सामग्र्याद्धेतुतोऽथवा ।
अन्तद्वयाश्रितास्ते हि त्वया समवलोकिताः ॥ ६ ॥
भावः प्रत्ययमाश्रित्य सिध्यतीत्यभिमन्यसे ।
एवं कृतकतादोषः शास्तरित्थं त्वमीक्षसे ॥ ७ ॥
कुतश्चिन्नैव भवति न कुत्रापि च विद्यते ।
सर्वे भावास्त्वया तस्मात्प्रतिविम्बसमा मताः ॥ ८ ॥
सर्वदृष्टिप्रहाणाय शून्यं नाथ त्वयोच्यते ।
एतदपि समारोप्य भावो नाथ न ते मतः ॥ ९ ॥
न शून्यं नापि चाशून्यं न चोभयं मतं तव ।
विवादस्तत्र न प्राप्त उक्तस्त्वया महानयः ॥ १० ॥
भावो न विद्यतेऽनन्यो नान्योऽन्तभय उच्यते ।
विहायैकत्वमन्यत्वं न कीदृगपि विद्यते ॥ ११ ॥
उत्पादादित्रये प्राप्ते प्राप्तं संस्कृतलक्षणम् ।
तेषामपि पुनर्भिन्नमुत्पादादित्रयं भवेत् ॥ १२ ॥[1]
उत्पादाद्यास्त्रयो व्यस्ता नालं संस्कृतकर्मणि ।
एकैकस्मिन् समस्तानामपि योगो न गम्यते ॥ १३ ॥[2]
लक्ष्यलक्षणयोरेवं सद्भावो नैव सिध्यति ।
असिद्धे संस्कृते सिध्येत् कासंस्कृतस्य दर्शनम् ॥ १४ ॥
वादिसिंह तवैवैवं वादसिंहेन [सर्वतः] ।
वादिविन्ध्यमहानागगर्वापनयनं कृतम् ॥ १५ ॥

1 See *MK.*, with *MV.*, VII, 1.
2 *Ibid.*, VII, 2.

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नैति मार्गागतो दृष्टिकुमार्गं विविधाशिवम् ।
त्वामाश्रित्य तथा भावोऽभावश्चापि निराश्रयः ॥ १६ ॥
ये तथैवावगच्छन्ति सन्धावाक्यानि ते ततः ।
ज्ञानं न खलु तैः सन्धावाक्येभ्यो बहिरिष्यते ॥ १७ ॥
निर्वाणसदृशा भावा इति येनावगम्यते ।
आत्मग्राहस्तदा तस्य कथं नु खलु सम्भवेत् ॥ १८ ॥
एवं सम्यग्विदां श्रेष्ठ तत्त्वविच्छ्रावकस्य मे ।
यत्पुण्यं तेन लोकोऽयं भूयात्तत्त्वविदुत्तमः ॥ १९ ॥

॥ महाचार्यार्यनागार्जुनपादेन प्रणीतः

स्तुत्यतीतस्तवः समाप्तः ॥

2

TIBETAN TEXT[1]

bstod. pa. las. 'das. par. bstod. pa ।

bla. med. lam. la.[2] gśegs. pa. yi ।
de. [**87a , 6**] bźin. gśegs. pa. bstod. 'das. kyaṅ ।
gus. śiṅ. spro. ba'i. sems. kyis. ni ।
bdag. gis. bstod. 'das. bstod. par. bgyi ॥ 1 ॥
bdag. daṅ. gźan. daṅ. gñis. ka. las ।
rnam. par. dben. pa'i. dṅos. gzigs. kyaṅ ।
khyod. kyi. thugs. rje. sems. can. las ।
[**1**] ma. log. pa. ni. ṅo. mtshar. lags ॥ 2 ॥
ṅo. bo. ñid. kyis. ma. skyes. śiṅ ।
tshig. las. das. pa'i. spyod. yul. gyi ।
chos. rnams, khyod. kyis. gaṅ. bstan. pa ।
de. ni. khyod. kyi. ṅo. mtshar. lags. ॥ 3 ॥

1 Tanjur, Bstod. Tshogs, Ka. fol. 87*a*, 5 – 88*a*, 3 of the Narthang edition in the Visvabharati Library. See Cordier, II, p. 6, no. 20.
2 X las. 3 X las.

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phuṅ. po, khams. daṅ. skye. mched. rnams ।
khyod. kyis. bsgrags [87ᵇ, 1] par. mdzad. lags. kyaṅ ।
de. dag. yoṅs. su. 'dzin. pa. ni ।
slad. kyis. kyaṅ. nī. bzlog. par. mdzad ॥ 4 ॥
gaṅ. źig. rkyen. las. de. ma. mchis ।
dṅos. rnams. rkyen. las. zi. ltar. skye ।
de. skad. mkhas. pa. khyod. gsuṅs. pas ।
spros. pa. rnams. ni. bcad. pa. lags. ॥ 5 ॥
gañ. dag. tshogs. [2] las. rab, graṅ. na ।
tshogs. pa. rgyu. las. 'byṅu. mthoṅ. ba ।
de. dag. mtha. gñis. brten. par. ni ।
khyod. kyiṣ. śin. tu. gzigs. pa. lags ॥ 6 ॥
dṅos. po. rkyen. la. brten. grub. par ।
khyod. ni. śin. tu. bźed. pa. lags ।
de. ltar. byas. pa'i. skyon. lags. par ।
'di. ltar. [3] ston. pa. khyod. kyis gzigs ॥ 7 ॥
gaṅ. nas. kyaṅ. ni. mchi. ma. lags ।
gaṅ. du. yaṅ. ni. mchis. ma. lags ।
dṅos. po. thams. cad. gzugs. brñan. daṅ ।
mtshuṅs. par. khyod. ni. bźed, pa. lags ॥ 8 ॥
lta. ba. thams. cad. spaṅ. ba'i. phyir ।
mgon. po. kyod. kyis. stoṅ. pa, [4] gsuṅs ।
de yaṅ. yoṅs. su. btags. pa. ste ।
dṅos. su. mgon. po. khyod. mi. bźed ॥ 9 ॥
stoṅ daṅ. mi. stoṅ. bźed. ma. lags ।
gñis. kar. khyod. bgyis. ma. lags. te ।
de. la. brtsod. pa. ma. mchis. par ।
khyod. kyis. gsuṅ. chen. spyod. pa. lags ॥ 10 ॥
gźan. min. dṅos [5] po. yod. min. źiṅ ।
gźan. min. gñis. min. źes. kyaṅ gsuṅs ।
gcig. daṅ gźan. ñid. spaṅs. pas. na ।
ji. lta. bur. yaṅ. yod. ma. mchis ॥ 11 ॥
gal. te. skye. sogs. gsum. mchis. na ।
'dus. byas. mtshan. ñid. mchis. par. 'gyur ।
de. dag. gi. yaṅ skye. la. [6] sogs ।
gsum. pa. tha. dad. 'gyur. ba. lags ॥ 12 ॥

4 X., *ges.*

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skye. sogs. gsum. po. so. so. ni ।
'dus, byas. las. la. nus. ma. lags ।
gcig. la. gcig. tu. 'dus. pa. rnams ।
phraṅ. par. yaṅ. ni. mchis. ma. lags ॥ 13 ॥
de. ltar. mtshan. gźi. mtshan. ma. mchis ।
'di. [7] ltar, grub. pa. ma. lags. pas ।
'dus. byas. grub. pa. ma. lags. na ।
'dus. ma. byas. lta. ga. la. grub ॥ 14 ।
smra. ba'i. seṅ. ge. de. skad. du ।
khyod. ñid. gsuṅs. ni.[5] seṅ. ge. yis ।
'bigs. byed. glaṅ. chen. smra. rnams kyi ।
rgyags. pa. bsal. bar. gyur. bźin ॥ 15 ॥
[88[a], 1] lam. źugs, gnod. pa. sna. tshogs. daṅ ।
lta. ba'i. lam. ṅan. mi. bsten. ltar ।
khyod. la. brten. nas. yod. pa. daṅ ।
med. pa. ñid. la'aṅ. brten. ma. lags ॥ 16 ॥
khyod. kyis. dgoṅs. nas. gsuṅs. pa. dag[6] ।
gaṅ. dag. gis. ni. de. ltar. [2] rtogs ।
de. dag. khyod. kyis. dgoṅs. gsuṅs. pa ।
phyir. źiṅ. rtogs. par. bgyi. mi. 'tshal ॥ 17 ॥
dṅos. kun. myaṅ. an, 'das. mtshuṅs. par ।
de. ltar. ga. gis. rnam. śes. pa ।
de. tshe. da. la. ji. lta. bur ।
ṅar. 'dzin. kun. tu. 'byuṅ. bar. 'gyur ॥ 18 ॥
de. ltar. [3] yaṅ. dag. rig. pa'i. mchog ।
de. ñid. rig. pa. khyod. bstod. pa'i ।
bdag. gi. bsod. nams. gaṅ. yin. des ।
'jig. rten. yaṅ. dag. rig. mchog. źog ॥ 19 ॥

bstod. pa. las. 'das. par. bstod. pa. slob. dpon chen.
po. 'phags. pa. klu. sgrub. kyi. źal. sña ।
nas. mdzad. pa. rjogs. so ॥

PRABHUBHAI PATEL

5 X., *na.* 6 X., *daṅ.*

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The Brahmajāla Sutta
(*in the light of Nāgārjuna's expositions*)

At and before the time of the appearance of Buddhism, there was in Northern India quite a large number of religious teachers who offered according to their lights the solutions of the ultimate problems relating to the soul, the world and the *summum bonum* of man's life, basing them not so much on reasoning as on intuition or inner experiences acquired through meditation. The use of logic was not much in evidence, and if there was any, it was due to the endeavour of the disciples to establish on a firm basis the theories already propounded by their respective teachers. Along with the various expositions of the highest Truth, the pre-Buddhistic religious and philosophical literatures contain a large body of cosmological and metaphysical speculations together with analyses of the elements composing living beings of this world as also of the various spheres of existences as conceived in the Buddhist Cosmology. The analyses also have as their basis the intuition or meditational experiences, or the traditional beliefs handed down from the hoary past. Though ostensibly Buddhism wanted to offer a rational solution of the ultimate problems, it did not quite succeed to keep itself free from the intuitional and traditional exposition of the metaphysical themes. It inherited a mass of beliefs relating, for instance, to the origin and form of the universe (*tridhātu*), classification of the worlds and beings (*viññāṇaṭṭhitis*) and so forth. The gradual evolution of the world (vide *Aggaññasuttanta*), the existence of heavenly beings (see *Mahāsamayasuttanta*), the six mystical realisations (*abhiññā*), the *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas*, the eight causes of earthquake, the seven treasures (vide e.g. *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*), the causes leading to the origin of castes are a few among the various beliefs that were inherited by the early Buddhists, if the *Dīgha Nikāya* be regarded as embodying really their doctrines and beliefs. The Buddhist texts, on the other hand, rendered a service to the cause of Indian philosophy by laying bare the irrationality of many of the religious and philosophical views current in Northern India before and

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after the rise of Buddhism. It has been shown in some of the texts that the views were nothing but inner experiences of persons who had made some progress on the path of spiritual advancement but were far beneath the stage at which the highest truth is realised. In the Pāli texts these views have been summarily dismissed away as untenable without going into a detailed logical examination of them.

Usefulness of the Brahmajāla Sutta

A notion has been made widely current by some of the modern scholars that the ostensible object of the *Brahmajālasutta* was to give a bird's-eye view of the non-Buddhistic opinions. This notion is wholly wrong, for the *Brahmajālasutta* has no presumption of that kind. The doctrines of the six *titthiyas*, the *Akiriyavādins*, not to speak of the *Upaniṣadic* thoughts, are beyond the purview of the *Sutta*. Its main object is to draw up a list of the possible theories about the world and the soul that might haunt the minds of the monks who, by meditating according to the Buddhist path of meditation, acquired certain powers but did not reach the highest state. The so-called sixty-two views are really a systematic exposition of the experiences of a Buddhist monk and have very little to do with the then existing non-Buddhistic opinions.[1] In this paper, attempt has been made here and there to suggest a few possible agreements between some of the sixty-two views and the well known philosophical tenets embodied in the *Upaniṣads* and other Brāhmaṇic philosophical works, but that does not go to establish that the *Brahmajālasutta* was composed with any reference to them, the cases of agreement being only accidental. The *Sutta*, however, has served two important purposes, viz., disabusing our minds of many deep-rooted current notions about the world, the soul and their ultimate condition, and cautioning us against interpreting the doctrine of Buddha in the light of our preconceived notions. By way of illustration, I may point out that the notion of *Ātman* as a permanent, immaculate entity existing within our body unaffected by *karma* (actions) is likely to distort the true import of the *Attā*

1 See in this connection the remarks of Dr. E. J. Thomas in his *Life of Buddha*, p. 19.

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or *Puggala* of the Buddhist texts, and in the same way the notion of Nihilism (*Ucchedavāda=Natthatta*) may influence the interpretation of *Anattā* or *Suññatā* doctrine of the Buddhists.[2] The best purpose that has been served by the *Sutta* is that it shows us the way to distinguish Buddha's doctrines from those that were not his. In the fifth century B.C. or a little later, it was almost impossible for any Teacher to give out any fresh line of thought without the chance of its being confused with one or other of the current opinions, and this confusion could best be avoided by pointing out the pitfalls, in which the later interpreters are likely to fall. This has been done in this *Sutta* to a certain extent. Then again, Buddha, like the other great Teachers, had at times recourse to enigmatical language, baffling the attempts of many an erudite commentator to find out the exact sense. The Buddhist texts abound in such enigmatic expressions. This *Sutta*, in marking out *what Buddhism is not*, serves, therefore, as an excellent guide for the comprehension of the sense of such expressions. Inspite of this *Sutta*, the terse sayings did give rise to so many Buddhist schools of thought within a century or two after Buddha's death, not to speak of the divergent explanations offered by the present day scholars of Buddha's conception of Soul and Nibbāna. Though the *Sutta* contains many statements of doubtful value an exposition of it as a whole may serve to remove many of our misconceptions.

The Avyākatas explained in the Brahmajāla Sutta

The main purpose of the *Brahmajāla Sutta* is to give an exposition of some of the problems said to have been left unanswered[3] (*avyākata*)

2 A typical instance is given in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, pp. 136-137): A Sassatavādin hears Buddha's teaching about the attainment of Nibbāna by the destruction of passion, desire, wrong views etc. and concludes therefrom that Buddha is an *Ucchedavādin*.

Childers writes in his article on *Nibbāna* (*Pali Dictionary* p. 267): "There is probably no doctrine more distinctive of Śākyamuni's original teaching than that of the *annihilation of being*"; (p. 274): Burnouf "is decidedly in favour of the opinion that the goal of Buddhism is *annihilation*."

3 The usual English synonym chosen for avyākata is 'indetermined.' It is equated to *avyākṛta*, which, literally, means 'not -explained' or 'not-determined.' Avyākṛta is a Buddhist-Sanskrit form derived from the word *Avyākata*. The

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by the Teacher, the reason assigned for doing so being either that they relate to topics or notions which have nothing to do with the highest Truth, or that they divert our attention from the real goal of our life. These problems are mentioned almost in the identical language throughout the Piṭaka[4] thus:

1. *Sassato loko* (the world is eternal);
2. *Asassato loko* (the world is not eternal);
3. *Antavā loko* (the world is finite);
4. *Anantavā loko* (the world is not finite);
5. *Taṃ jīvam taṃ sarīram* (the soul is identical with the body);
6. *Aññaṃ jīvam aññaṃ sarīram* (the soul is different from the body);
7. *Hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā* (Tathagata exists after death);
8. *Na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā* (Tathāgata does not exist after death);
9. *Hoti ca na ca hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā* (Tathāgata both exists and not exists after death);
10. *N'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā* (Tathāgata does neither exist nor not exist after death).

Pāli word avyākata may well be taken as corresponding in sense to Sanskrit *avyakta*, meaning 'inexpressible' or 'unanswerable' because the question does not arise, and all answers are inadmissible. It, however, does not bear the philosophical sense of *avyākata* which is commonly in use in Vedānta and Sāṅkhya, but it is quite plausible to hold that Buddha meant by *avyākata*, inexplainable in worldly language, i.e., the nature of Nibbāna is as unfit for answer as is the question of the existence of the sky-flower. See Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 228.

It is this *avyākata* attitude of Buddha to most of the ultimate problems has led present day scholars to dub Buddha as agnostic. Prof. Keith goes further and remarks (in his *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 45) that Buddha's "agnosticism in these matters is not based on any reasoned conviction of the limits of knoweldge; it rests on the two-fold ground that the Buddha has not himself a clear conclusion of the truth on these issues, etc."

4 See, e.g., Aggi-Vacchagotta-sutta in the *Majjhima*, I, pp. 157, 426, 483-489, Avyākata-saṃyutta in *Saṃyutta*, IV, pp. 376 ff., also III, pp. 214 ff.; Poṭṭhapāda-sutta in *Dīgha*, I, p. 191; see also *Mādhyamika Vṛtti*, p. 446 (mentioning 14 problems), 536; and ch. XXII; *Mahāvyutpatti*, 206.

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Of the problems mentioned in the list, the six have been exhaustively dealt with in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*. Though the treatment is not quite philosophical, it gives us a clear idea of what the early Buddhists had in their minds as to the implication of these problems. The heads of subjects as arranged in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* are as follows:—

1. Four kinds of Sassatavādā;
2. Four kinds of Ekaccasassatavādā;
3. Four kinds of Antānantikā;
4. Four kinds of Amarāvikkhepikā;
5. Two kinds of Adhiccasamuppannikā;
6. Sixteen kinds of Saññivādā;
7. Eight kinds of Asaññivādā;
8. Eight kinds of N'evasaññināsaññivādā;
9. Seven kinds of Ucchedavādā; and
10. Five kinds of Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādā.

The correspondences between the two lists are as follows:

Indeterminable problems	*Problems in the Brahmajāla Sutta*
1. Sassato loko	1. Sassatavādā 2. Ekaccasassatavādā
2. Asassato loko	9. Ucchedavādā

[These two are sometimes put as: Sassato loko; Asassato loko; Sassatāsassato loko; N'eva sassato nāsassato loko]

3. Antavā loko 4. Anantavā loko	3. Antānantikā

[These two are written as: Antavā loko; Anantavā loko, Anatavānantavā loko; N'eva antavā nānantava loko]

5. Taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ 6. Aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ	6. Saññivādā 7. Asaññivādā 8. N'evasaññināsaññivādā

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7.	Hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā	Nil
8.	Na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā	
9.	Hoti ca na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā	
10.	N'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā	

Nil	4. Amarāvikkhepikā 5. Adhiccasamuppannikā 10. Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādā

The above comparative table reveals the fact that the problems, which are generally treated in the Pāli text as indeterminable and their exposition as not conducive to the spiritual welfare of persons, have been explained in as much detail as possible in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, and therefore the charge of agnosticism usually laid against the founder of the religion by the present day writers is unwarranted. The explanations, however, have been given more or less in the light of the inner experiences of the Buddhist monks as stated above and are without any reference to the existing non-Buddhistic opinions, or any attempt to refute or reconcile them.

Nāgārjuna, in his *Madhyamaka-kārikās*, has shown as logically as possible what the indeterminable problems signify and how they are untenable. From the arguments put forward by him, it seems that he is true to the letter and spirit of the discourse as given in the Pāli texts, and that he penetrates right into the very innermost core of the problems and brings out what the Teacher had in his mind.

All of these views have been described in the Buddhist texts, whether Hīnayānic or Mahāyānic, as wrong (*micchādiṭṭhi*) and are attributed to people's natural inclination of adhering to the heresy of individuality (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), consisting in regarding the body or any particular element of it as soul.[5]

Speaking about the object of the introduction of this indeterminable problems into the Buddhist texts, Buddhaghosa[6] almost echoed

5 See *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 286; also E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 202. *M.Vr.*, pp. 340, 361: Satkāyadṛṣṭyupaśamāt sarvadṛṣṭyupaśamati; *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 287: imā diṭṭhiyo sakkāyadiṭṭhiyā sati honti. See also *Paṭis.*, I, pp. 149-150.

6 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 102: Tasmā sabbaññuta-ñāṇassa mahantabhāvadassanatthaṃ desanāya ca suññatā-pakāsana-bhāvattham. . . . .

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what the Mahāyāna teachers had said, namely, that they were necessary for the exposition of *Suññatā*, by which Buddhaghosa, of course, meant only *Puggalasuññatā* whereas the Mahāyānists meant both *Pudgalaśūnyatā* and *Dharmaśūnyatā*.

In this paper we shall follow the arrangement of the problems as given in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* adding, where available, the arguments of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti as detailed in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti*.

Sassatavāda

I. Four kinds of *Sassatavāda* (Eternalists), i.e. those who hold that the soul and the world exist eternally.[7]

The reason assigned by the *Brahmajāla Sutta* as the basis of this view is that some people on account of their spiritual advancement develop the power (*abhiññā*) of remembering their former births (*pubbenivāsānussati*) up to a certain number. They may be divided into three classes in accordance with the number of births that can be remembered by them. The fourth class refers to those persons who arrive at the conclusion that the world and the soul are eternal by means of logic and reasoning only. In short, the memories of the past and future existences, according to the Sutta, make a person a Sassatavādin, for he thinks that the world has been rolling on from eternity and will be rolling on for ever and that he will be born again and again.[8] Times out of number Buddha was confronted with the question whether he was a Sassatavādin or not, and every time he had to say that he was neither a Sassatavādin nor an Asassatavādin because the question of Sassata or Asassata does not arise in reference to the highest truth.[9] It should, however, be remembered that *Sassata* in the Pāli Nikāyas does not bear the metaphysical sense in which it is used in the Upaniṣads while speaking of the great Ātman. The Sassatavādins,

7 Cf. *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 40: atthatta.

8 *Dīgha*, III, p. 109-110: Atītaṃ kho aham addhānaṃ jānāmi, saṃvaṭṭi pi loko, anāgataṃ ca kho aham addhānaṃ jānāmi saṃvaṭṭissati vā ti.

9 The Truth or Nibbāna, according to Buddha, is uncaused and unconditioned (*ahetu-appaccaya*) and hence is non-relative, absolute, and is only realisable within one's ownself (*paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi*). It cannot be described by any of the empirical terms, and hence the question of eternality or non-eternality does not arise.

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according to the Nikāyas,[10] are those who take *attā* or self as one of the five khandhas or something apart from them, and hold that it continues for ever and without any change. It is stated in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[11] that the self (*attā*), according to the Sassatavādins, is the speaker, feeler, and enjoyer of the fruits of good and evil actions (*kamma*), is permanent (*nicca*), fixed (*dhuva*), eternal (*sassata*), unchangeable (*avipariṇāmadhamma*), and is steadfast like the so-called eternal objects, viz., the Sun, Moon, Ocean, Earth and mountain. The Buddhists, because of their *kṣaṇikavāda* and the denial of a permanent entity, are not prepared to admit that the identical being feels the consequences of his action, which, as the *Nidāna-Saṃyutta* asserts, would make them Sassatavādins.

Sassatavāda compared to the Sāṃkhya system

The only Brāhmaṇic school of philosophy to which the Sassatavāda bears resemblance is, I think, the Sāṅkhya.[13] According to this school, there are two distinct eternals, the Puruṣa and the Prakṛti, the former corresponding to Attā and the latter to Loka, with this difference that, according to the Sassatavādins, the soul is an active agent while the Puruṣa (=eternal attā) of the Sāṅkhya is an inactive onlooker, the active agent being Ahaṅkāra, the principle of individuation, which, however, issues out of the Prakṛti or matter in its primeval form. The eternal Loka of the Sassatavādins is the evolved world with its variety.

Four kinds of Ekaccasassatavāda

II. *Ekaccasassatavāda* (Partial Eternalists), i.e., those who hold that one of the three classes of the higher gods exists eternally while the rest do not do so; or those who contend that the body or the organs of sense are impermanent while the mind or consciousness (*citta=mano=viññāṇa=attā*) is permanent.

10 *Majjhima*, I, pp. 135 ff., 300=III, pp. 17, 188, 227; *Saṃyutta*, III, pp. 98, 182, IV, p. 400.

11 *Majjhima*, I, p. 8; *Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 71.

12 *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 20: So karoti so paṭisaṃvediyatīti kho Kassapa ādito sato sayaṃkataṃ dukkhan ti iti vadaṃ sassatam etaṃ pareti.

13 Cf. *M.Vṛ.*, p. 344, see *infra*. See also Franke, *Dīgha* (transl.), p. 23.

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The three classes of the higher gods referred to above are (A) Ābhassarā, (B) Khiḍḍā-padosikā, and (C) Mana-padosikā.[14]

(A) Ābhassarā. According to the cosmogonic speculations of the Buddhists, as also of some of the Upaniṣadic teachers,[15] there were in the beginning no beings and the first to appear were the Ābhassarā gods, capable of taking shape at will,[16] feeding only on joy (*pīti*), self-luminous (*sayampabhā*), moving about in the sky and getting all that they desired.[17] After existing for aeons, there appeared a palace of Brahmā (*Brahmā-vimāna*). One of the Ābhassarā gods came to be reborn in the Brahmavimāna or the Brahma-world at the exhaustion of his merits or the span of his life.[18] But he felt very lonely and wished for companions. Like him other Ābhassarā gods also made their appearances in the Brahma-world.[19] The first Ābhassarā god, however, regarded himself as Brahmā or Mahābrahmā thinking that as it was by means of his reflection that other beings appeared in the Brahma-world, he must be their creator. The other beings were also under the impression that the first Ābhassarā god, Mahā-brahmā, having been in existence before them, must have been their lord and originator (*issaro kattā nimmātā*).[20]

14 *Dīgha*, I, pp. 17 ff.; III, pp. 28 ff. Cf. *Majjh.* I, pp. 326 ff.

15 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 110: pakatiyā nibbatta-sattānaṃ natthitāya *suññaṃ*. *Taitt. Up.* (II. 7): asad vā idam agra āsit. Tato vai sad ajāyata. See *Bṛhad. Up.* I, 1-2. Cf. the Egg-legend in *Chā. Up.* 19, 1-3. See also ṚV, X, 129. To this conception, it seems the *Chā. Up.* (VI, 2, 1) refers in the following words: Taddhaika āhur asad evedam agra āsīd ekam evādvitīyam. Tasmād *asataḥ saj jāyata* iti.

16 *Sum.*: jhānamattena nibbattattā *manomayā*.

17 *Dīgha*, III, pp. 84-5.

18 *Dīgha*, I, p. 17, āyukkhayā va puññakkhayā. Cf. *Gītā*, ix, 21:

Te taṃ bhuktvā svargalokaṃ viśālaṃ/
kṣīṇe puṇye martyalokaṃ viśanti//

19 Brāhmakāyikā bhūmi, see *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 110.

20 Mahābrahmā is described in the Pali texts as: abhibhū anabhibhūto aññadatthu-daso vasavattī issaro kattā nimmātā seṭṭho sañjitā vasī pitā bhūta-bhavyānaṃ (the supreme, the unsurpased, the all-seeing, the mighty, the lord, the creator, the maker, the chief differentiator, the oldest and the father of all present and future beings).

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The text says further that in course of time, some of these beings happened to be reborn in the mortal world and through meditation and such other practices could visualize their former existences up to their birth in the Brahma world and gave out the view that Mahābrahmā, who had been existing when they were first born, is the creator of all beings and is eternal (*sassata*), whereas the beings who were born after Mahābrahmā were created by him and hence impermanent (*asassata*).

This doctrine naturally reminds us of the Upaniṣadic speculations about the creation of the world by Brahmā, the Primeval Being, who by reflection produced fire, which in its turn produced water, which again produced earth (food or matter). Through these three elements the Primeval Being produced the whole universe. According to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* the created things and beings are mere appearances hence evanescent, while the real, i.e. the eternal things are the Primeval Being and the three above-mentioned elements.[21]

(B) Khiḍḍāpadosikā[22] This class of partial eternalists holds that the Nimmānarati, Paranimmita-vasavattī and such other gods,[23] who are not given to excessive pleasure and enjoyment (*khiḍḍā*), exist eternally. The reason assigned for such belief is similar to the previous one, viz., that some of these gods were reborn in the mortal world, where through meditation and other practices they remembered their former births up to the Khiḍḍāpadosika-deva stage and not further. This led them to hold the belief mentioned above.

(C) Manopadosikā.[24] This class of partial eternalists believe that the Cātummahārājikā gods,[25] who do not bear ill-will towards one another, exist eternally, while those, who are not so, fall from that state and are impermanent. The reason assigned is similar to the previous one with this difference that in this case they remembered up to their existence as Cātummahārājikā gods.

(D) The Takkī Ekaccasassatikas: These constituting the fourth class, were the logicians who arrive at the conclu-

21 See Ranade, *Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, pp. 85-87.
22 *Dīgha*, I, p. 19; III, p. 31.
23 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 114.
24 *Dīgha*, I, p. 21; III, pp. 32-3.
25 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 114.

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sion that the soul (*=citta=mano=viññāṇa*) is permanent, unchangeable, steadfast, and so forth, while the body is not so. This naturally reminds us of the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* (II. 3-4) where the soul is described as pure (*śuddha*), tranquil (*śānta*), eternal (*śāśvata*), great by itself (*sve manimni*), and making the body living (*anenedaṃ śarīraṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ*). A similar conception is found in the *Kauṣitakī* and other *Upaniṣads*.[26]

Six of the eight forms of the so-called *Sassatavādas* and *Ekaccasassatavādas*, if critically examined, will be found to be based on one of the six *abhiññās* (higher powers) attained by the Arhats, viz., the *Pubbenivāsañāṇa* (knowledge of former births). It is regarded as one of the various but not essential attainments of an Arhat. This power may be obtained by a person by practising concentration of mind but without fully developing insight into the truth, which is an essential condition of Arhathood. These meditators, who have not yet attained the Arhat stage, but have acquired the power of recalling some of their former births, think that they have known what is to be known and give an interpretation of the truth, i.e. of the ultimate beginning and end of existence, according to their own experiences.

The remaining two classes of speculators, i.e. the fourth and the eighth, the former holding the soul and the world to be eternal, and the latter holding the soul to be eternal but not the body, have been passed over in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* with the remark that these views are sometimes reached by the logicians who depend purely on reasoning and not on meditation.

Nāgārjuna assails the Sassatavādin

As no attempt has been made in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* to refute the above-mentioned views, it will be worth while to turn to Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakārikās*, in the last chapter of which he takes up for refutation the various doctrines, two of which are the *Śāśvata-* and *Aśāśvata-vādas*.

Refuting Śāśvatavāda, Nāgārjuna says[27] that if a person of the past

26 See Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upaniṣads*, p. 295; Ranade, *Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, p. 134.

27 *M. Vṛ.*, pp. 574-5.

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could be shown to be the same as that of the present, then only Śāśvatavāda could stand, but this is not possible as it would give rise to the contingency of permanency (*nityatva*) of a being as also to the possibility of a being, having a particular form of existence, to assume different bodies (lit. different forms of existence).[28] A permanent being should not be said to transmigrate nor a human being who was formerly an animal but became a human being through good *karma* should say that he was an animal, for, Śāśvatavāda should insist that a man must remain a man, an animal an animal, and that is absurd.[29]

One may however question, "Well, how could Śākyamuni say, 'At that time I was the Cakravartī king Māndhatā', if Śākyamuni was not the same as Māndhatā." The object of such a statement, says Nāgārjuna, is (i) to negative the notion of complete separteness (*anyatvapratiṣedhakam*) and (ii) to establish the non-identity (*naikatva-pratipādakam*) of the two existences of a transmigrating being. Admitting that Śākyamuni was not totally different from Māndhatā, what harm is there in holding that he was identical with Māndhatā. Nāgārjuna's reply is that, besides the objection of *nityatva* (permanency), it would land us in the absurd position that upādāna is responsible for the distinction between the two existences and not ātmā. The absurdity is shown thus: Let us assume that ātmā and upādāna are indistinguishable, and that ātmā of the previous existence is the same as the one in the present, from this it would follow that upādāna (having *pañcaskandhalakṣaṇa*) of the previous ex-

28 Ibid., *Ekagatisthasyāpi nānāgatisaṃgṛhitatvaprasaṅgāt.* That is, it would lead to the absurdity of an animal, for instance, (if it is *nitya*) to become a man or a god without passing through death.

29 To comprehend the arguments of Nāgārjuna, it should be remembered that Nāgārjuna uses the undermentioned synonyms of the Real and the Unreal in an absolute sense:

The Real: Nitya = Śāśvata = Svabhāva = Ātmā, meaning that which is permanent, remains eternally the same without origin and destruction and never undergoes the slightest change, something like the so-called eternal Himālaya mountains, the Sun, the Moon.

The Unreal: Anitya = Aśāśvata = Niḥsvabhāva = Anātmā, meaning that which is impermanent and undergoes change is really non-existing like the two moons seen by a person with diseased eyes.

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istence is the same as that of the present. But this is absurd as no change in upādāna in two existences is admissible. Then again, if ātmā and upādāna be distinguished as the agent and its object, then also it is not proper to say that upādāna (object) has changed but not its agent (ātmā, i.e., holder, *upādātṛ*).[30]

Nāgārjuna then points out that ātmā is inseparable from upādānas, because it cannot exist apart from the upādānas. If it is upādāna which comes into existence and undergoes change on account of ignorance, karma, etc., and not ātmā, then one has to say that the existence of ātmā is without any cause (*ahetukatvaprasaṅgāt*) and that is impossible according to Nāgārjuna. Hence ātmā and upādāna are not separable.

Nāgārjuna then attacks the position of the Aśāśvatavādins.[31] He says that if 'men' and the 'men reborn as gods' be regarded as different, like the Neem and Mango trees, then only the Aśāśvatavādins can maintain that the soul of the man has been destroyed and a different soul has come into existence; but to maintain such a distinction in characteristics as between the Neem and Mango trees goes against the theory of the characteristic continuity (*saṃtānānuvṛtti*) of beings which is admitted to exist between 'men' and 'the men reborn as gods' and so the position of the Aśāśvatavādins becomes untenable.

Nāgārjuna, explaining the position of the Śāśvatāśāśvatavādins (Pāli. *Ekaccasassatikas*=Partial Eternalists), says that according to this class of thinkers, a man when reborn as a god should partially give up his human attributes and take the divine in their place; so by the destruction of one part of his being he is *Aśāśvata*, and by the retention of the other, he is *Śāśvata*. To hold that one part of a being is divine and the other human is not proper; hence the position of the Śāśvatāśāśvatavādins is untenable.[32]

30 For details see *infra*, pp. 737 f.

31 Though it should have been dealt with along with the doctrines of Ucchedavāda (see *infra*, pp. 729 f.) we cannot help treating it here in order to realise the force of Nāgārjuna's arguments.

32 Nāgārjuna, it seems, is evading the issue here. The contention of the Śāśvatāśāśvatavādins is that the soul is divine and immortal while the body is not so. Nāgārjuna here is not distinguishing the soul from the body. He is refut-

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After refuting the three positions mentioned above it becomes easy for Nāgārjuna to disprove the contention of the Naivaśāśvatanāśāśvatavādins. He says that one may use the expression *na śāśvata* or *na āśāśvata* only when he has shown that there was something śāśvata which later on became aśāśvata. But it has been already shown that the śāśvata and aśāśvata nature of beings cannot be established; hence there can be no such being as Naivaśāśvatanāśāśvata.[33]

He now rounds up this refutation by examining whether there is, in fact, any *padārtha* (thing) going about in this beginningless world, the existence of which (thing) we have supposed on the basis of the continuous succession of birth and death without any beginning. If it could be proved that the *saṃskāras*,[34] or, the self is leaving one *gati* (lit. state of exstence) to go to another, from this again, it is going elsewhere, then the *saṃsāra* (stream of existence) could be proved to be without a beginning. But this is not possible, because a thing which is permanent (*nitya*) or impermanent (*anitya*) cannot be said to be coming and going. That being so, is it right to say that the stream of existence (*saṃsāra*) is beginningless only because of the great length and non-perception of the beginning of the chain of births and death (*janmaparamparāyā atidīrghatvenādyanupalambhāt*)? Then again, when no entity can be shown as transmigrating (*saṃsartur abhāvāt*), how can the stream of existence (*saṃsāra*) be said to have a beginning or not? So it is quite wrong to hold that there is something (*kaścit padārthaḥ*) which has been going about in this beginningless world and which can be perceived. There is, in fact, nothing eternal (*śāśvata*) and so it is meaningless to think of anything as non-eternal (*āśāśvata*), or both, or neither of the two.[35]

Antānantikā

III. Four kinds of *Antānantikā* (limitists and unlimitists). The Antānantikā are those who hold that

ing those only who hold that the soul is one of the constituents of the body, or is at least not distinguishable from the body. This, however, is never accepted by the Brāhmaṇic Śāśvatavādins.

33 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 585. 34 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 586; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 529.

35 For Nāgārjuna's position see *M. Vṛ.*, pp. 537, 591.

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(a) the world is limited in extent and circular in shape;

(b) the world is unlimited in extent and is without any end;

(c) the world is limited upwards and downwards but unlimited breadthwise;

(d) the world is neither limited nor unlimited (in any direction whatsoever.)[36]

The reasons assigned for these conclusions are as follows: Some meditators who take the finite and circular world as their object of meditation and do not extend it to all the world-systems (*Cakkavāḷas*),[37] arrive at the first conclusion. Those who take all the Cakkavāḷas as their object of meditation, arrive at the second,[38] while those who take the Cakkavāḷas limited upwards and downwards but unlimited breadthwise as their object of meditation, arrive at the third.[39]

These three classes of speculators are, in fact, not concerned about the ultimate end of the world. They speak about the finiteness and infiniteness of the shape of the world or the universe. In popular Buddhism, the universe is believed to be composed of an infinite number of world-systems, of which one thousand or one million or one thousand millions form a chiliocosm. The first three conclusions are, according to the *Sutta*, nothing but the three kinds of experiences obtained gradually through meditation. The author of the *Sutta* wants to show that those who have one of these experiences but have not yet obtained the highest conception of *Suññatā*,[40] give out one's own individual experience as the true conception of the universe.

36 In the usual enumeration of *diṭṭhis*, only the first and second are mentioned. See e.g. *Paṭis.*, I, p. 153.

37 A Cakravāḷa has a Sun and a Moon as also a multitude of stars moving afound Mahāmeru.

38 See also *Paṭis.*, I, p. 152-3.

39 As an approach to this view we may point to the theory of the origin of the world in the *Aitareyopaniṣad*, where the heaven and the earth are conceived as "encompassed on the upper and nether sides by regions of water." Ranade, *op. cit.*, p. 95. In the Buddhist cosmology a chiliocosm consisting of 1,000 or more worlds is encompassed by a gigantic wall. See McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 48; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 89.

40 Cf. *Sum. Vil.*, p. 123: Imasmim pi Brahmajāle heṭṭhā diṭṭhivasena desanā uṭṭhitā, upari suññatāpakāsanam āgatam.

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As regards those who reach the fourth conclusion, the text says that they are logicians who depend on pure arguments. The Buddhist logicians are evidently responsible for the fourth theory. Their characteristic method of exposition of all metaphysical topics is by the fourfold process (*catuskoṭika*).[41] It is, as a rule, not applied to empirical things. By this fourfold process it is contended that the world is non-existent as the Śūnyatāvādins hold, or is only a creation of the mind as the Vijñānavādins assert, and hence the question of the attributes of *anta* and *ananta* with reference to the world does not arise.

Nāgārjuna's Comment

The exposition of the four Antānantādi views given above relates to cosmogony and appears to be a little laboured due, perhaps, to the expositor's desire to bring them into line with the previously mentioned *Sassatādi* views and to attribute three of the four views to ecstatic experiences. The exposition of these views elsewhere is of quite a different nature and sounds reasonable. Nāgārjuna has taken up these problems in his *Madhyamaka-kārikā* and has shown how these are untenable. He first states their four positions thus:

(a) Those, who cannot foresee the future appearance of the self or the world (*ātmano lokasya vā*), regard the world as limited (*antavān*);

(b) Those, who can foresee the future appearance of the self or the world, regard the world as unlimited (*na antavān*);

(c) Those, who can foresee the future appearance of the self or the world partially and not fully, regard the world as both limited and unlimited;

(d) Those, who cannot foresee the future appearance of the self or the world either partially or fully, regard the world as neither limited nor unlimited.

Refuting the above four propositions, Nāgārjuna says:

(a) The existence of *paraloka* (after-life or after-world) is admitted by the Buddhists, hence those who admit it should not say that the self or the world has an end because in that case there could not be an after-life or after-world.

41 Viz., *hoti; na hoti; hoti ca na hoti ca; n'eva hoti na na hoti.*

42 *M. Vṛ.*, pp. 536, 573, 587-591.

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(b) Similarly if the existence of *paralōka* is admitted, one should not say that the self or the world has no end (*ananta*) because in that case also there cannot be a *paraloka*.

(c) The third view that the world is both limited and unlimited is not tenable for the following reasons:

(i) As for instance, in the case of a *man* reborn as *god*, if it be held that the skandhas of the man had been destroyed at his death (i.e. *antavān*), then it cannot be said that they have given rise to a god. They would be like the extinguished lamp with oil but lacking a wick. As it is admitted that a being reappears after death, it should not be said that the self or the world is limited.

(ii) Applying similar reason, it can be shown that the self or the world cannot be said to be unlimited. In the case when a man is reborn as god, if it be said that the skandhas of the *man* had not been destroyed at his death, they could not have given rise to a *god*. The self or the world would be endless and indestructible (*ananto'vināśi*) on account of not giving up its own form. It is only when the previous skandhas cease to exist, then as a result of the same, another set of skandhas come into existence, hence it is not proper to say that the self or the world is unlimited (*ananta*) as the previous skandhas do not exist any further.

In Buddhism, the transmigration of a being is nothing but the continuous flow of skandhas (*skandhasaṃtāna*), the skandhas, however, having destruction every moment followed by a fresh existence like the flame of a lamp. In other words, the previous set of skandhas is destroyed every moment but at the same time it becomes a cause for the appearance of the next. It happens uninterruptedly and so it is said to be continuous, though it is not strictly so. The flame of a lamp appears to be continuous and even identical, but, in fact, it is not so because the drop of oil which once fed the flame is exhausted and another drop of oil takes its place to feed the flame, which therefore cannot be the previous one. On account of this apparent uninterruptedness, it is believed to be continuous and even identical. Hence to a Buddhist philosopher, the self or the world cannot be both limited and unlimited, it is ever flowing like a stream undergoing change every moment (until it reaches Nibbāna).

Nāgārjuna then takes up for refutation the third view of both

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limitedness and unlimitedness. He says that the adherents of this view may say that one part of the man (i.e. body) is destroyed, hence *antavān;* while the other part (i.e. soul) remains undestroyed, hence *anantavān.* Nāgārjuna in reply says that it is absurd to hold that one part of a being is destroyed and the other is not. He, however, as a Buddhist philosopher, is not prepared to admit the existence of soul and body as two separate things. He says that, according to his opponents then, one part of a being should have decay while the other part a different form of existence. that is, a man, if reborn as god, should be partly human and partly divine, but this is not possible, hence the opponents cannot uphold the view of the self or the world being both limited and unlimited.

He then proceeds to show that this partial identity and partial change cannot be attributed either to the soul (*upādātā*) or to the elements of the body (*upādāna*) because it has been established elsewhere[43] that the soul has no existence of its own apart from the skandhas, hence to speak of a non-existent thing as partially same and partially different is absurd on the face of it.

(d) When the third position is not tenable, i.e. when it cannot be said that the self or the world is both limited and unlimited, Nāgārjuna says that no argument need be adduced to refute the fourth view that the self or the world is neither limited nor unlimited.

Amarāvikkhepika

IV. Four kinds of *Amarāvikkhepikas* (evasive disputants).

There are some thinkers who do not want to draw a line of demarcation between good and evil actions, so when they are confronted with enquires about good and evil, they do not give a categorical answer for they believe that they may be wrong in their answer and be opposed by others and that will produce in their mind either conceit and pride, or ill-will and hatred,[44] both of which would be a hindrance to their spiritual progress. If the opinion of an Amarāvikkhepika be contradicted, he will bear ill-will or hatred and this fact establishes that

43 See *infra*, pp. 739f.; but see fn. 32.

44 See *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 116. Chando=dubbalarāgo; rāgo=balava-rāgo; doso =dubbala kodho; paṭigho=balava-kodho.

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he was wrong and guilty of speaking a falsehood, and hence created a hindrance to his spiritual progress. Should he, however, obstinately adhere to his own view and not accept the view as corrected by his opponents, he would have upādāna (cause for rebirth) and that will also be a hindrance to his further spiritual progress.

The third and fourth classes of Amarāvikkhepikas are those who are afraid of facing a well-trained logician with any positive opinion about good and evil, lest they be vanquished in the dispute and thus be led to bear an ill-will towards their opponents. This ill-will would cause hindrance to their spiritual progress.[45]

These disputants have thus their own good reason for the line of action followed by them in view of the fact that good (*kuśala*) and evil (*akuśala*) are relative terms, and no hard and fast line can be drawn between them. To a Mahāyānist or a Vedāntist there is utimately nothing as good or evil, and hence no positive statement can be made about them, the best course therefore would be either to remain silent or evade a positive answer, and the latter course has been preferred by the Amarāvikkhepikas. Whatever may have been the justification for the disputants becoming Amarāvikkhepikas, they were, in the eyes of the Buddhists, men of weak intellect and deluded, and supposed to have been generally incapable of being thorough brahmacārins. Hence they were not regarded as capable of attaining the highest truth.[46]

Sañjaya, one of the six heretical teachers, has been classed as an Amarāvikkhepika. The advocates of Navya Nyāya love to indulge in evasions of issues. It is not improbable that these Amarāvikkhepikas were the fore-runners of the Naiyāyikas who very often indulged in slippery arguments (*vitaṇḍā*).

Adhiccasamuppannika

V. Two classes of *Adhiccasamuppannikas* (Fortutious Originists). There are some thinkers who hold that the soul and the world originate accidently without any cause (*adhiccasamupannika*).[47]

45 See B. M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 329.

46 *Majjhima*, I, p. 521.

47 In the *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 20 it is said that Kassapa once asked Buddha

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(a) The texts speak thus of one class of such thinkers: There are some meditators who take up *Vāyo-kasina*[48] for meditation and then reaching the fourth *Jhāna* discover that mind is the source of all troubles, and so they induce a state in which mind does not function. Should they die while thus meditating, they are reborn as 'Asaññasattā' gods. Some of these again fall from that state by developing *saññā* and are reborn in the mortal world where some of them practise meditation and develop the power of remembering former births. Their memory does not go beyond the Saññuppāda stage, i.e., the time of their fall from their position as 'Asañña-sattā' gods, and so they declare that the soul and the world originate fortuitously.

(b) The second class of Adhiccasamuppanikas comprises those who arrive at the above-mentioned conclusion through reasoning. As a parallel to this doctrine, we may refer to the *Lokāyatikas* or *Bārhaspatyas* who hold that the happiness and misery of persons were brought about by the laws of nature, and that there is no other cause. It was by an accidental combination of elements that the living beings such as a peacock of variegated colours or a human being is born. The conceptions of heaven and hell, merit and demerit, and so forth, according to them, are creations of designing minds. The doctrine of Makkhali Gosāla is similar to what has been stated above. According to him, there is no preceding cause or condition for the affliction or purification of a person and hence there is no need for exertion. All beings are powerless and are led by Destiny (*niyati*) alone. Every being has to pass through a fixed number of existences in the different spheres before he can ultimately put an end to his misery. It is a mistake to think, he says, that one can change the course of his life by the observance of precepts or performance of rituals or asceticism.[49]

whether misery is uncaused and not due to one's own and others' actions (*asayaṃkāram aparaṃkāram adhiccasamuppannaṃ dukkhan ti*). See also *Dīgha*, III, p. 139.

48 See *Vis. M.*, and *Man. of Bu.*, 10.

49 *Dīgha*, I, pp. 53—54; *Saṃyutta*, III, p. 211.

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Uddhamāghātanika[50]

VI. Sixteen kinds of *Uddhamāghātanika-saññivādins* (those who believe in the existence of a *conscious* soul after death):[51]

(a) Soul is material (*rūpī*)[52] and remains healthy and conscious after death (*arogo paraṃ maraṇā saññī*). This view, says Buddhaghosa, is due to the meditator developing the notion that the soul is identical with the object of his meditation. He further says that such beliefs are held by the Ājīvikas. From the information collected by Dr. Barua, it is apparent that the Ājīvikas conceived of soul as an entity absolutely pure in its nature, but there is nothing to show that the soul, according to the Ājīvikas, is material unless we trace some such idea in Makkhali Gosāla's theory of re-animation (*Pariṇāmavāda*) which

50 In the *Dīgha Nikāya* (I, p. 30) the five classes of thinkers including the Antānantikās dealt with before are called Pubbantakappikas (i.e. those who speculate about the beginning of the universe). In the *Mādhyamika-vṛtti* (pp. 536, 572), however, the Śāśvatavādins are only called Pūrvāntikas, while the Antānantikās are called Aparāntikas (i.e. those who speculate about the future of the universe) (See also *Majjhima*, II, pp. 228 ff.; *Paṭis.*, I, p. 155). Buddhaghosa remarks in a general way that some of those who have developed the power of remembering former births (*pubbenivāsānussati*) become Pubbantakappikas, while some who have developed higher vision (*dibbacakkhu*) become Aparāntakappikas (*Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, I, p. 119).

The Aparāntakappikas, according to the *Dīgha Nikāya*, number forty-four from the Uddhamāghātanikas to the Diṭṭha-dhamma-nibbānavādins.

51 *Dīgha*, I, p. 31; *Majjhima*, II, p. 229.

52 Rūpī attā. 'Rūpa' is usually translated as 'form,' both on the basis of the connotation of 'rūpa' in nāmarūpa, I think it should be translated by the word 'matter.' In the Buddhist cosmological speculations, 'rūpadhātu' means not 'the world of forms,' but the 'material world.' Likewise 'Arūpadhātu' means not the 'world of the formless' but the 'non-material world.'

In the *M. Vṛ.*, it is clearly stated that 'nāma' is a collective *name* of the four *arūpinaḥ skandhā* (i.e. immaterial skandhas) while *rūpa* is that which takes form and offers obstruction (*rūpyata iti rūpaṃ bādhyata ityarthaḥ*). The Tib. rendering of *rūpyate is gshig tu. ruṅ. bus*=because it is susceptible of examination and that of *bādhyate is gnod. par. bya. bar. nuṅ*=it is susceptible of being struck. (See *M. Vṛ.*, p. 544 fn.) Cf. Another conception of soul similar to this in the Mahānidāna Sutta (*Dīgha*, II, p. 64): *Rūpī me paritto attā ti* and *Rūpī me ananto attā ti.*

It may be observed that if *Rūpī* means 'form,' it cannot be *ananta* (infinite). hence *rūpī* should mean 'material.'

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made the vital difference between the doctrines of Makhali Gosāla and Mahāvīra.

(b) Soul is non-material (*arūpī*) but remains healthy and conscious after death. Buddhaghosa thinks that this view is due to the meditator reaching the Arūpasamāpatti stage and confusing the *nimitta* (object of meditation) of Arūpasamāpatti with *attā* (soul). He attributes to Mahāvīra a doctrine similar to this. Buddhaghosa seems to be correct in his suggestion, for the Jainas also describe their soul (*Jīva*) as non-material (*arūpa*) and formless (*amūrta*).[53]

The next six views are more or less stereotyped combinations of *rūpī* and *arūpī*, *anta* and *ananta*. The soul after death is

(c) both *rūpī* and *arūpī*

(d) neither *rūpī* nor *arūpī*

(e) finite (*anta*)

(f) infinite (*ananta*)

(g) both *antavān* and *anantavān*

(h) neither *antavān* nor *anantavān*

The soul after death is conscious of

(i) only one object (*ekatta*)[54]

(j) many objects (*nānatta*)[55]

53 See *Pre. Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 309. See also Guerinot, *La Religoin Djaina* (Paris, 1826), Ch. VI: *L'āme le djīva*, est le principe de la vie, la force vitale. Elle possède une série de qualités: elle est immatérielle, *amourta*, sans forme, *aroupa*....."

The only point to which I want to draw attention is that the word '*aroupa*' (arūpa) should have been rendered into French by the word 'immaterielle' and 'amourta' (*amūrta*) by 'sans forme.' Mr. Jaini also in his *Outlines of Jainism* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 83, translates *amūrta* by the word 'immaterial.' In the *Dravyasaṃgraha* (edited by Sarat Chandra Ghosal, 1917, The Sacred Books of the Jainas Series), pp. 4, 5, 22, *amūrta* is translated by the word 'formless.'

Mons. Guerinot, however, does not mention the source from which he traced the word 'arūpa.' From the *Dravya-saṃgraha* (p. 22) it is apparent that soul, according to the Jainas, in its pure state, is invisible and it takes matter (pudgala) when it is attacked by passions.

54 Similar to the Brahmakāyikā and Subhakiṇṇā gods—2nd and 4th Viññāṇaṭṭhitis (*Dīgha*, II, p. 69).

55 Similar to Ābhassarā gods—3rd Viññāṇaṭṭhiti (*Dīgha*, II, p. 69).

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(k) limited space or object (*paritta*)

(l) unlimited space or object (*appamāṇa*).

All the four views are attributed by Buddhaghosa to the various experiences brought about by ecstatic meditation. He says that the first (i) view is held by those who have attained the fourth samāpatti,[56] while the second (j) by those who have not attained any one of the samāpattis. The third (k) and fourth (l) are found according as the meditator has for its object of meditation an object or space or viññāṇa limited (*paritta*) or unlimited (*appamāṇa*).[57]

The soul after death has

(m) unmixed happiness (*ekanta-sukhī*), e.g., when a being is in the third or fourth *jhānabhūmi;*

(n) unmixed misery (*ekanta-dukkhī*), e.g., when a being is in hell;

(o) mixture of happiness and misery, e.g., when a human being is in the mortal world;

(p) neither happiness nor misery, e.g., when a being is in the Vehapphala heaven.

Buddhaghosa attributes these four views to those who form their conception of soul on the basis of the four different kinds of future existences as indicated above.

Uddhamāghātanika-asaññivāda

VII. Eight kinds of *Uddhamāghātanika-asaññivādins* (upholders of the existence of *unconscious* soul after death).

Among those who are of opinion that the soul remains *unconscious* but healthy after death, the following eight conceptions of the soul were current:

The soul is

(a) material (*rūpī*)

(b) non-material (*arūpī*)

56 Cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 13: Sabbaso rūpasaññānaṃ samatikkamo, paṭighasaññānam atthaṅgamo, *nānattasaññānam* amanasikāro ananto ākāso ti ākāsānañcāyatanam upasampajja viharati ayaṃ catuttho vimokkho.

57 Cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 229: Etaṃ va pan' ekesam upativattatam viññāṇakasinam eke abhivadanti appamānam aneñjam; for further elucidation see *Majjhima*, II, p. 13.

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(c-h) Both *rūpī* and *arūpī* and so forth as stated in connection with the conscious soul (c-h).[58]

Uddhamāghātanika-n'eva-saññināsaññivāda

VIII. Eight kinds of *Uddhamāghātanika-n'evasaññināsaññivādins* (supporters of the view that the soul after death is *neither conscious nor unconscious*).

Among those who adhere to the view that the soul after death remains healthy, but neither conscious nor unconscious, the following eight opinions exist:

The soul is (a) material (*rūpī*), (b-h) non-material (*arūpī*) and so forth, as shown under the previous head 'unconscious soul after death.'

The opinions placed under the headings 'Adhiccasamuppanikas' and 'Uddhamāghātanikas', are formed, says Buddhaghosa, according to the object (*kasina*) of meditation selected by a meditator. He says that the meditators sometimes become so much engrossed with the object of their meditation that they lose their power of judgment. They are carried away by their ecstatic experiences and give out their individual feelings as the Truth. In the exposition of the thirty-four views given above, he points out, as far as possible, how far a *kasina* is responsible for a particular view.[59] There were some views, however, based on the Buddhist notion of heavens and hells, e.g. *attā hoti ekantasukhī, ekantadukkhī, sukha-dukkhī*, and so forth.

Ucchedavāda

IX. Seven kinds of *Ucchedavāda* (*Natthattavādins*[60] = Annihilationists). The following are the seven different conceptions of soul held by the Annihilationists in a gradual ascending order but the soul, in any case, becomes extinct after death.

58 See above, p. 727.

59 An instance is given in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 21) as to how a meditator is sometimes bewildered by the object of his meditation. See *Papañcasudani*, p. 121-2 commenting on the passage 'Eke samanabrāhmaṇā rattim eva samānaṃ divā ti sañjānāti, etc.'

60 *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 401.

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(a) The soul has form (*rūpavā*) and is made of the four elements, and is like the body born of father and mother. In short, its composition is similar to that of the human being.

(b) The soul is heavenly[61] and has form. It remains in the Kāmāvacāra sphere and is nourished by material food.

(c) The soul is heavenly, has form and is of the same substance as mind (*manomayo*). It possesses all the parts of the physical body, major and minor, as also organs of sense (*indriyas*).[62]

(d) The soul is of the same substance as beings of the *ākāsānañcāyatana*[63] i.e. like these beings, it has neither *rūpasaññā* (perception of material objects) nor *paṭighasaññā* (perception of obstructing objects) and is indifferent to the distinctions made between one thing and another identifying itself with infiinte space (*anantākāsa*).

(e) The soul is of the same nature as beings of the *Viññāṇanañcāyatana*.[64] Like these beings it can remain beyond the sphere of the Ākāsānañcāyatanupaga gods and identifies itself with 'infinite consciousness' (*anantaṃ viññāṇaṃ*).

(f) The soul is like the beings of the Ākiñcaññāyatana.[65] Like these beings, it can stay outside the sphere of the Viññāṇānañcāyatanupaga gods.

(g) The soul is similar to the beings of the Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana,[66] and hence superior to the Ākiñcaññāyatan-upaga gods. This state of the soul is considered the best (*paṇīta*) and the most tranquil (*santa*). It also becomes extinct after death.

The seven conceptions of the soul are apparently based on the Buddhistic classification of beings as shown below, namely, the Kāmāvacaras subdivided into two classes, the Rūpāvacaras and the

61 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 120: Dibbo ti devaloke sambhūto, 'by heavenly we mean that it is produced in one of the spheres of Kāmāvacara gods.

62 *Sum. Vil.*, I, p. 120: It is similar to the Rūpāvacara gods.

63 i.e. similar to the 4th class of Arūpāvacara gods.

64 i.e. similar to the 3rd class of Arūpāvacara gods.

65 i.e. similar to the 2nd class of Arūpāvacara gods.

66 i.e. similar to the 1st class of Arūpāvacara gods.

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Arūpāvacaras into four classes.[67] The underlying idea of these conceptions is that the soul is made of elements that constitute one or other of the above-mentioned categories of beings. In short, these theories amount almost to the identification of the soul with the body (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*), a theory not accepted by any of the Buddhist philosophers.[68]

If we critically examine the views under the head 'Ucchedavāda', we find nothing but the Buddhist conception of the seven classes of beings (*viññāṇaṭṭhitis*). First, the soul has been identified with the body, and then it has been shown that as the body of beings may be of seven different varieties, so also is the soul. The compiler of the *Sutta* may have also conceived of the soul as something separate from the body but of the same nature as the body, and this soul, he wants to identify with the brāhmaṇic conception of pure soul, viz., Bhūtātman or Liṅgapuruṣa or the Antarābhava, a subtle body that, according to the opinion of the Sarvāstivādins and the Sāṃmitīyas, remain in existence during the interval between death and rebirth.[69]

Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda

X. Five classes of *Diṭṭha-dhammanibbānavādins* (theorisers about the attainment of Nibbāna in this life)

67 The subdivisions of the Kāmāvacara beings, I think, are as follows:—

(a) Beings of Niraya, Tiracchānayoni, Petaloka, Asurabhavana and Manussaloka.

(b) The gods of Cātummahārājikadevaloka, Tāvatiṃsabhavana, Nimmānaratidevaloka and Paranimmitavasavattidevaloka.

Those of the Rūpāvacara gods are: Brahmapārisajjadevas, Brahmapurohitadevas etc. up to Akaniṭṭhadevas.

Those of the Arūpāvacara gods are: (a) Ākāsānañcāyatana, (b) Viññāṇañcāyatana, (c) Ākiñcaññāyatana and (d) Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana. For details see McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 49-50, 60-70; *Abhidharmakośa*, Ch. III, cf. also 'Satta Viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo' in *Dīgha*, II, p. 68-69.

68 See *Dīgha*, I, p. 157.

69 See Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 2, Creative Period, pp. 313-5.

See *Asia Major*, II, pp. 31, 48, 59, 62; see also McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 76.

For Nāgārjuna's refutation of the Aśāśvatavāda (=Ucchedavāda), see *ante*, p. 718.

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The five classes are as follows:—

Those who believe that the soul attains Nibbāna (perfection)

(a) when it fully enjoys the pleasures of the five senses, viz., rūpa, rasa, śabda, gandha and sparśa;

(b) when it, free from desires (*kāma*) and evil thoughts and actions (*akusala-dhamma*), enters into the first *jhāna* in which state, there is reflection (*vitakka*) and judgment (*vicāra*) and a feeling of joy derived through dissociation from the world;

(c) when it is in the second *jhāna*, becomes free from reflection and judgment, internally serene, and remain with thoughts concentrated and in the enjoyment of happiness derived through meditation;

(d) when it is in the third *jhāna*, it becomes indifferent to happiness and unhappiness, conscious of all that is happening, and is pervaded by a sense of ease; and

(e) when it, after dismissing both happiness and unhappiness, pleasure and pain, is in the fourth *jhāna*, which is a pure state having only equanimity (*upekkhā*) and memory (*sati*).

These five views hardly need any comment. The first is that of the worldly man running after worldly pleasures and may well be compared to the materialistic school of philosophy like the Lokāyatikas or the Bārhaspatyas according to whom the *summum bonum* of human life lies in the full enjoyment of the worldly pleasures attainable through the wealth yielded by cattle-rearing, trade, agriculture etc.[70] The next four views refer to the four *jhānas*, which are regarded as the lowest rungs in the ladder of spiritual advancement.

Hence those who have reached one of them are far from Nibbāna, but the people, as the *Brahmajāla Sutta* wants to show, are led away by their own beliefs and aver that the happy state reached in those stages must be the highest and constitutes Nibbāna in the present life. These four views are also based like the previous ones, on ecstatic experiences, and are given out by those only whose highest attaintment has been one of the *jhānas*.

It is evident from the above exposition of the *Brahmajāla Sutta*,

70 See *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha*, edited and translated by Prem Sundar Bose, 1929, p. 7.

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that its compiler has spoken more of the opinions of the imperfect Buddhist monks than those of the non-Buddhist thinkers existing at the time of the appearance of Buddhism. It enumerates the misconceptions and misinterpretations current among the Buddhist monks after Buddhism had been in existence for some time.

Whether the Tathāgata exists after death or not?

Of the ten indeterminable problems the six dealt with in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* have already been discussed in this paper. The remaining four relate to the question whether or not the Tathāgata exists after death. Throughout the Buddhist literature, whether Hīnayānic or Mahāyānic, the problems are thus presented:

(i) *Hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā ti?* (Does T. exist after death?)

(ii) *Na hoti T. param maraṇā ti?* (Does not T. exist after death?)

(iii) *Hoti ca na ca hoti T. param maraṇā ti?* (Does not T. exist and not exist after death?)

(iv) *Neva hoti na na hoti T. param maraṇā ti?* (Does T. neither exist nor not exist after death?).

Though in the Buddhist texts, the problems have been treated as *avyākata* (inexplainable) and not conducive to the spiritual welfare of the inquirers, we find that in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (iv, pp. 382ff.), the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* and a few other Mahāyāna texts, there are attempts to offer an explanation the problems. These have been, in fact, utilized in the Mahāyānic texts to estabish their contention of *Śūnyatā* or *Vijñānamātra*.

From the available expositions of these problems, it is apparent that the underlying reason for negating all the four propositions is that the inquirers, who seek a solution of the problems, labour under the misconception that the Tathāgata is an individual, a composite of skandhas, and that the only difference between a man of the world and the Tathāgata is that the former is composed of impure (*sāsrava*) skandhas and the latter of the pure (*anāsrava*). In other words the inquirers want to ascertain whether Buddhism has any thing to say about the existence of the soul (*ātman*) and its state when an individual attains *mukti*. The four problems hinge on the question whether the

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Tathāgata is a person, and whether his personality, which becomes pure by constant spiritual culture through ages, continues to exist after death (which in this case is *Nirvāṇa*). As Buddhism denies the existence of personality, the only course open to it is therefore to answer all questions relating to soul in the negative, as such questions do not arise. It is like putting the question whether the flower in the sky is red or blue. Any answer, positive or negative, would be misleading; hence the four propositions stated above are treated in the Buddhist texts as *avyākata*. The real issue therefore is not the existence of Tathāgata after death, but whether there is *attā*, and if so, does the *attā* of Arhats or Buddhas remain eternally in *Nirvāṇa* in any form, or become extinct.

In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (iv. pp. 383-384), just after the discourse that *attā* should not be identified with one or more or all of the skandhas, it is shown that the Tathāgata likewise should not be identified with one of the skandhas thus:

(a) whether rūpa or vedanā or saññā or saṅkhārā or viññāṇa is Tathāgata (henceforth abbreviated as T.)

(b) whether T. is in rūpa, vedanā etc.

(c) whether T. is something different from rūpa or vedanā etc.

(d) whether rūpa, vedanā etc. all taken together are T.

(e) whether T. is devoid of rūpa, vedanā etc. (arūpī, avedano, asaññī, asaṃkhāro, aviññāṇo).

The answer to each of these questions evidently could be nothing but *no h'etaṃ bhante*.

What the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* has laid down by a few simple statements has been elaborated into a whole chapter[71] in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti*. Nāgārjuna (henceforth abbreviated as N.) commences (the chapter) with the statement that, if the existence of transmigrating beings (*bhavasaṃtati*) in reality be proved then only the reality of the Tathāgata, the perfect Buddha, the saviour of the world, can be established, but as the former not proved, the existence of the Tathāgata cannot be established. If his real existence is to be established, it must be shown that the

71. Ch. XXII: *Tathāgataparīkṣā*.

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(a) Tathāgata is the same as the skandhas; or

(b) T. is different from the skandhas; or

(c) T. is in the skandhas; or

(d) the skandhas are in T.; or

(e) T. is possessed of skandhas (*skandhavān*), but none of these are true, and hence there is no T. in reality.

Is T. the same as skandhas?

N. first takes up the proposition that the T. is something pure and indescribable and is identical with the skandhas. There are two sets of skandhas, one being the usual five (viz., *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskārā* and *vijñāna*) and the other, the five dharmas which make one a Buddha (viz., *śīla*, *samādhi*, *prajñā*, *vimukti* and *vimuktijñānadarśana*). As the latter set of skandhas is not found in all beings (*avyāpaka*), he takes up the question of identity of the first set of skandhas, rūpa, vedanā etc. with the T., and points out the absurdities, to which this identity would lead. He argues thus:

(i) If fire be taken as identical with firewood, or Buddha with upādāna (=skandhas, i.e. elements which make an individual) then the doer, and the thing done, become one.

(ii) If Buddha (i.e. the Ātman of pure being) be identical with skandhas, then Buddha (or pure Ātman) would be subject to origination and destruction.[72]

Is T. different from the skandhas?

N. then assumes that T. is different from the skandhas, and points out the absurdities, to which this assumption would lead. He says:

(i) If fire be different from firewood, fire could exist without the firewood. Again not being dependent on any other material, it does not require to be ignited. It would be self-existent, proving thereby the futility of exertion (*ārambha-vaiyartham*). Analogously it may be said that Buddha and upādāna being different, Buddha is devoid of *upādāna*, so he is causeless and is self-existent from this it follows that no exertion is needed to become a Buddha.

72 See *M. Vṛ.*, p. 434 and *infra*, p. 742-3.

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(ii) If Buddha be different from the skandhas, he would be devoid of the characteristics of the skandhas.[73]

It follows then that skandhas cannot be different (*vyatirikta*) from the T. Now, when skandhas and T. are not different entities, the other propositions, viz., skandhas are in T., T. is in skandhas or T. is possessed of skandhas, fall to the ground, for this relation can exist only between two distinct entities.

Thus, Nāgārjuna by the line of reasoning *reductio ad absurdum*, established that the Tathāgata can neither be proved to be identical with the skandhas nor different from them, and hence there is no Tathāgata—the Tathāgata which is popularly supposed to be the ultimate perfect state of beings. At the same time, Nāgārjuna adds, there is no transmigrating being (*bhava-saṃtati*), who is supposed to become the Tathāgata ultimately.

N. then says that it may be contended by some that though it has not been possible to establish the existence of T. directly, it may be done, at least, indirectly (*parabhāvataḥ*) by proving the existence of the upādānas, and T. as their images. But this also is shown untenable by N. by his usual arguments *reductio ad absurdum*.

Does Tathāgata exist relatively?

Against the argument that the existence of T. can be proved at least as a reflection of pure skandhas similar to the image of an object on a mirror, Nāgārjuna advances the following arguments:

(a) That which appears by depending on some thing else, e.g. the reflection on a mirror is *anātma* (substanceless) and whatever is *anātma* is unreal (*niḥsvabhāva*). Hence, there is no ground for holding that the so-called T. exists in reality.

(b) Again, if T. had been really existent, then only it would have been possible to establish the separate existence (*parabhāva*) of skandhas by showing their apartness (*paratvam*) from T. As it has been already proved that T. is non-existent by its own nature (*svabhāvataḥ*), the question of separate existence (*para-svabhāva*) of skandhas cannot arise, so it is futile to argue that the existence of T.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 434 for a detailed treatment, see *infra*, p. 743-4.

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can be proved at least indirectly (*parabhāvataḥ*) with reference to the skandhas, with which *paratva* (apartness) and hence *parabhāvatva* (separate existence) of T. is out of the question.

An object must have either an existence of its own (*svabhāva*) or at least, its existence can be established with reference to some other thing (*parabhāva*) but T. has neither; hence, how can T. be said to be real?

Does Tathāgata become apparent by means of skandhas?

Now, it may be contended that T. is not to be spoken of as identical with, or different from, the skandhas; he is known only on account (*upādāya*) of the skandhas.[74] Nāgārjuna replies that that position also is not tenable, the reason being that it implies the existence of T. as prior to, and distinct from, skandhas; and that T. had the skandhas later on, just as we say, Devadatta exists and he later on acquires wealth. From all considerations, the conclusion that is arrived at is that T. cannot have an existence before he has taken up the skandhas, i.e. he cannot exist uncaused (*anupādāya*), for that would again give rise to the fallacy that things can originate without cause. That which does not exist at all,[75] how can it take up something else,[76] in this case, the skandhas (*upādānas*).

From the above it follows that a thing, which is not taken up by something else, cannot be regarded as *upādāna*. N. says: Now that it has been established that T. was non-existent before the acquisition of skandhas, and that T., in fact, did not take up the skandhas, then, is it proper to regard a thing as a cause of some other thing even if the latter does not receive the former (in some shape or other). Hence, the skandhas should not be regarded as the cause of T. A thing when not taken up by something else cannot be called *upādāna* (cause) of the latter; in the absence of such cause (*upādāna*), there can be nothing as

74 The object of the opponents of Nāgārjuna is to say that T. exists for ever, but only when he takes up the aggregates (*skandhas*), he becomes apparent to us.

75 e.g. flower in the sky, son of a barren woman.

76 Just as it is meaningless to say that the flower in the sky has red petals.

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producer (*upādātṛ*) out of that cause. As there is nothing without substantial cause (*nirupādāna*), there can be no Tathāgata.[77]

The T., when examined in the five-fold way (i.e. identity, difference etc.), has been shown as existing by itself (*svabhāvataḥ*), or with reference to the skandhas(=upādānas), i.e. *parabhāvataḥ*. Moreover the skandhas themselves are non-existent, because they are dependently originated (*pratītya-samutpannatvāt*).[78] Their existence also cannot be established indirectly (*parabhāvataḥ*), meaning by their relation to something else, i.e. the *upādātṛ*. The existence of *upādāna* is not possible without an agent (*upādātṛ*). Even if the existence of the agent (upādātṛ) be assumed, how can the reality of a thing be established by showing its relation to the agent (or originator) when the thing itself is non-existent which he has shown in the chapter on *skandhaparīkṣā*. Nāgārjuna thus concludes that there is neither *upādāna* nor *upādātṛ*.[79]

We need not follow Nāgārjuna any further, for he passes next to the abstruse conception of Śūnyatā, which is beyond the scope of this paper. He is not satisfied with establishing his point that there is no Tathāgata the person—a fact accepted by the Hīnayānists, he goes further and shows that there are no skandhas, the existence of which is admitted by the Hīnayānists.

Both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists agree in holding that there is no persisting entity (*pudgala*) in a being apart from the skandhas, and any question about the existence of the Tathāgata after his passing away really raises the issue whether there is any persisting entity in a being, and whether that entity continues to exist after the

77 This may be cleared by the following simile: Earth is normally the material cause of a jar. But unless a quantity of earth is taken up and converted into a jar, it cannot be called the cause of the jar. When earth remains unutilised, it is not the material cause of the jar; and the existence of the jar cannot be asserted. From this N.'s conclusion is that there is neither the material cause nor the jar.

78 For detailed arguments see *M. Vṛ.*, ch. IV.

79 *M. Vṛ.*, pp. 440-1:

एवं शूण्यमुपादानमुपादता (च) सर्वशः ।
प्रज्ञप्यते च शूण्येन कथं शूण्यस्तथागतः ॥

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being is thoroughly cleansed of his impurities and passes away for ever. To put it in another way, does the entity (*pudgala*) exist in Nirvāṇa eternally, or not? As both the Hīnayānisīs and the Mahāyānists deny the existence of that entity, the personality of beings, both refuse to give any answer to the question whether there is Tathāgata (the person) after he has passed away, for a question like that cannot arise and hence any answer, if given, would be misleading,[80] and so it is safer and better to leave it as *avyākata* or *anirvacanīya*.

The Buddhist Criticism of the Conception of Soul

Most of the doctrines that have been so far discussed relate to the notions current among the imperfect Buddhists and the non-Buddhists about the nature and existence of the soul. Buddhism wholly denies the existence of the soul which is permanent, immaculate, unaffected by Karma, and in this denial (i.e. *Pudgalanairātmya*) there is no difference of opinion between the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists. The Pāli texts aver that the belief in the existence of the soul, or in other words, the heresy of individuality (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) is due to the misapprehension of one of the five khandhas as soul in the following four ways:[81]

80 It should be remembered that Nāgārjuna denies the existence of Tathāgata the person but not of Tathatā or Śūnyatā, for an exposition of which see my *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 214-5.

To the Hīnayānists, Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins, Nirvāṇa exists but is devoid of any individuality. It is the sea of one taste, one colour etc. and in which all rivers of different names, colours, tastes lose their individual characters.

81 *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (I, pp. 143-150) explains how this misapprehension happens. It says that a person, while meditating sometimes conceives of

(i) the object of meditation (e.g. *paṭhavikasina, āpokasina, nīlakasina, pītakasina*) that it is he and he is the object of meditation. It is like identifying (*advayam*) the flame (of a burning lamp) with its coolur (*yā acci so vaṇṇo, yo vaṇṇo sā accī ti*);

(ii) the khandhas as belonging to the self (*attā rūpena rūpavā*) just as some say that a tree and its shadow are two separate entities and that one belongs to the other (*rukkho imāya chāyāya chāyavā*);

(iii) the khandhas as existing in the self (*attani rūpaṃ passati*) just as one would say that flower and smell are separate and the smell is in the flower, (*ayaṃ gandho imasmiṃ pupphe* etc.);

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(i) attā is the same as rūpa, or vedanā, or saññā, or saṅkhārā, or viññāṇa (*rūpaṃ* etc. *attato samanupassati*)

(ii) attā is possessed of rūpa etc. (*rūpavantaṃ* etc. *attānaṃ samanupassati*)

(iii) in attā there is rūpa etc. (*attani rūpaṃ* etc. *samanupassati*)

(iv) attā is in rūpa etc. (*rūpasmim* etc. *attānaṃ samanupassati*)[82]

It appears from the discourse in the *Milindapañha*,[83] that among the five khandhas, *viññāṇa* was more often identified with *attā* or *jīva* than the rest, but no such distinction is noticeable in the Nikāyas. As a consequence of the identification of *Attā* with one of the components of a being, by the non-Buddhists, the texts aver that it can be classified like the beings into three types:[84]

(1) *attā* of beings of the lower worlds, viz., from Avīci to Paranimmita is gross (*oḷārika*);[85]

(2) *attā* of beings of the worlds from Paṭhamajhānabhūmi to Akaniṭṭhabrahmaloka is *manomaya*,[86] i.e., material but very subtle like the mind, and

(3) *attā* of beings of the worlds from Akāsānañcāyatana-brahmaloka to Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana-brahmaloka is *arūpa*[87] (*non-material*).

According to the Buddhists, *attā* does not exist, it is only a word of common usage[88] and does not correspond to any reality, hence no question should arise as to its existence, not to speak of its identification with one of the khandhas.

(iv) the khandhas as the container of the self as a casket is of a jewel.

By *rūpa* etc. I mean the five khandhas, viz., rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhārā and viññāṇa.

82 In the *M. Vṛ.*, p. 432 and elsewhere it is shown that the misapprehension happens in five ways, the fifth being that the *Attā* is something different from the *skandhas;* the first four being the same as stated above.

83 *Milindapañha*, p. 86.

84 *Dīgha*, I, p. 195; see also the commentary on *Poṭṭhapādasutta* (*IHQ.*, Supplement), p. 23.

85 Oḷārika=Rūpī cātummahābhūtiko kabaḷiṅkārāhāra-bhakkho.

86 Manomaya=Rūpī manomayo sabbaṅga-paccaṅgī ahīnindriyo.

87 Arūpa=Arūpī saññāmayo.

88 *Dīgha.*, I, p. 202: lokasāmaññā lokaniruttiyo lokavohāralokapaññattiyo; cf. *M. Vṛ.*, p. 345: nāmamātrakam evātmānam.

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The *Milindapañha* raises the question whether attā is something different from the khandhas and whether it is an active agent living within the body and acting through the organs of sense. This is refuted by Nāgasena by the argument that as its activity ceases when the organs of sense cease to work, so it cannot be said to have a separate and independent existence of its own.[89]

The Pāli texts refuse to admit the existence of anything in a being besides the five khandhas. Life (*jīva*), according to them, is dependent on *āyu* (span of life), *usmā* (heat) and *viññāṇa* (vital principle) just as the sound of a conch-shell has no existence of its own, but is dependent on the blower, his exertion, and the wind blown into it.[90]

In his works, Nāgārjuna also takes up the same position as indicated in the Pāli texts, and proceeds in his own way to show that *ātman* is not the same as one of the skandhas nor has it a separate and independent existence of its own apart from the skandhas. The stanzas on the point in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*[91] runs thus:—

स्कन्धेष्वात्मा विद्यते नैव चामी
सन्ति स्कन्धा आत्मनीतीह यस्मात् ।
सत्यन्वत्वे स्यादियं कल्पना वै
तच्चान्यत्वं नास्त्यतः कल्पनैषा ॥

[The soul is not in the skandhas, nor are the skandhas in the soul; had they (soul and skandhas) been separate, then one holding the other could have been imagined; but as there is no separateness between the soul and the skandhas, the statement that one holds the other is pure imagination (i.e. false)].

इष्टो नात्मा रूपवान्नास्ति यस्माद्
आत्मा वस्त्वार्थोपयोगो हि नातः ।
भेदे गोमान रूपवानप्यभेदे
तस्त्वान्यात्वेऽरूपतो नात्मनः स्तः ॥

89 *Milindapañha*, pp. 55, 86.
90 *Dīgha*, II, p. 338.
91 See *M. Vṛ.*, p. 434.

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[As the soul is not made of rūpa (matter),[92] its existence cannot be admitted, and for the same reason, it cannot be said that the soul possesses attributes of its own (*vattvārthopayōga*). If the soul and rūpa be regarded as separate, then the relation between the soul and rūpa would be like the cowherd and his cows, and if they are regarded as not separate (*abheda*), the soul would be made of rūpa, hence neither identity (*tattva*)[93] nor difference (*anyatva*) of the soul and the skandhas can be established].

All the controversies about *attā* whether in the Pāli texts or in the works of Nāgārjuna rest on the fact that the constituents of a being, if analysed, cannot be shown to have anything called soul, apart from the five skandhas, which include, as they do, all the elements that compose a being.

Two lines of argument

The Buddhists therefore take to two lines of argument, viz., that the soul should either be identical with one or more or all of the skandhas or be wholly different from the skandhas, the stock Pāli expression for this is *taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīram; aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīram*. The Pāli texts assert without giving sufficient reasons, that both the above propositions are wrong (*micchādiṭṭhi*), while Nāgārjuna has recourse to his usual line of reasoning, viz., *reductio ad absurdum* to show that it is absurd to suppose a relation of identity or difference between the soul and the skandhas. We shall state here conscisely Nāgārjuna's arguments:

What is the *Ātman*—the basis of the sense of I-ness (*Ko'yam ātmā nāmeti yo'haṅkāraviṣayaḥ*)? It should be either the skandhas themselves (*skandhasvabhāva*) or something apart from the skandhas (*skandhavyatirikta*). That is, the relation between the soul and the skandhas should be either one of identity (*ekatva*) or of difference

92 Rūpa here also is not form but matter. It is referring to the skandhas in general by a concrete instance. The translations given here are in the light of their Tibetan renderings. See *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Tibetan ed.), p. 265; *M. Vṛ.*, p. 435 fn. 1.

93 See *M. Vṛ.*, p. 439: tattva=ekatva.

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(*anyatva*).[94] Both these positions, according to Nāgārjuna, are untenable on the ground

आत्मा स्कन्धा यदि भवेदुयव्ययभाग्भवेत् ।
स्कन्धेभ्योऽन्यो यदि भवेद्भवेदस्कन्ध लक्षणः ॥

[If Ātman be the same as the skandhas, it would be subject to origin and destruction, again if it be different from the skandhas, it would be without the characteristics appertaining to the skandhas (*phuṅ. poḥi mtshon. ñid med. par ḥgyur*)].[95]

Hence, it is not possible to establish any relation of identity or difference between the soul and the skandhas.

Identification of the Soul with the Skandhas how faulty?

The following are some of the *untenable* positions that would arise by the identification of ātman with the skandhas:—

(a) ātman, which had no existence before, comes into being, so it becomes an object constituted (*kṛtaka*) and hence impermanent, but ātman is known to be unconstituted (*akṛtaka*) and permanent;

(b) ātman requires a creator but a creator of ātman, apart from the ātmā itself, is not known. If the ātman be conceived as the creator of itself, then the contingency arises that the world has a beginning and that a being which did not exist before can appear, and ātman becomes constituted (*kṛtaka*);[96]

(c) ātman originates without any cause (*sambhūto vāpyahetukaḥ*). If it be said that ātman had no existence before and there was no creator, and then if its present existence be admitted, it would be admitting origination of an object without cause, but this is not permissible;[97]

(d) ātman has momentary origination and destruction like the skandhas or upādāna-skandhas, but that is impossible;[98]

94 In the case of *anyatva* again, the question of the relation of the container and the contained (*ādhāra ādheya*) arises, viz., whether Ātman is in the skandhas or the skandhas are in the Ātman. See *ante*, p. 740; also *Mvyut.*, p. 208.

95 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 340.

96 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 581.

97 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 581.

98 Further, at the moment just preceding Nirvāṇa, the destruction and origination of ātmā would take place according to the doctrine of momentary existence

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(e) *upādāna* (the material cause) and *upadātṛ* (the agent) become one. Upādāna requires an agent in order that it may be given a shape. If the agent be the same as upādāna, then it would lead to the oneness (*aikyam*) of the agent and the thing produced by the agent, e.g. between the feller of the tree and the tree, the potter and the pot, the fire and the firewood; but this is not admissible;[99]

(f) ātman is many like the skandhas;

(g) there is no contradistinction (*vaiparītyaṃ*) between the characteristics of matter (*dravya*) and those of ātman;

(h) ātman is extinct (*uccheda*) in nirvāṇa.

Thus, it follows that it is futile to establish between the ātman and the skandhas a relation of identity (*tattva*) or difference (*anyatva*), or to give *ātman* the attributes of permanency (*nityatva*) or impermanency (*anityatva*) . To say that ātman is permanent (*nitya*) or impermanent (*anitya*) would make one either a Śāśvatavādin or an Ucchedavādin, both of which views are condemned in the Buddhist texts in unequivocal terms. Therefore, *ātman* should not be identified with the skandhas (*upādāna-skandhas*).

Distinguishing the Soul from the Skandhas how faulty?

Having asserted that ātman cannot be identified with the skandhas, Nāgārjuna takes up the counterproposition, viz., whether ātman is different from the skandhas (*skandha-vyatiriktaḥ*), and shows the absurdities to which this would again lead:

(a) If ātman be different from the skandhas, then it must not have the characteristics of the dependently originating skandhas, viz., origin, continuity and destruction (*utpāda-sthiti-bhaṅga-lakṣaṇa*). As these characteristics are absent in ātman, being different from the skandhas, and as it is said to be not dependently originated, therefore it must be admitted that it is non-existing like the sky-flower, for no definition can be offered of such ātman. It can only be pointed out as the basis of the sense of I-ness.

(*kṣanikavāda*). If the agent has been destroyed, who is it that enjoys the fruit? The contingency that arises is that one acts and another enjoys the fruits.

99 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 576.

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(b) Again each of the five skandhas possesses some characteristics of their own, e.g. rūpa possesses the characteristic of taking forms[100] (*rūpana*), vedanā and saṃjñā that of ascertaining the cause of direct perception (*anubhavanimittodgrahaṇa*) and vijñāna that of having detailed knowledge of objects. If ātman be distinguished from the skandhas as vijñāna is done from rūpa, then it should have some characteristics of its own, e.g., it would be something like mind (*citta*) as distinguished from matter (*rūpa*). If its special characteristics be denied, it is meaningless to say that it has existence as something different from the skandhas.

It may be contended that the non-Buddhists attribute to ātman some characteristics which are different from those of the skandhas, viz., that ātman is not an agent, but an enjoyer of fruits, attributeless and inactive; it is only when it takes something of the world (*prakṛti*) as support then are its distinctions known.[101]

Nāgārjuna is not prepared to accept the contention of the non-Buddhists that a perfectly pure ātman exists without the skandhas, on the ground that any analysis of the constituents of a being does not furnish us with any proof about its independent existence. It has, according to N., for its basis a mere notion, to which the non-Buddhists have attributed existence and qualities.

So he says that the characteristics, which the non-Buddhists, attribute to ātman, are not based on the actual conception of the form of ātman (*na svarūpata ātmanamupalabhya*). They do not understand the real basis of the notion of ātman; it is a mere term. Though they cannot establish anything, yet, out of fear, they recede from even the conventional truth and become entangled in pure conjectures, and being thus deluded, they conceive of an ātman and attribute to it some characteristics. Nāgārjuna then quotes a few verses giving his own idea of the ātman. He says: Just as on account of a mirror an image, which is not real, is seen, so also on account of the

100 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 343 n.: ruppanalakkhaṇaṃ rūpaṃ; rūpa, the object and instrument of nirūpaṇa.

101 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 344.

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skandhas, the notion of I-ness, which is unreal, arises.[102] As without a mirror, an image is not seen, so without the conglomeration of elements (skandhas), the notion of I-ness does not arise.[103]

The topic of *anattā* forms the subject-matter of Buddha's second discourse to his five comrades (*Vin.* I, pp. 13-14) and constitutes the keynote of Buddhism. In this discourse, when Buddha denied the existence of *attā*, i.e., of any permanent substance apart from the *khandhas*, he cannot be expected to solve the 'indeterminable' (*avyākata*) problems, as all of them hinge on the nature and existence of *attā*. It is therefore wrong to state that Buddha left the most important problems unanswered, or that he did not know what to say about them.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

102 The simile is: I=Image on a mirror; skandhas=mirror.

103 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 345:

यथादर्शमुपादाय स्वमुखप्रतिबिम्बकं ।
दृश्यते नाम तच्चैव न किं चिदपि तत्त्वतः ॥
अहंकारस्तथा स्कन्धानुपादायोपलभ्यते ।
न च कश्चित्स तत्त्वेन स्वमुखप्रतिबिम्बवत् ॥
यथादर्शमनादाय स्वमुखप्रतिबिम्बकं ।
न दृश्यते तथा स्कन्धाननादायाहमित्यपि ॥

These verses served to remove the avidyā of Ānanda and made him an Arhat.

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The Purāṇas : A Study*

Retrospect

Notwithstanding a century of research or more in that important branch of Indian literature, viz., the Purāṇas, no substantial results have so far been reached, nor tangible conclusions arrived at. It has been the ruling passion of orientalists to cull out history of ancient India from the Vedic literature, its earliest literary sources. One has to acknowledge not only that magnificent results have been already attained but also this work is still being conducted with undiminished vigour. Though strenuous labour was devoted in this direction, yet there was not wanting a school of distinguished savants who began to bestow their attention to the huge mass of the Purāṇa literature.

Wilson's pioneer work

As early as the thirties of the 19th century H.H. Wilson engaged himself seriously in a close study of the Purāṇas available to him then in print and Mss, and his achievement was the heavy volume containing translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with learned notes and scholarly introduction and his essay on the Purāṇas in general.

Though no small credit is due to his labour of love, still he laboured under a wrong impression that the Purāṇas were sectarian in character and 'pious frauds written for temporary purposes in subservience to sectarian imposture.' In other words, Wilson was of opinion that the Purāṇas "are no longer authorities for Hindu belief as a whole. They are special guides for separate and sometimes conflicting branches of it: compiled for the evident purpose of promoting the preferential or in some cases the sole worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva."[1] Since such impression was firmly rooted in his mind it is but natural for him to think that the Purāṇa compilation must have been done after the 10th century, at most

* A lecture delivered under the auspices of the University of Madras.

1 Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, p. v; Lassen, *Ind. Alter.*, I, 479 ff.

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after the 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era when the waves of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism had spread in the land.

Col. Vans Kennedy's contribution

The erroneous position which Wilson took in regard to the character and age of the Purāṇas did not go unrefuted by his own contemporaries. Among them the contribution of Col. Vans Kennedy may be prominently mentioned. His reply to Wilson in the form of letters to the *London Asiatic Journal* 1840-41 has been printed by the late editor of Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as an appendix. He put up an eloquent defence to the effect that the Purāṇas were as much the sacred books of the Hindus as a whole as the Vedic literature, that the exclusive worship of a deity was not meant by anything that is contained in the extant Purāṇas, and that Wilson misunderstood the preferntial worship inculcated, as the exclusive worship of a particular deity, and the votaries to be sectaries of either Viṣṇu or Śiva. He strongly upheld that the Purāṇas were a class of ancient literature, and there was no proof that they were very late compositions.

Other writers

The next stage in the story of Purāṇa scholarship was the valuable service rendered by E. Burnouf,[2] Col. Wilford and the compilers of catalogues of Mss. like Th. Aufrecht (*Bodl. Cat.*, pp. 7 ff.) and Julius Eggeling (*India Office Cat.*, pt. VI, Sec. ii, Paurāṇik Literature, pp. 1184 ff. London, 1896).

Contribution by Pargiter and Kirfel

A considerable time elapsed between the more recent researches on the Purāṇas, and the old, More recent researches brought to light a systematic record of Indian historical tradition preserved in their dynastic lists. F. E. Pargiter has been successful in his effort to obtain definite results in his attempt to reconstruct the dynasties of the Kali

2 See preface to his edition and translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ou *Historie Poetique de Krichna*, in 5 volts.

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Age.[3] Mention must be made of the services of Willibald Kirfel of the German school of orientalists.[4] His *Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa* is another successful attempt to prove that the five topics of a Purāṇa are not a mere theory but are commonly dealt with in all the Purāṇas. The relevant common passages are collected together in this volume.[5]

The term Purāṇa

The etymology of the term Purāṇa is furnished by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (I. 203) thus: यस्मात्पुरा हि अनतीदं पुराणं, that which lives from ancient times. This simply shows that it means 'ancient tale' or 'old narrative.' The term was in use long before the Purāṇas were compiled.

By the time of the *Atharva Veda* (XI. 7. 24; also V. 19. 9), however, it is evident that the Purāṇa assumed some independent form as a composition . One of the references therein has the implication that the verse addressed to sage Nārada is taken from some Purāṇa.[6]

The same inference can be drawn from the use of the term in the Upaniṣads. That a definite work is meant is seen from the seventh book of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* where Nārada says that he had studied *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*.[7]

But it is only when we come to the epoch of the Sūtra literature, we find reference to the contents of the extant Purāṇas.

The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*[8] (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library

3 The *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (1913) and *Ancient Ind. His. Tradition* (1922).

4 *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn, 1927.

5 See also E. J. Rapson *Cambr. His. of India*, vol. I, p. 296 ff.: *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 1021-31; *ibid.*, 1915, pp. 516-21 and pp. 507-16; J. N. Farquhar, *An outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford (1920), ch. IV, pp. 136 ff.; *ZDMG.*, 1902, pp. 654 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 22-24 (4th edition).

6 Cf. *SBE.*, vol. 42, p. 435 where Bloomfield remarks that 'Nārada is the typical interlocutor in the Purāṇas.'

7 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, Pāṇini Office, Allahabad (1910) VII ad. I khaṇḍa, mantras 2 and 4; *ibid.*, VII khaṇḍa, mantra 1.

8 I, 6.19.13; I, 10.29.7; II, 9.23.3. *Cf. Gautama Dharmasūtra*, XI (Mysore Oriental Library Series).

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Series) quotes from the Purāṇa and in one place it is definitely mentioned that the quotation is taken from the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*.[9]

In conformity to the ancient law treatises, the expression Purāṇa connoting a particular class of literature and prescribed for a prince as a principal subject of his study occurs in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* of the 4th century B.C.[10]

The Purāṇas are mentioned by name in the *Mahābhārata* (I. V. 55 f.) both in the special and general sense. The expression in some places means some legendary lore . In other places (See Bk. XVIII, VI, 304) there is a definite mention of the Purāṇa literature as a class and the eighteen Purāṇas as handed down by tradition.

There is again a classical definition of the expression Purāṇa given by ancient lexicographers like Amara who attributes five characteristics (*Pañcalakṣaṇa*) to a Purāṇa treatise. Among the distinguished early indologists Lassen was perhaps the first to critically examine the application of the epithet in its reference to the extant Purāṇas (*Indis. Alter.*, vol. I, 499). The *Pañcalakṣaṇa* or the five topics of a Purāṇa are

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चेति लक्षणानां तु पञ्चकम् ॥

Pratisarga	= primary creation;
Sarga	= secondary creation;
Vaṃśa	= genealogy of gods and patriarch;

9 According to F. E. Pargiter (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*), the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* was the source of information to the *Matysa, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, so far as the dynastic lists are concerned. Prof. Keith examines this theory and concludes that by the term *Bhaviṣya*, nothing more than 'in the future' is meant (see *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 1021-31: *ibid.*, 1915, pp. 516-21; and pp. 141-7, 328.

आभूतसंप्लवान्ते:स्वर्गजितः ।
पुनःसर्गे बीजार्था भवन्तीति भविष्यत्पुराणे ॥ II. 9. 24, 5-6.

10 *Ar. Śās.*, Bk. I, Sec. 5; see also *Yājñ*: I, 3, *Bṛhaspati*, I, 23 (S. B. E.) vol. 33, p. 280 *Jolly, Recht und Sitte* or *Hindu Law and Customs*, Trans. pp. 64-65 cp. J. J. Meyer *Gesetzbuch und Purāṇa* (Breslau, 1929) being a reply to Hans Losch, Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti: ein Beitrag zur Quellen Kuende des Indische Rechts, Leipzig.

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Manvantara	= periods of Manus;
Vaṃśānucarita	= history of princes of solar and lunar races and of their descendants.[11]

Thus we see that the Purāṇas as a whole deal with the evolution of the universe, recreation of the universe from the constituent elements, genealogies of gods and seers, groups of 'great ages' included in an aeon (*kalpa*), and history of royal families (See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I., p. 296).

Two classes of the Purāṇas: ancient and later

A close examination of the existing Purāṇas leaves the impression on our mind that the Purāṇas originally conformed to this definition, but later additions, the evidence of which is perceptible, marred it to such an extent that the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* became more a theory than an actual fact. From this we have to distinguish two classes of the Purāṇas, the ancient and the later. In ancient days it may be, there was one single Purāṇa or perhaps more than one. It was not certainly eighteen. The classification of 18 Purāṇas marks a definite stage in the evolution of the Purāṇa literature. To give an air of antiquity so as to be acceptable, the redactors of the extant Purāṇas did not ignore ancient materials and tried as far as possible to retain them as much as suited their purpose. Of these Purāṇas again the fifth section *Vaṃśānucarita* is not found in some of the Purāṇas. That the Purāṇas attained celebrity in the latter half of the Vedic period as has been already pointed out, is evident from the fact that the Upaniṣads like the *Chāndogya* and the early Buddhist works like the *Suttanipāta* (III. 7) assign to them the status of the Veda; for the Purāṇas as a whole go by the name of the fifth Veda.

Origin of the Purāṇas

The accepted traditional belief is that a certain Vyāsa is the author of all these eighteen Purāṇas as well as the *Mahābhārata*. In the

11 Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. vii; Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 190.

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Matsya Purāṇa it is said: Brahmā first remembered the Purāṇa and then revealed the Vedas. Originally there was a single Purāṇa with a hundred crore of verses. Appropriately to this the *Vāyu Purāṇa* says:

प्रथमं सर्वशास्त्राणां पुराणं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ॥ 1. 60

This stanza of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* together with that of the *Matsya Purāṇa* gives then the clue that long before the age of the Vedas, the Purāṇa was thought of and continued to be in existence. This means that the Vedic literature which contains mythological and legendary lore must have been traditionally remembered and when the Vedas were composed these legends were alluded to here and there. Thus there is the justification for the statement of the *Matsya Purāṇa* that Brahmā thought of the Purāṇa before he thought of the Vedas. This need not mean that the Purāṇa as an independent literature grew up before the Vedic compositions. It means that legendary lore existed from remote times and was handed down to posterity without interruption. The Purāṇa or old tales existed but not the Purāṇic literature as such.

Origin as told by the Viṣṇu Purāṇa

We have then to look for their origin in the Vedic literature itself. The myths and legends to which allusion is made therein as well as the particular forms of prayer and worship inculcated, afforded material for the later compiler of the Purāṇa, viz., *sarga* and *pratisarga* which are intimately connected with the origin of the world. It is not difficult to believe that the cosmogonic hymns of the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* afforded a convenient material to build a literary superstructure. There is, therefore, justification for the remark of Prof. Macdonell that those 'cosmogonic hymns of the *Ṛgveda* were not only the precursors of Indian philosophy but also of the Purāṇas.' (*History of Indian Literature*, p. 138).

Not only the *Saṃhitās* but also the *Brāhmaṇas* contain references to the ancient legends. The *Brāhmaṇas* deal with sacrifices and their different rites and ceremonies and contain special spells and prayers. In these particular forms of worship which are associated with the narratives and the legends of yore, the foundations of the later Purāṇa

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were laid. The later Purāṇa writer drew upon these sources and extended their range and character by introducing other miscellaneous subjects (See Weber, *History of Indian Literature* (1914), p. 24). Thus we see a distinct class of works which go by the name of the Purāṇas by the beginning of the epoch of the Upaniṣads.

A fairly clear account of the origin and the evolution of the Purāṇas is furnished by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III. 6-17-19). According to this testimony Vyāsa the sage originally compiled what is known as the *Purāṇa Saṃhitā*, and taught it to his disciple Lomaharṣaṇa, the Sūta or the professional chronicler. Lomaharṣaṇa was a sage himself. He had under him six disciples: Agnivarca, Maitreya, Śāṃśapāyana, Kaśyapa and Sāvarṇi. To them he imparted the *Purāṇa Saṃhitā* as he heard it from his master Vyāsa. They were also famous chroniclers and their versions were respectfully heard in different learned assemblies, specially called for on the occasion of the performance of great sacrifices by the reigning monarch of the realm. In the *Agni Purāṇa* (270. 10-13) again the same version is told but with a slight variation. According to this authority Vyāsa himself had six disciples to whom he imparted the Purāṇa lore. Of these six names mentioned in this Purāṇa, four are common, and these are Sumati, Maitreya, Śāṃśapāyana and Sāvarṇi. The other two names of the *Agni Purāṇa* are Sūta and Lomaharṣaṇa. Yet another version of the origin of the Purāṇa is given in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vāyu* (*Bd.*, II, 35, 63-70; *Vā.*, 61. 55-62; cf. *Viṣ.*, III, 6; *Bhāg.*, XII, 7) whose texts are common, and which, according to the conjecture of Pargiter, might have been originally one. According to these texts Romaharṣaṇa imparted the Purāṇa to his six disciples Ātreya Sumati, Kāśyapa Akṛtavraṇa, Bhāradvāja Agnivarcas, Vaśiṣṭha Mitrāyu, Sāvarṇi, Saumadatti and Suśarmā Śāṃśapāyana. Of these Kāśyapa, Sāvarṇi and Śāṃśapāyana compiled respectively an independent Purāṇa Saṃhitā, and these three together with that of Romaharṣaṇa formed the *mūla saṃhitā* or *pūrva saṃhitā* according to another reading. This means that this was the original or the first Saṃhitā from which the later Purāṇas sprang up. The chief characteristics that distinguished this class of works from the rest of its kind consisted of four divisions or *padas* with different texts but conveying the same meaning. All these except

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that of Śāṃśapāyana contained 4000 verses. Among these again priority is given to Lomaharṣaṇa's Saṃhitā. Then came Kāśyapa's, then Sāvarṇika's, and lastly Śāṃśapāyanika's. Unfortunately these versions are lost though we have Purāṇas like the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* with four divisions or padas which are stated by Romaharṣaṇa as prakriyā, anuṣaṅga, upodghāta, and upasaṃhāra. (See *Vāyu* on *Catuṣpada* 32.67). To these names, however, we must add Ugraśravas, the son of Romaharṣaṇa who appears as the reciter in some of the Purāṇas like the *Padma*, *Harivaṃśa* etc. It is reasonable to conjecture that Ugraśravas was a disciple of Romaharṣaṇa. Thus one of the disciples goes by the name of Sūta, and is mentioned as distinct from Lomaharṣaṇa or other disciples who were, as a matter of fact, also Sūtas. It is evident, if we are to believe tradition, that Vyāsa is the common author to whom the Sūtas owed their knowledge and contents of the Purāṇas. (*Mat.*, 53. 70). That they did not merely repeat *verbatim* what they heard from their master but that they added something more and thus enlarged the scope and contents of the Purāṇa is obvious. The following expressions we meet with in many a chapter bear eloquent testimony to this fact. These are *anuśuśruma*, 'we have been told thus,' *smṛtaḥ*, 'it is thus current,' *iti naḥ śrutam*, 'we have heard it thus,' or simply *iti śrutam*, *iti śrutiḥ*, 'thus says tradition.' Again there are other equally significant terms which show other Purāṇas extant during their time, and also show their intimate acquaintance with them. Some of these terms are *purāvid*, *purāṇajña*, *paurāṇika*, *purāṇavidjana*, *paurāṇikajana*, *vaṃśavid*, *somavaṃśavid*, *vaṃśavittama* etc. The last three terms go to prove that ancient India had historians. *Vaṃśavid* and *vaṃśavittama* are epithets which cannot be translated otherwise than as 'historians of the ordinary type' and 'the great historians.' Among these again there were a few specialists in certain fields as is evidenced by the expression *somavaṃśavid*, an authority on the history of the lunar race. The Sūtas have further endeavoured to enrich this class of literature by quoting from the archives of ancient poetry then extant. These are styled as *gāthās* or ancient songs sung in honour of a king or a sage by a stray minstrel or a wandering bard. These too were handed down as a literary legacy to posterity, and the Sūtas who were supposed to be qualified students

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in every department of literature used them wherever occasion presented itself, perhaps to exhibit their ingenuity and originality. Collating the versions of different kinds we are led to the conclusion that the *mūla-saṃhitā* consisted of four versions, meaning thereby at the outset there were four Purāṇas, and the other fourteen grew later on out of these four.[12]

Classification of the Purāṇas

Tradition has unanimously accepted the existence of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas and also eighteen Upapurāṇas (see *Bhāg.*, XII, 7.8). The Upapurāṇas are very later productions, of a sectarian character and purely local interest. Their value to a student of history, and even religion is very little, and therefore we may dismiss them for the time being. Confining, then, to the Mahāpurāṇas, the other classifications are one according to the preferential worship of deities like Śiva, Viṣṇu etc., and secondly according to the qualities (*guṇa*), viz., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which predominate largely in the present books (*Padma* P., ch. XLII; cf. *Matsya* P., ch. LII). From the nature of the subjects dealt with it is wrong to assume that the ancient Purāṇa literature was divided into a few water-tight compartments like the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and so on. On this unfounded assumption these works are looked upon as too sectarian in character and extent. The fact is that every Purāṇa whatever classification it may come under, speaks of almost all deities. For example in a Śaiva Purāṇa we come across legends of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other gods, and their heroic exploits. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* may be cited as an instance. In the same way in a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa the legends of Śiva and other deities also occur. But some Purāṇas extend the legendary exploits of a particular deity, and seem to inculcate preferential worship to that deity. That did not and does not mean that other deities were ignored or condemned, and that

12 It has been contended by some scholars that out of the one single Purāṇa others issued. See A. M. T. Jackson, *JBBRAS.*, (1905) extra No. pp. 67 fw.; A Blue, *ZDMG.*, 1908, p. 337; Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. His. Tradition*, pp. 35 ff.; *contrast* Winternitz, *His. of Ind. Lit.*, p. 521-22.

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any sectarian bias was infused in such teachings.[13] What is more interesting is that every Purāṇa specifies the number eighteen together with their names. Notwithstanding the variation in the order of enumeration and in the titles of the Purāṇas, it is remarkable that every Purāṇa gives the list of eighteen including itself. It does not stand to reason that all Purāṇas were composed at one and the same time and afforded the occasion to the compiler of each Purāṇa to mention the names of the eighteen. The verse or verses containing the reference to the eighteen Purāṇas are evidently interpolations introduced at a later time when all the eighteen Purāṇas have been completed.

It is difficult to ascertain the time and the occasion when the Purāṇas were moulded into their present shape. So far as the Pūrāṇas, which contain the fifth section, go, there is the definite evidence of revision from the commencement of the Christian era to the fifth century A.D. Those Purāṇas, wherein this important section is found omitted, can possibly be taken as older and therefore compiled before the Christian era, i.e., sometime about the epoch of the Upaniṣads. But what awaits the right solution is the occasion for such different versions.[14] Orthodox opinion would have it that they were repeated by the Sūta to the sages and seers, the residents of the Naimiṣāraṇya. A certain time was allotted on the sacrificial days to the hearing of the Purāṇa from the Sūta, the only competent authority to handle that subject. It would be lack of historical sense to accept this version which narrows down all the 18 versions to a certain locality like the Naimiṣāraṇya. At the then busy centres of religious activity we must look for the locale of the Purāṇa compilations. The eighteen versions seem to have depended to a large extent on the geographical distribution of the land. The chief places of pilgrimage where often thronged a large number of people from all parts of India was the best fitted avenue for the propagation of this kind of literature. From the glorification of certain places, we may venture to conjecture that the particular version of the Purāṇa sprang up in that centre. A Purāṇa

13 See Col. Kennedy's defence published as appendix to Wilson's edition of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.

14 See the *Centenary vol. of the JBBRAS.*, 1905, p. 73.

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that deals with the *Gayā-mahātmya* in extenso may be reasonably taken to have been compiled in the city of Gayā. Therefore to some such centre we must look for this version or that. To hazard a conjecture the *Padma Purāṇa* was compiled originally at Puṣkara, the *Vāyu* Purāṇa was compiled at Gayā, the *Brahma Vaivarta* in Orissa, the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, in the valleys of the Narmadā and the Tapti etc.

Their position in Indian Literature

Some scholars have expressed the opinion that the Purāṇa-itihāsa literature of the Hindus was originally permeated by the ancient lore of Kṣatriya tradition, as different from merely Brāhmaṇical. They hold that ancient India developed two streams of literature and culture, the Brāhmaṇic and the Kṣatriyaic. While the Vedic tradition is Brāhmaṇic, the epic and Purāṇic tradition is regarded as the Kṣatriyaic. One of their arguments is that the Sūta, who is the chronicler of these narratives and the narrator as well, is not a Brāhmaṇa by caste.

It is further argued that the Kṣatriya literature later on passed into the hands of the Brāhmaṇas who transformed the contents and even the diction to such an extent as to give the whole literature a Brāhmaṇical air as it were.[15]

Kṣatriya literature and ascetic literature

A few scholars like Garbe and Rhys Davids took objection to the practice of labelling all Indian literature as Brāhmaṇical. They spoke of a Kṣatriya literature while the late E. Leumann drew our attention to what is known as Parivrājaka or ascetic literature in ancient India.[16]

If we look to the subject-matter of the ancient works, we find that there is no basis for holding the the opinion that the Indian literature was divided into two classes, Brāhmaṇic and Kṣatriyaic. In almost all the works we have the glorification of the Brāhmaṇical religion. Among the royal dynasties, no doubt the Kṣatriya monarchs and their genealogies are fully given. But the section covering this subject

15 *Camb. His. of Ind.*, I, p. 297; Wilson's preface to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa;* Winternitz, *His. of Ind. Liter.*, pp. 315 f.; Winternitz, *Some Problems in Ind. List.* (1925), p. 21.

16 Winternitz, *Some Problems of Ind. Lit.*, p. 21.

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occupies not even one-fifth of the extant Purāṇas. The major portion of the works deals with fasts and feasts and different forms of worship of particular deities, besides Vedic cosmogony and Vedānta philosophy. Fully Brāhmaṇical are the descriptions of the periods of different Manus and of the genealogies of the Saptarṣis and Prajāpatis.

Secondly, the existence of a distinct Kṣatriya tradition is a misnomer. There was no period in ancient India when the Kṣatriya was not the king and the Brāhmaṇa his guru and minister, technically known as the Purohita. It has been realised by very ancient writers on polity like Kauṭalya that a healthy combination of *śāstra* (science) and *śastra* (arms) results in the progress of the state.

Thirdly, the so-called Brāhmaṇical literature or the Vedic literature abounds with legends of men some of whom were Kṣatriyas and kings of the prehistorical period. The names of Vedic authors are found in the *Vaṃśānukīrtana* portion of the Purāṇa. With regard to *Ṛg Veda* nine families are mentioned of which three, Vaivasvata, Aila, and Cākṣuṣa are Kṣatriyas. There are hymns in the Veda whose authorship is assigned to Vivasvān, Manu, Purūravas, Yayāti, Māndhātā, Viśvāmitra, Śivi etc., names which are ever the pride of the Kṣatriya community. On this account can we term this portion of the Vedic literature as Kṣatriya literature? Besides the authorship of the hymns, the legends of kings like Hariścandra, Pṛthu, Vaideha Janaka, Nābhāga, Pradyumna etc. are in some cases alluded to and in other cases fully narrated.

Fourthly, the Purāṇas call themselves the fifth veda as the *itihāsas* thus implying that they do not ignore the Vedic or Brāhmaṇic tradition, that they are the followers of the Vedic school, and that they are rooted in Vedic literature. Another interesting feature of the whole is that the so-called Kṣatriya tradition, while glorifying the Vedic rituals and practices like the prayers, sacrifices and *śrāddhas*, ignores entirely the non-vedic religious sects, such as Buddhism and Jainism. Still Pargiter (*An. His. Tra.* p. 59) would make the following remark: "The contrast between the stories about Triśaṅku, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra shows clearly that there were two classes of tradition, the Brāhmaṇic and Kṣatriya." In the same breath he admits their chief patrons, and "Kṣatriya tradition, even when magnifying the

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glory of kings does not disparage Brāhmaṇas but acknowledges their character and position" (*Ind. His. Tra.* p. 59). The one test to demarcate the two traditions according to Pargiter is that Kṣatriya ballad gives a simple and natural account while the Brāhmaṇical version is a farrago of absurdities and impossibilities. This means wherever a tale is told simply i.e. without embellishments of any kind and therefore with no supernatural touch in them, it is genuine and it is Kṣatriya; and embellishments centring around the incidents and therefore of a legendary character are all Brāhmaṇical. Pargiter however seems to contradict himself when he says in the previous paragraph of the same Chapter (V) in defining Kṣatriya tradition that 'Kṣatriya tales do often indulge in the marvellous, but their marvels are generally mere exaggeration without any didactic purpose.'

Fifthly, the view that the Kṣatriya tradition was preserved by a class of professional chroniclers, the Sūtas, and hence a genuine Kṣatriya tradition was built up is due to the misunderstanding of their real status.

The term Sūta has three meanings (*Vāyu*, 62. 147; *Padma*, V. I, 27 ff.): a great ṛṣi and ayonija, a *charioteer*, and a citizen of the Sūta or Anūpa country. The Anūpa country is said to be on the east of Magadha. The people occupying that territory were known as Sūtas or Anūpas, as in the Magadha kingdom the Māgadhas, after the country's name. Secondly, there was the Sūta of mixed caste (*pratiloma*) as referred to in the *Mānavadharma-śāstra* (X, 11 and 17). A person born of a Kṣatriya father and Brāhmaṇa mother was a Sūta by caste (*Mahābhārata, Virāṭ.*, ch. 21, 9.13). Our Sūta, who is the narrator of the Purāṇas and a chronicler of the palace, does not belong to the mixed Sūta caste as the following tradition will show.[17] The first mythical Sūta sprang out of the sacrificial fire of the first king of the Earth, Pṛthu, after whose name the earth became known as Pṛthivī. He is then a venerable sage and an *ayonija*. He first chronicled the story of Pṛthu (*Vāyu* P., 33, 35). When he appeared in the sacrificial hall, Pṛthu called him Sūta, and hereafter upto the historical period of the

17 Sūta's son is called *sauti* clearly indicating that it is a title to the class of Purāṇa narrators.

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Arthaśāstra the Sūta held a high social rank; evoking respect from that class of Brāhmaṇas who were partakers of Vedic sacrifices. This is evident from the way in which he is received by the elite of the assembly, honoured by the assigning of a special seat, and respected as is evident from the epithets used *medhāvi* (1·17), *vaṃśakuśala, kalpajña, mahābhāga* whenever the sages addressed him to solve their doubts.[18]

By the time the *Arthaśāstra* was composed (cir. 4th century B.C.) the Sūta caste had come into being. Kauṭalya refers to this class but hastens to restrict the application of his definition in the case of Sūta-paurāṇika and his colleague the Māgadha by saying that

Paurāṇikasto anyas sūto māgadhaśca brahmakṣatrād viśeṣataḥ.[19]

What is then the position occupied by the Purāṇas in the ancient Indian Literature? The whole Indian literature can be roughly divided into two classes, the Vedic literature and the Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature. The Vedic literature was the monopoly of the few, so the mass had to satisfy themselves by studying the Itihāsas and Purāṇas only. These were expounded for their benefit in a common hall of the village or town. Hearing of these incidents and morals formed a course of general education to the mass mind though even unlettered. It would appear that even men of letters went to hear these. An instance in point is, as furnished by the *Harṣa-carita*, that Bāṇa went to hear the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in his village. While the Itihāsas dealth with morals, law and polity (*Dharmaśāstras* and *Arthaśāstras*) and were didactic in purpose, the Purāṇas contained all forms of worship and prayer, superstitions, a crude knowledge of geography and history, legendary descriptions of places of pilgrimage and rituals, some knowledge of astronomy and astrology, different schools of philosophy, easier methods of attaining salvation, these and other miscellaneous topics of a commonplace interest. These catered largely to the taste of the common man. Thus the Purāṇas were a supplement to the *Itihāsas*. Both combined contributed to the completion of general culture.

18 See the opening lines of the *Ādi Prava* of the *Mbh. Kūrma*, p. I; *Viṣṇu*, I. 13; *Agni*, 1.

19 See the Intro. to this edition of the *Arthaśāstra* by the late T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Triv. Sank. Series.

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The Age of the Purāṇas

The composition of the Purāṇa is to be spread over a large expanse of time covering some centuries. In the epoch of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, we already find some references to a form of composition allied to the Purāṇas. It seems that the earlier Purāṇas were composed in the last stages of the Vedic period but what these Purāṇas were we cannot say at present with any definiteness.

The earliest of the Dharmasūtras, the *Gautama* and the *Āpastamba* mention the Purāṇas. By the time of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* it was counted as one of the subjects of studies for a royal prince.

That some of the Purāṇas were prior to the *Mahābhārata* is evident from the fact that the Purāṇas in general, with the exception of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and perhaps a few more, do not mention by name either the *Mahābhārata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though they are familiar with the narratives and legends found mentioned therein. The names of Vedic works including their branches are distinctly mentioned. But there is no definite reference to the epics by their name. Not only are these not quoted but the *Mahābhārata* and its supplement the *Harivaṃśa*,[20] almost a Purāṇa by itself, definitely point out their indebtedness to the Purāṇas.

Again the epic itself contains the implication that Purāṇa was prior to it in composition. Vyāsa makes it clear that after he compiled the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas, he composed the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*, I, i. 34-64. cf. VIII, 34, 1498). There is again the mention of eighteen Purāṇas in the epic (XVIII, 6. 304), and it is said that one gets the same spiritual glory by listening to the 18 Purāṇas. (*An. Ind. Trad.*, p. 22). These and other references make it manifest that the Purāṇas, at least a good number of them, preceded the *Mahābhārata*, and can therefore be placed with much reliance at a date anterior to the epic. But there is no doubt that the later Purāṇas borrowed their materials from the epics.

20 I. 65 2560; 196, 7265; V, 179, 7073; XIII. 84; 3990; XVIII, 6,304.

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A study of the Purāṇas shows that the earlier Purāṇas were composed in the period prior to Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha, while the later Purāṇas were composed in the epoch following the Buddha. Even among the older Purāṇas from the terms *arhata, budhyate, budhāya,* (See *Vāyu* P., chap. 54. 71: 97, 172) it was remarked that the Purāṇa was influenced by these heretical sects. But from the circumstances in which these terms occur, we have to take it that nothing of the kind is mentioned, and what is after all meant, is their literal meaning, 'One who is honoured and one possessing wisdom.' These are addressed to Śiva, as one of his names, and have nothing to do whatsoever with Jainism or Buddhism. According to Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 68) however the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III, 17, 8-18, 34, cf. *Pad.*, VI, 263, 69-70) has an account of Buddhism and Jainism. From the term arhatas who forsook the Veda it is contended that the struggle for supremacy between the Buddhists and Jains and Brahmans has been mythologised as a *devāsura* war. The dispute between the gods and the asuras was about a divine year when Viṣṇu created Māyāmoha whose followers became known as *Arhatas*. From the circumstances in which this incident took place and considering the place of its occurrence viz., the banks of the Narmadā, the theory does not stand to reason. For we know as a matter of fact that the birth-place of these heretical sects was the Magadha kingdom far away from the Narmadā.

The *Caraṇa-vyūha*, which is reckoned to be a work of the Sūtra period, mentions five Śākhās or branches of that Veda. In the Purāṇas we also meet with some of these branches, and these are Śākalas, Vāṣkalas and Māṇḍukas. The fact that the Purāṇas speak of only three schools of the *Ṛg-veda*, and not the five as referred to in the *Caraṇavyūha* indicates that the Purāṇas which mention these schools were compiled when the other two schools of the *Ṛg-veda* have become extinct and therefore their composition can be assigned to the Sūtra period or more reasonably to the post-Sūtra period.

The Purāṇas constitute a work of various periods in succession. They are to be spread over a long period covering several centuries. Thus we have the Purāṇas belonging to the epoch of the *Upaniṣads*, and to the Sūtra, the epic and post-epic periods. Therefore every Purāṇa must be judged by its contents, and its chronology fixed accordingly.

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Their historical value

To the historian of ancient India, the Purāṇas are an unfailing source of information. Those Purāṇas, which speak of the royal dynasties and their genealogies, are twelve in number, each having the fifth section entitled the *Vaṃśānucarita*, the dynastic lists and narratives. Even in this section we find a confused conglomeration of legendary and historical events. They give barely the dynastic list. Hardly they furnish details or incidents connected with each monarch of one dynasty or the other. Even in this arithmetical enumeration of the names of the kings, the accounts suffer from want of trustworthiness. In some places inaccurate accounts and in other places wrong names are given. The historian must test this material in the light of archæological, epigraphical, and other literary evidences.

The version of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with regard to the Mauryan dynasty, and of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* to the early Guptas has found general acceptance among scholars. The *Vāyu* version of the Gupta rule is believed to be a description of the reign of the Candragupta I, who ruled Magadha from 320-330 A.D. (See *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 323).

In the section on royal dynasties, we meet with two lists, earlier and later. The later list contains those dynasties belonging to what is known as the historical period. Here in addition to the enumeration of names, the length of the reigns of kings is given. The later list deals with those royal dynasties in the epoch following the great war which according to Pargiter is placed about 1100 B.C. After this war three lines of kings are distinguished. These are the Purus, Ikṣvākus and kings of Magadha. There were other contemporary dynasties. But these were small and unimportant. The history of those three dynasties, Purus, Ikṣvākus and Magadhan formed largely the history of ancient India. The continuity of the dynastic lists is broken when we come to the dynasty of the Āndhras. The Purāṇas place the Āndhras after the Kāṇva kings, and calculates the intervening period between these two dynasties to be 157 years. This is to be discredited for there is evidence to point out that the first of the Āndhra kings ruled about 220 or 234 B.C. and was much earlier in date than the first of the Śuṅga kings. (See Smith, *Early History of India*,

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pp. 216-17). Again with regard to this dynasty there is another discrepancy. It is still an open question whether the Andhras ever ruled in *Magadha*. The Purāṇas bear ample testimony to this but scholars doubt their authenticity (Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 216). For we do not hear of their activities in Northern India from any other source. In the absence of a definite data we are forced not to give undue credence to the Purāṇa version, and only on corroborative testimony can this position be cleared up.

Several Purāṇas contain accounts of genealogies of kings. It is not possible to say which accounts are the oldest, though it is generally believed that the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma*, and *Matsya Purāṇas* and the *Harivaṃśa* belong to this class. Other Purāṇas which contain the pedigrees of royal dynasties are the *Padma*, *Garuḍa*, *Agni*, *Bhāgavata*, *Liṅga*, *Kūrma*, *Śiva* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*. An examination of the lists in the individual Purāṇas would be of no value to the historian on account of corruptions and errors, losses and omissions, and interpolations and alterations. The present *Brahmāṇḍa* does not contain the latter half of the Āṇava genealogy, the Paurava genealogy, and a portion of the dynasties of the Kali Age. These are found in the *Vāyu* (99, 102-290). There is an incomplete version of the North Pañcāla genealogy in the *Brahma Purāṇa*. Further the *Brahma* account furnishes two different origins for the Kanyākubja and Kāśī dynasties. The incompatibility of these origins manifests itself as erroneous. The same error is visible in the account of the *Agni Purāṇa* relating to these two dynasties Kanyākubja and Kāśi. The *Matsya* and the *Liṅga* Purāṇas assign six kings to the Ikṣvāku dynasty but the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (ch. 99, sl. 281-290) gives thirty-one kings. The *Kūrma* contains more matter for chronicling the king Vasumanas (I, ch. 20) as well as the Haihaya monarchs Jayadhvaja and Durjaya (*ibid.*, I, chs. 22 and 23). The *Mākaṇḍeya Purāṇa* gives in detail the early history of the Vaiśāla dynasty (ch. 113-36).

The Purāṇas in Tamil Literature

The term *Purāṇa* meaning 'semi-legendary and legendary tales' occurs both in the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai*. The latter (Canto XVII, 1.98) mentions by name the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as *Kaḍalvaṇan*

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Purāṇam, an independent testimony as to the antiquity of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. It may be remarked here that the term *Viṣṇu* does not occur in the Sangam literature and wherever the name Viṣṇu is mentioned there we have Kaḍalvaṇṇan, Tirumāl and other epithets.[21] It is also evident that the author of the *Maṇimekalai* is acquainted with the *Liṅga Purāṇa* as is seen from the statement 17, 9 *neḍiyon mayaṅgi nilamiśaittonṛi* an incident about Rāma's incarnation occurring in the *Liṅga Purāṇa*. Briefly stated the reference is to Viṣṇu taking upon himself the curse levelled against Ambarīṣa by Parvata and Nārada and in that mental delusion (Mayaṅgi) took the incarnation of Rāma. The ideas and ideals, the prescriptions and injunctions laid down in the Purāṇas together with myths, were utilised by the Nāyanmārs and Āḷvārs, the outstanding patriotic saints who carried the torchlight of wisdom and religion throughout the length and breadth of the Tamil land. That the *Liṅga Purāṇa* was well known in the Tamil country in this epoch is evident from its reference in both the *Tevāram* and the *Tiruvāymoḷi*. *Liṅgapurāṇattirukkuṛuntokai* is a title of one of the *Padikams* of *Podu* in the Tevāram attributed to the Saint Appar. In the *Tiruvāymoḷi* again 4,10,5 Nammāḷvār characterises the Śaivas by saying *Iliṅgattiṭṭa Purāṇattiyaruṃ* and this expression is followed by *Śamaṇarum Śākiyaruṃ* (the Jains and the Buddhists). This class of literature became soon popular and evoked keen interest for similar literature. Hence the Tamil literary school devoted their attention to translating these original Sanskrit Purāṇas so as to bring the treasures of knowledge embedded in them to the Tamil world. Thus the Purāṇas were assigned a place in the republic of Tamil letters. It is difficult to fix particular dates for each and every Purāṇa so far translated in Tamil. These are the *Śiva*, *Liṅga*, *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Bhāgavata*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Devibhāgavatam*, *Viṣṇu* and *Garuḍa*. Thus about ten of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas have been translated into Tamil.[22]

21 See the author's article on the '*Age of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa*' *IHQ.*, vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 370-371.

22 For details see the learned introduction by Mr. S. Anavaratavināyakam Pillai to the extant edition of the *Matsya Purāṇa* (1900) in Tamil.

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Confusion between the Śiva and Vāyu Purāṇas

According to the *Piṅgalandai*, a famous Tamil lexicon of high antiquity, the following is the list of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas:

Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Vāmana, Padma,
Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Brahma, Śaiva, Liṅga, Bhaviṣya
Nārada, Garuḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Skanda,
Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni and Brahmāṇḍa

From this it would appear the Tamil lexicographer was familiar with the tradition that the *Śiva Purāṇa* was a *Mahāpurāṇa*. Also it seems that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is omitted in the list and has not found acceptance as the Mahāpurāṇa. There has been a confusion between the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva Purāṇas* as to which comes under the category of the Mahāpurāṇas. In priority of date, style, contents and the peculiar classification into four pādas the *Vāyu Purāṇa* can easily be ranked as the Mahāpurāṇa.[23]

According to the preface of the extant *Skanda Purāṇa*, and according to the Tamil lexicons the following classification of the Purāṇas has been made, with special reference to the predominating deities glorified in the respective Purāṇas. It is as follows:

Deity	*Purāṇas*
1. Brahma,	the Brahma and the Padma Purāṇas
2. Sūrya,	the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa
3. Agni,	the Agni Purāṇa
4. Śiva,	the Śiva, Skanda, Liṅga, Kūrma, Vāmana, Varāha, Bhaviṣya, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya and Vāyavīya (Brahmāṇḍa)
5. Viṣṇu,	the Nārada, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Viṣṇu.

This seems wholly to be a later addition, and a clear interpolation introduced by a recent redactor of these Purāṇa texts. It was evidently

23 A recent writer on the subject seems to solve this difficulty by recognising twenty as the actual number of the Mahāpurāṇas, thus giving the status of the Mahāpurāṇa both to the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva Purāṇas*. He treats the *Harivaṃśa* also as a Mahāpurāṇa, see J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 139.

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introduced after the sectarian movements of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism had spread over the land and come to stay as permanent institutions.

The five characteristics of the Purāṇa

The *Pañcalakṣaṇa* of the Purāṇas which is the definition of the lexicographer Amara Siṃha is faithfully rendered in Tamil, as a stanza in the translation of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* will show.

In other words the five topics of the Purāṇa are mentioned and it shows a faithful rendering of Amarakośa's classification. These are ulakattoṟṟam (*Sarga* Skt.), oḍukkam (*Pratisarga* Skt.), manvantaram (*Manvantara*, Skt.), munivaraśarmarapu (*Vaṃśa* Skt.) and *carittiraṅkaḷ* (*Vaṃśānucarita* Skt.).

Before we close, a word may be said about the translations. They do not seem to follow the original Sanskrit literally. The translator has his own way of rendering them. We find the individuality of the translator in a pre-eminent degree. Comparisons of texts and sections and chapters between the extant original and translations make this evident. But still there is every reason to believe that the spirit of the contents is not sacrificed to the least extent and the matter dealt with is the same, another instance to indicate the healthy contact of the North Indian culture with that of South India.

V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar

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The Rise of Vijayanagara*

II

We shall now turn our attention to the other conclusion of Mr. Śāstrī—that Harihara I and Bukka I 'began slowly to rise in power' in the time of Ballāḷa III and of his son, Ballāḷa IV, till about 1340 A.D., and that they "acquired sufficient importance to build forts, and attract the notice of foreign travellers". In proving this Mr. Śāstrī utilised the evidence from two records according to which in his opinion:—

(a) The Hoysala power had so declined that it could not prevent Bukka I from attacking a Hoysala town;

(b) The Hoysala control had diminished so much that it could not hinder another Hoysala governor from raising the standard of revolt in 1346 A.D.

We shall re-examine these records. The first epigraph about Bukka I runs thus:—

Svasti Śrīmat Śaka-varṣu Sahasraha-vikramada saṃvatcarada Caitra Śuddha Aṣṭamī Ādivāradali.....ra Bakkaṇa voḍeyaramagu Gaṅg.....Selāru seṭṭi halli-paṭṭaṇakke bandu Kādidalandu daḷavāra Eṛe-permma-nāyaka-Mūvaru-rāyara-gaṇḍana-mayudunu Baṇṭara-bāva Paranāriya-sahodara Hiriya Nāge-nāyaṅkanu Gaṅgu-selārana daḷadali kādi-bidali nāḍu-daḷavāra-yeṛe-permma nāyakanu ā tana taṃma Aḍapada-Nāge-nāyaṅkeṅge tana manohutsava-dinda Baṅke-Keṛeyanu net (t) aru-goḍigeyāgi koṭṭaru etc.[23]

Mr. Rice, upon whose version Mr. Śāstrī has based his remarks, translates it thus—"Be it well! On the date specified (? 1100 A.D.) Bakkaṇṇa Oḍeyar's son Gaṅga-Selār came to Seṭṭihaḷḷi-paṭṭaṇa and fought the watchman Eṛe-permma-nāyaka's son (with various titles) Nāge-nāyaka fought in Gaṅgaselār's army and fell, on which the

* Continued from p. 301.

23 *EC.*, VII,Ci., 65, pp. 463-4 (Text).

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watchman and his younger brother in the joy of their heart, granted for him Banke-Kere as a nettaru-godige etc."[24]

The evidence from the above inscription cannot in any way be relied upon to prove that Bukka I, the younger brother of Harihara I, showed his antagonism to the Hoysala authority. The following reasons invalidate its evidence:—

(1) This is an inscription the date of which, according to Mr. Rice, is doubtful. It cannot be dated to the early Vijayanagara times. "The date given is Śaka 1000 Vikrama. But this does not correspond in any way, and must be quite wrong".[25]

(2) The 'Gaṅga Selāra' known to history is the 'Gaṅga-Sālār, the Turuka of Kallubarage', who, according to an inscription dated 1397 A.D. burnt the gopuram of the Belūr temple. Mr. Rice identifies this Gaṅga Sālār with the "founder perhaps of the line of the Bahmani Sultans of Kulbarga" of 1340 A.D.[26] It is ridiculous to think that Bukka I could ever had a son called Gaṅga Selāra in 1340 A.D. or thereabouts, assuming that one accepts the conclusions drawn by Mr. Rice, who could in 1397 A.D. attack and turn the *gōpūram* of the great Hindu temple at Belūr!

(3) Further, this Viragal gives us no clue as regards the identification of Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar; and much less does it enable us to conjecture that one of the sons of Saṅgama attacked a Hoysala town in the life-time of the Hoysalas. The name "Bukkaṇṇa" deserves notice. According to Mr. Rice we have "Vīra Bakkaṇṇa Oḍeyar. The necessary inference is that he had a son called Gaṅga Selāra by name. The inscription is not so conclusive about this point. It may be "Bakkaṇṇa Oḍeyar's son Gaṅga Selāra came to Seṭṭi haḷḷipaṭṭaṇa", or "Bakkaṇa Oḍeyar's son Gaṅga Selāra Seṭṭi coming to Haḷḷipaṭṭaṇa". In either case the reference cannot be to Bukka I. There is no certainty of a 'Bīra' (or Vīra) 'Bukkaṇṇa' Oḍeyar being mentioned. The 'ra' before 'Bakaṇa' may be indeed the second letter of a 'Vīra' (or Bīra). Mr. Rice has, however, added 'Bīra' to the name 'Bakkaṇa'. This does not improve matters. For the name in the

24 *EC.*, VII Ci., 65, p. 191.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
26 *EC.*, VII, Intro. p. 34, O. C.

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records is 'Bakkaṇa' and not 'Bukkaṇṇa'. Admitting that we accept the reading given by Mr. Rice, we have—"Bakkaṇa-voḍeyara magu Gaṅg-Selāra Seṭṭi haḷḷipaṭṭaṇakke bandu etc.[27] Here we have a Bakkaṇa Oḍeyar and Gaṅga Selāra, the latter being given the status of a 'Magu' or child! It is hardly necessary to state that a warrior or chieftain, such as Gaṅga Selāra is represented to be, would have been given a higher status than that of a child in a viragal recording a 'nettarugoḍige'. Moreover there is no positive evidence to prove the identification of the Gaṅga Selāra of the above viragal with any of the sons of Bukka hitherto known to history. It may well be that a more accurate transcript of the viragal might reveal to us the names of a Bakkaṇṇa Gauḍa, Yerama Gauḍa, Gaṅga Selāra Seṭṭi coming to Haḷḷipaṭṭaṇa, and the fight that followed recording the death of Nāge Nāyaka. This is only a conjecture. For the present we may rest satisfied that nothing definite about the relationship between the Hoysalas and the founders of Vijayanagara can be determined from this inscription of the 12th Century A.D.[28]

We shall now examine the other 'facts' referred to by Mr. Śāstrī. He says—"The fact that Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, one of the Hoysala feudatories at Danāyakanakoṭṭai, acknowledges the suzerainty of Ballāḷa III in A.D. 1340, but figures as a semi-independent ruler in A.D. 1346-47 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1906-7, para 51) also shows that the Hoysala power had declined by that time, and was passing into other hands in the interval".[29] In so far as Mr. Śāstrī has guessed at the date 1346 A.D. as the year which marks the change

27 In the transliteration of the *Viragal* Mr. Rice gives "Maga," *EC.*, VII, p. 338; in the Kannaḍa text the world is "Magu" p. 463. For the use of "Maga" in inscriptions, cf. *EC.*, IX, Kn. 32, p. 266 (Text) where Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka is called Śrī Narasiṅga Rāyara maga." Also *EC.*, VI, Cm. 105, O.C.; *EC.*, IX, Bn. 111, O.C.

28 It is admitted that the name Seṭṭi-haḷḷi may stand for a real village. Thus we have a Seṭṭi-haḷḷi in 1563 A.D., *E.C.*, V, Pt. I, Hn. 2, p. 2. As regards the name Bukkaṇṇa, it seems as if this was also a common name. The younger brother of General Maṅgappa was called Bukkaṇṇa. An inscription dated 1420 A.D. says that Iruyappa and Bukkaṇṇa were made highly famous by the abundance of the glory of General Maṅgappa, *EC.*, II, No. 253, p. 107 (Ed. II).

29 *ASR.*, 1907-8, O.C.

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in power, he is correct, although he adduces no reasons to prove his statement. It seems that we are to assume that since in the year 1346 A.D. Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka became semi-independent, Harihara and Bukka must have done the same by that time. But there is no evidence to prove that such was the case. Before I go further, it is better to note the source from where Mr. Śāstrī has taken the hint for his conclusion. The 'Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka' mentioned here is not to be confounded with the 'Siṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka', the brother of the Hoysala minister Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka. Mr. Śāstrī's remarks are based on the observations made by Mr. Venkayya. The latter in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1906-7, says:—"The earliest of the inscriptions in the Śiva temple at Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai belongs also to the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa III, and is dated in Śaka-saṃvat 1260, the Pramāthin-Saṃvatsara, corresponding apparently to A.D. 1339-40 (no. 437 of 1906). The donor is Mādappaṇ Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, who bears a few of the more important tiles of the Ketaya mentioned above. The name has evidently to be explained as Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, son of Mādappa or Mādhava. Consequently Siṅgaya must have been a brother of Ketaya. In the other inscriptions of the Śiva temple dated A.D. 1346-47 (no. 402 of 1906) and 1347-48 (no. 440 of 1906), Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka figures as a semi-independent ruler and does not mention his over-lord. Nos. 436 and 438 of 1906 register orders by the temple authorities and therefore do not mention Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka though he must have been governor at the time."[30] The assumption of Mr. Venkayya is this that since Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka does not mention the name of his over-lord in the year 1346 A.D., he must have been a semi-independent ruler. In other words, the fact of a provincial governor not mentioning the name of his suzerain lord is equal to his having become independent. Mr. Venkayya applies this in reference to Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka of Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai. Now, let us apply this truism to the temple authorities of Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai. These do not mention in their inscriptions of the same time[31] the name of the ruler over

30 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Southern Circle), 1906-7, paras 51 and 81. "Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai is a village 12 miles west-south west of Satyamaṅgalam Tāluka of the Coimbatore District." *Ibid.*, para 48.

31 Nos. 436 and 438 of 1906.

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Danāyakanakoṭṭai. Therefore, according to the theory of Mr. Venkayya, they must necessarily have been independent. But in this case Mr. Venkayya would qualify his remarks by saying—'though he (Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka) must have been the governor at the time'. What Mr. Venkayya is prepared to say in connection with Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, he is not prepared to say in regard to the temple authorities of the same place. The fact is that such a contention, viz., that if a provincial governor does not mention the name of his over-lord in a grant or two he must necessarily be independent cannot be maintained in all instances. There are examples of grants having been made by temple authorities as well as by provincial rulers, without mentioning the name of their over-lords, and yet the suzerain power was in existence all the while. The absence of the name of the over-lord in the last days of the Hoysalas may be explained by saying that the terror which shook the Hoysala kingdom necessitated the granting of uncommon powers by the king to his provincial governors. Indeed, it is evident from the peculiar mode in which Vīra Ballāḷa III associated himself with the most powerful nobles of his court, that that monarch never thought so much of the status of his feudatories, nor of his own, as of the greater question of saving the land from the merciless enemy that had already demolished his empire. This explains to us why about the year 1310A.D. Ballāḷa III is mentioned as having ruled the country along with the great minister Medagi Deva Daṇṇāyaka, and the great minister Aḷiya Mācheya Daṇṇāyaka.[32] Then again we are told that in 1328 A.D. "the Hoysaṇa strong-armed Vīra Ballāḷa Deva, together with the champions at his side, the strong-armed Bhīma-Rāya, the prince Kaṭhora-Hara, the prince Siṃha-Raghunātha, the prince Kālamegha, the prince Vīra Śānta, Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka Chamūpa, who was the punisher of the famous Mādhava Rāya of Udevāra, the great minister Ballappa Daṇṇāyaka and the great minister Siṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka were in the residence of the city of Uṇṇāmale, ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom".[33] Ten years earlier (1318 A.D.) Vīra Mādhava

32 *EC.*, XI, Cd. 1, p. 2.

33 *EC.*, XI, Cd. 4, pp. 3 and 6 (Text). Mr. Rice had added certain names which do not appar in the Kannaḍa text of the inscription. He comments on this inscription as follows:—"Several of the names are very doubtful owing

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Daṇṇāyaka, viceroy over Terakaṇambi, was given almost the status of the king himself.[34]

The conclusions which may be derived from the above is that in the days of Vīra Ballāḷa III the great nobles were willingly taken into the confidence of the king, and were given the rank of a ruler. If this is granted, there is no evidence to prove that the absence of the name of the over-lord in a grant of a feudatory necessarily meant the independence of the latter. Indeed, the customs of allowing some to issue grants without mentioning the name of the suzerain power passed from the Hoysala times to the Vijayanagara age. In 1355 A.D. the authorities of the temple of Aruḷāla-nādan at Tekkal and Śakkaperumāḷ granted certain lands and a daily allowance of cooked rice to Tiruvai-moḷi-dāśar, the husband of Varadakkā[35]. Then again in 1394 A.D. "in Devalālapura, which the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, champion over the moustaches of the world, Kaṭhāri Sāḷuva Narasiṅga Deva Mahārāya had granted to Chikka Allappa Nāyaka, son of Haḷikare Lacchināyaka, at the time of making the great gifts prescribed for destruction of all sins, in the presence of the god Lakṣmikānta who had been there for thousands of years, in order to secure all wealth and fortune, we have set up a *dīpamāle* pillar, and a door etc".[36] To these the following from another part of the Vijayanagara empire may be added. An inscription dated Śaka 1384 (=1462-3 A.D.) speaks only of a governor placed over Tuḷuva, by name Hirīya Bhairava Deva Oḍeya of Nāgirājya.[37] In Śaka 1397 (=1475-6 A.D.) Viṭṭharasa Oḍeya placed over Bārakūru-rājya issued a grant without mentioning the name of his over-lord.[38] In all the above four instances no suzerain power is mentioned. According to

to the inscription being indistinct" (p. 3). In the original we have "Hoysiṇa Bhujabala Śrī Vīra Ballāḷa Rāyanu Paḍeyoḷa-gaṇḍa Bhujabala Bhīma-ya-Narasiṃha-Rāya Śrī Vīra-Rāya Kuvara Vīra Śanta Rāya Kuvara-Vīra Gakhyāti-gaṇḍa Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka bhatu Śrī Ma-nmahā-Pradhānaṃ Ballappa Daṇṇāyakaru Siṅgeya Daṇṇāyakaru Uṇṇāmaleya etc., p. 6 (Text).

34 *EC.*, IV. Ch. 193, p. 23.

35 *EC.*, X, Mr. 17, p. 160.

36 *EC.*, IV, Ng. 79, p. 133.

37 34 of 1901.

38 *Ibid.*, 1910, No. 116. For other examples of provincial governors issuing similar grants, cf. No. 34 of 1901; 91 of 1901; 594 of 1902.

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the most liberal computation the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagara can be dated between 1336 A.D. and 1340 A.D., and it is unanimously held that till the days of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya the Great, at least, the authority of the central power was unchallenged from the Eastern to the Western Coast of Southern India. Now, if we argue on the strength of the hypothesis of Mr. Venkayya, the authorities of the temple of Aruḷāḷa-nādan at Tekkaḷ, the persons at Devalālapura, the Tulauva governors, Bhairava Deva and Viṭṭharasa were all independent. This would be going contrary to the known facts of Vijayanagara history. The Vijayanagara rulers, who were anxious to preserve what they called 'former custom', (*Purvada maryāde*) went even a step further: they permitted their provincial governors to call themselves in the highest terms. In 1530 A.D. we have Chennaya Bālaya Deva, a descendant of the Coḷa dynasty ruling from Uṛaiyur (near Trichinopoly), and calling himself Mahārāja.[39] He refers incidentally to Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in his grant. Hence it will be seen that the evidence from the inscription of Śiṅgaya Daṇḍanāyaka of Daṇāyakanakoṭṭai cannot be taken to mean that that provincial ruler was an independent ruler. When we have understood this, the two 'facts' upon which Mr. Śāstrī based his arguments appear to be wholy untenable. And least of all can it be maintained that Bukka I attacked a Hoysala town in the times of the last two Hoysala rulers.

B. A. Saletore

39 *Ep. Report*, 1892 (August), p. 8.

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The Eastern Cālukyas*

III

Viṣṇuvardhana II, Viṣamasiddhi, Makaraddhvaja and Pralayāditya (A.D. 663-72)

Viṣṇuvardhana assumed the titles of Viṣamasiddhi, Makaraddhvaja and Pralayāditya.[1] One of his own inscription mentions him as the son of Jayasiṃha-Vallabha, while his other records and those of his successors state that his father was Indra Bhaṭṭāraka. It is suggested that Viṣṇuvardhana was treated as an adopted son by Jayasiṃha I.[2]

But I think the word '*putra*' (son) referring to Viṣṇuvardhana's connection with Jayasiṃha is a mistake for '*pautra*' (grandson). In the epigraphic records, the errors of this type are not altogether rare. Pulikeśin II of Badami was evidently the son of Kīrtivarman I. But the Kopparam plates of this monarch mention him as the '*pautra*' (grandson) of Kīrtivarman.[3]

Altogether four inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign have been discovered. These are

(i) *The Reyur plate.*[4]

The Reyur plates of Viṣṇuvardhana mention him as the son of Indra, who was the dear younger brother of Jayasiṃha. It records that the King granted the village of Reyur situated in the midst of the villages of Pasiṇḍi, Paṃṛundiu, Mṛānumi, Delkoṇṭha, and Rāvinūyu, in the month of Caitra, in the bright fort-night, under the Maghānakṣatra, on Wednesday. The date corresponds to 13th March, A.D. 664. The writer of the grant was Vināyaka, the son of Eṛa.

* Continued from p. 448.

1 *SE.*, 1917, p. 115; *EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 237. 2 *Ibid.*

3 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 259. 4 *IA.*, vol. VII, p. 189.

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(ii) *The Pa(ṇṭimu)ku* inscription.[5]

The Pa(ṇṭimu)ku inscription records the gift by the King of 12 'Khaṇḍika' of land in the village of Pa(ṇṭimu)ku, in Varanāṇḍu-viṣaya to a certain Bhavaśarman. It was issued in the 3rd year (665 A.D.) of the King's reign during the lunar eclipse. Varanāṇḍu is probably identical with Velanāṇḍu.

(iii) *The Pallivāḍa inscription.*[6]

The Pallivāḍa inscription registers that Jayasiṃha granted the village of Pallivāḍa in the Gudrahāraviṣaya and in the vicinity (*āśraya*) of Arutaṇkūr, to Dhruvaśarman, a resident of Asanapura. The record was issued in the fifth year of the King's reign in the month of Phālguṇa, on the day of the new moon, during the eclipse of the sun. The date corresponds to 17th February A.D. 668.

(iv) *The Paṇṭimuku inscription.*[7]

The Paṇṭimuku inscription records the gift of 12 Khaṇḍika of land in the village of Paṇṭimuku, in the Varanāṇḍu-viṣaya, to a Brahmin Kuṭṭhiśarman, a resident of Okoḍu. It is undated. Viṣṇuvardhana ruled for nine years,[8] and closed his reign in 672 A.D. His son Maṅgi-Yuvarāja succeeded him to the throne.

Maṅgi-Yuvarāja Vijayasiddhi and Sarvalokāśraya
(A.D. 672-696)

Maṅgi-Yuvarāja assumed the titles of Vijayasiddhi and Sarvalokāśraya.[9] Three inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. They are as folows:

(i) *The Chendalur inscription.*[10]

Three copper-plates were found in the village of Chendalur, in the Ongole taluka of the Guntur District. They do not contain the name of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja but mentions the King as the Mahārāja Śarva-

5 *SE.*, 1917, p. 115.
6 *IA.*, vol. VII, p. 191.
7 *SE.*, 1915, App. A., No. 14.
8 *IA.*, vol. VIII, p. 76.
9 *EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 237.
10 *Ibid*

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lokāśraya, son of Viṣṇuvardhana and the grand-son of Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka. The seal of the inscription bears the surname Vijayasiddhi which was assumed by Maṅgi-Yuvarāja. The inscription states that the King made a gift of the village of Cendaṛura, in the Kammarāṣṭra, to some Brāhmins residing in Kaṭura, Vaṅgra, Koḷḷipuṛo (?), Pidena, Kuriyida, and Kodiṅki. The executor was A v(na)havarman of the family of Ayyaṇa. The record was issued on the occasion of an eclipse, on the full moon tithi of Vaiśākha, in the second year of the King's reign, which corresponds to 6th May, A.D. 673.

Of the localities, Cendaṛura is identical with Chendalur, in the Ongole taluk, where the record was found.

(ii) *The Nuṭulapaṛu plates.*[11]

The Nuṭulapaṛu plates also do not mention the name of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja. They state that the inscription was issued by the son of Viṣṇuvardhana and the grandson of Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, and record that the King granted a 'Padanata' field in the southern quarter at the village of Nuṭulapaṛu in Karmmarāṣṭra, and also a Brāhmaṇa's field, in a site called Revadistana, to a Brāhmaṇa, resident of Kraṅja. The grant was made on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti, in the twentieth year of the King's reign, which corresponds to A.D. 692. The executor was Nissaramiji.

(iii) *The Timmapuram inscription.*[12]

A plate containing an incomplete inscription was discovered at Timmapuram, in the Sarvasiddhi taluka of Vizagapatam District. It states that Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka was succeeded by Viṣṇuvardhana who was succeeded by his son.....Here the inscription abruptly stops. As the seal contains the legend Vijayasiddhi, the inscription seems to have belonged to Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.

Maṅgi-Yuvarāja had four sons, Jayasiṃha II, Vinayādityavarman, Viṣṇuvardhana III, and Kokkili Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka. Kokkili Vikramāditya was younger than both Jayasiṃha II and Viṣṇu-

11 *IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 104. 12 *SE.*, 1908, p. 61.

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vardhana,[13] and was the step-brother of the former.[14] Maṅgi-Yuvarāja closed his reign in A.D. 696, after a reign of twenty-five years.[15] Immediately after his death, there seems to have broken out a civil war among his sons for the throne. Jayasiṃha succeeded in capturing the imperial throne of Veṅgi. Vinayāditya took possession of Madhyama Kaliṅga whose chief city was Elamañci, the modern Yellamanchili, in the Sarvasiddhi taluka of the Vizagapatam District.[16] He assumed the title of Mahārāja. His son Kokilivarma-Mahārāja or Kokkuli-Mahārāja, who assumed the epithets of Sarvalokāśraya and Anivārita,[17] succeeded him to the throne of Madhyama Kaliṅga. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered at Munjeru near Bhogapuram, in the Bimlipatam taluka of the Vizagapatam District. He is mentioned in them as the son of Vinayādityavarman and the grandson of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.[18] The first inscription[19] records the grant of the village Boḍḍeri or Boṭṭeri, in Bhogipura-Viṣaya, situated in Madhyama-Kaliṅga, to a Brahmin, resident of Muñjeru, on the day of the lunar eclipse. It was issued by the King from his residence (*Vāsaka*) at Elamañci.

Muñjeru is evidently the modern village of the same name where the record was found. Bhogipura is the modern Bhogapuram, situated near Muñjeru. Madhyama-Kaliṅga which seems to be identical with Modocalingae of Megasthenes,[20] is now approximately represented by the Vizagapatam District. The grant was engraved by Būrama.

The second inscription[21] records the gift of the village Veṭṭuvāḍa, in the Bhogapura Viṣaya, to a certain A(śva)śarman, also a resident of Muñjeru, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donee again distributed the above village among one hundred Brahmans, residents of Muñjeru.

Kokilivarma-Mahārāja Anivārita enjoyed his royalty till about A.D. 709, when he seems to have been overthrown by his uncle Kokuli-Vikramāditya.

13 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 41.
14 *Ibid.*, *I.A.*, vol. VIII, p. 74.
15 *Ibid.*
16 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.
17 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.
18 *Ibid.*,
19 *Ibid.*,
20 *IA.*, vol. VI, p. 338.
21 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.

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Jayasiṃha II, Sarvalokāśraya and Sarvasiddhi (A.D. 696-709)

Jayasiṃha, who captured Veṅgi, assumed the epithets of Sarvalokāśraya and Sarvasiddhi.[22] An inscription of his reign was discovered.[23] It records the grant of some lands in the village of Peṇukaparu in Karmarāṣṭra-viṣaya by the King to Era-Droṇaśarman, a resident of Vaṅgipuru, on the full moon (tithi) of Jyeṣṭha. The land granted was bounded on the north by Maṣakha. The grant was issued at the request of Gobbaḍi, and the executor was Niravadya-Sakalalokāśraya Śrī-Pṛthi-Vīgāmuṇḍin. Gāmuṇḍin is probably connected with Gāmuṇḍa, a tadbhava of Grāmakūṭa.[24]

Jayasiṃha ruled for thirteen years[25] and closed his reign in A.D. 709 when his step-brother Kokkuli-Vikramāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka ascended the throne.

Kokkili-Vikramāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka, Vijayasiddhi (A.D. 709)

Kokkili-Vikramāditya seized the throne of Veṅgi by superseding the claim of his elder brother Viṣṇuvardhana. He also seems to have conquered Madhyama-Kaliṅga from his nephew Kokkilivarma Anivārita, son of Vinayādityavarman. He assumed the epithet Vijayasiddhi. An inscription[26] of his reign was discovered at Muñjeru in the Bimlipatam taluka of the Vizagapatam District. It records that Kokuli-Vikramādityā-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja and grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana, granted the village of Muñjeru to the residents of Depūḍi, on the occasion of his āturakāla. Āturakāla means the 'moment when one is afflicted'. It seems that the grant was made when Kokkili fell dangerously ill. The village Muñjeru is evidently where the inscription was found. Kokkili could not enjoy his sovereignty for a long time. He had not been on the throne for more than six months. His elder brother Viṣṇuvardhana III revolted and seized the sovereignty of Veṅgi by deposing him from the throne. The deposed King's son Maṅgi-Yuvarāja who assumed the title Vijayasiddhi, succeeded for some time in maintaining his regal position in Madhyama-Kaliṅga. An

22 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 313-14.
23 *Ibid.*
24 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 314.
25 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 49.
26 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.

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inscription of his reign was discovered at Muñjeru.[27] It records that Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, son of Kokkuli-Vikramāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka, grand-son of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, granted the village of Koṇḍuka-Vilaṅgavāḍa in Bhogapura-viṣaya, in Ka(li)ṅga country, to 103 Brahmans of Muñjeru, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse when the building of a Śiva temple was in progress. Most of the localities, mentioned above, have already been identified.

Nothing is known about the successors of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja. Madhyama-Kaliṅga was reincorporated in the Veṅgi Kingdom within a very short time.

(To be continued)

D. C. Ganguly

27 *SE.*, 1909, p. 106.

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MISCELLANY

The Account of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the first Councils according to the Vinayakṣudraka

Vol. VIII, part 2 of the *IHQ.*, contains a most interesting article of Professor L. Finot "*Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* and *Cullavagga*". The author expresses his opinion to the effect that these two important texts of the Pāli Canon originally represented one work which was subsequently dismembered, the motive for this dismembering being the desire of the compilers to include the part containing the utterances of the Buddha himself in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, whereas the other part, relating to the events after the Buddha's death and especially the rules of monastic discipline were regarded as having their proper place in the *Vinaya-piṭaka.*[1]

The arguments advanced by Professor Finot in support of his opinion are the following: "The events contained in the *Cullavagga* XI follow chronologically those which form the subject-matter of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta.*" "Besides the unbroken sequence of the events which they relate the two sections share a peculiar character suggestive of a common origin, that is their historical, annalistic garb."[2] Moreover, Prof. Finot mentions the *Saṃyuktavastu* (Nanjio N. 1121.) containing an account of both Parinirvāṇa and Councils. This analogy, says Prof. Finot, makes it possible to suppose that the Theravādins (just as the Sarvāstivādins to whom the *Saṃyuktavastu* belongs) "could have had among their sacred books an historical record of the same description."[3]

Now, as regards analogies, the Tibetan tradition puts us in possession of materials according to which it becomes possible to affirm that Prof. Finot must be unquestionably right in his opinion, as will be illustrated by the following:

In the History of Buddhism of the celebrated Tibetan scholar Bu-

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 243. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 242. 3 *Ibid.*

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ston, Rin-chen-ḍub (grub), the historical part proper,[4] begins with an account of the twelve principal events in the Buddha's life.[5] The first eleven, ending with the "First Rolling of the Wheel of the Doctrine"[6] are rendered in accordance with the *Lalitavistara*. The twelfth and last event, viz. the *Buddha's departure into Nirvāṇa* is borrowed from the text called *Vinayakṣudraka*.[7] This text, as preserved in the Tibetan translation in the Kangyur, consists of three bulky volumes[8] and is in its greater part devoted to the minutæ of monastic discipline.[9] The narrative of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa which is incorporated by Bu-ston in his History is contained *in the first of these volumes*.[10] We have the description of the following events thus,—

1. *The Buddha stops that Biotic Force which keeps the continuity of his life on earth going on.*[11]

2. *The Buddha's departure to Kuśanagara and the precepts delivered by him on the way there.*[12]

3. *The Buddha's instructions concerning the funeral rites to be performed after his death.*[13]

4. *The conversion of Sunanda*[14] *and of the Parivrājaka Subhadra*[15]

5. *The last words of the Buddha and his departure into Nirvāṇa.*[16]

6. *The message of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa brought to Ajātaśatru.*[17]

4 Vol. II of my translation, Heidelberg, 1932.

5 Tib. *mdzad-pa bcu gñis.*

6 *prathama-dharma-cakra-pravartana*, i.e. the first Benares sermon.

7 Tib., *Ḥdul-ba phran-tshegs. Bu-ston, Xyl.* 88 a. 3.—*mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-paḥi tshul* (*Ḥdul-ba*) *phran-tshegs bźin bśad-do.* Transl., p. 72.

8 Kg. *ḤDUL.* (Vinaya), vols. XI (*da*), XII (*na*), and XIII (*pa*).

9 Just as in the *Cullavagga.*

10 Fol. 247 a.—301 a. of the Derge edition.

11 *āyuḥ-saṃskāra=tsheḥi ḥdu-byed. Vin-kṣudr.* (Kg. *ḤDUL.*, XI), 247 a. 6—249 a. 5 Bu-ston, Transl., p. 57.

12 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 250 b. 6 sqq.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 57.

13 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 275 b. 5—276 a. 3.—Bu-ston, Transl., 59.

14 Rab-dgaḥ.

15 Rab-bzaṅ. *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 279 a. 6—280 a. 5—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 59, 60.

16 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 287 b. 2—290 a. 6.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 61.

17 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 290 a. 6 sqq.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 62.

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7. *The funeral rites.*[18]

8. *The quarrel about the relics of the Buddha and pacification by Droṇa*[19] Conclusion in verse.

A comparision of Bu-ston's text with the version of the *Vinaya-kṣudraka* shows a very close correspondence. All the verses are quoted by Bu-ston at full length; the passages in prose are only slightly abridged.

Thereafter, having dialated on the meaning of Nirvāṇa and its interpretation according to Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, etc.,[20] Buston passes over to the narrative of the first and second Councils. He does not indicate his source, but even at the first glance it becomes quite clear that this source is no other than the *Vinayakṣudraka*. As before, the version of the latter appears in a slightly condensed form, all the verses being quoted at full length. We have here:—

1. *The intention of Mahākāśyapa to assemble a Council of the Clergy for the sake of rehearsing the Scriptures.*[21]

2. *The invitation of Gavāmpati by Pūrṇa. The refusal of Gavāmpati to take part in the Council and his death.*[22]

3. *The arrival of the Clergy at Rājagṛha. The expulsion of Ānanda by Mahākāśyapa.*[23]

4. *Ānanda's attainment of Arhatship, his return to the Council and the accomplishment of the First Rehearsal.* (Ānanda rehearses the *Sūtras*, Upāli the *Vinaya* and Mahākāśyapa the *Abhidharma*).[24]

5. *Mahākāśyapa's and Ānanda's departure into Nirvāṇa.*[25]

6. *The arrival of Madhyāntika in Kashmir.*[26]

7. *The Second Rehearsal.*—The ten indulgences admitted by the monks of Vaiśālī, the arrival of the Arhat Yaśas and the excommunica-

18 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 291 b. sqq.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 63.
19 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 297 a. 3.—301 a. 3.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 65-67.
20 Transl., pp. 67-72.
21 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 301 a. 3—b. 3.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 73.
22 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 301 b. 7—303 b. 2.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 73-76.
23 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 305 a. 6—309 b. 2.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 77-81.
24 *Vin-kṣudr.*, 309 b. 2—316 b. 3.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 81-85.
25 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 316 b. 7—322 a. 4.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 85-90.
26 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 322 a. 4—323 a. 7.—Bu-ston, Transl., p. 90.

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tion of the monks of Vaiśālī. The place and the date of the second Rehearsal.[27]

So we have the narrative of the Buddha's attainment of Nirvāṇa and that of the first and the second Councils *actually contained in one text.* And even more:—The story of the Councils begins *just on the same line in which the narrative of the burial of the Buddha finishes,*[28] without any indication whatsoever.

Prof. Finot says that "we have reason to suppose that the account of the Councils of Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī once formed the latter part of a larger historical work."[29]—We may now affirm that such a work actually exists; it is contained in the first volume of the *Vinayakṣudraka.* The two parts which were severed from each other in the Pāli Canon appear in the Northern Vinaya text as one whole.[30]

Thus it is that Prof. Finot's very illuminating suggestions find a striking confirmation by the perusal of the *Vinayakṣudraka* and Bu-ston's reference to it.

E. Obermiller

27 *Vin.-kṣudr.*, 323 b. 4.—332 a. 2.—Bu-ston, Transl., pp. 91-96.

28 Fol. 301 a. 3 (Derge ed.).

29 *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

30 We must remark here that the Northern Canon possesses independently the version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, Kg. *MDO.*, vols. VIII, IX and X.

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St. Thomas Crosses and St. Thomas Tradition

In the *IHQ.* (VII, 4, p. 759) Prof. Srinivasachari says at the end of his note on *the St. Thomas Tradition and Recent Discovery in Travancore* that "the discovery of this Kadamattam Cross may be regarded as indicating an important landmark in the history of Christianity as it grew up in the Malabar Coast". But the Kadamattam Cross is not such an important landmark, nor was it discovered recently.

In my monograph entitled *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents* (p. 19) I said that "the nature of the mistakes in the Pahlavi inscription around the Kadamattam Cross proclaims it an imitation" of the so-called St. Thomas Cross with Pahlavi inscription discovered by the Portuguese in *Anno Christi* 1547. I said also (*loc. cit.*) that the Kadamattam Cross "might very well have been designed by Mar Kurillos (Cyril), an artistically inclined foreign bishop who designed the beautifully carved and painted *Kadus-Kudsin* (Holy of Holies), a wooden *shāmiānā* or canopy over the main altar of the Kadamattam church, which canopy was finished on 17th September 1849 A.D. according to the bishop's own Syriac inscription on it". As I have ascertained later there is a tradition at Kadamattam that the Cross is the work of that bishop (and not of anybody of "the end of the ninth century"). On my visit to the church in 1929 the Vicar told me that this bishop came to Travancore (from Mesopotamia) in the month of Chingam 1022 M.E. and died in Travancore itself on 20th Chingam 1050 M.E. (A.C. 1874). I recognised the Kadamattam Cross inscription to be in Pahlavi in about 1915.

Four other imitations or replicas of the Mount Cross (near Madras) have so far been discovered in Travancore, viz., the larger and the smaller crosses at Kottayam, the damaged cross at Muttucira, and the recently (1931) discovered cross in Ālaṅṅād.[1]

1 *Vide* my paper *the Mount Cross and its Copies in South India* read at the first Bombay Historical Congress, 1931, and my article *Persian Crosses* in the *Hindu Illustrated Weekly* of February 7, 1932, with photos of the crosses in both cases.

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Of these the Muttucira Cross was made in 1580 A.C., and the smaller Kottayam Cross seems to be a copy of it made in, or after, 1580 to be set up in the Valiapalli church at Koṭṭayam which was rebuilt of laterite stones in 1577 A.C. The larger Koṭṭayam Cross seems to have been made for the above church about a hundred years ago. The date of the Ālaṅṅād replica has not yet been ascertained. As I have said in my two papers and in my monograph mentioned above there were in Malabar, according to Gouvea's *Jornada* (Coimbra, 1606 A.C.) quoted in them, many copies of the Mount Cross in the churches. These replicas are of course not earlier than 1547 A.C., the date of the discovery of the Mount Cross, near Madras. Says Gouvea: "All the ancient churches were made in the manner of Pagodes of the Gentios", (i.e. Hindu temples) "but full, all of them, of crosses after the manner of the cross of the Miracle of Saint Thomas, which they call St. Thomas' Cross;..... "were all of them adorned with these, both in painting and in sculpture". (*Jornada*, A.C. 1606, fol. 60 v, col. 1). Two or three of the numerous stone copies referred to by Gouvea may be among the five (not three) discovered in Travancore. Many more imitations have yet to be unearthed. It is rather regrettable that none of the copies seen painted on walls in Gouvea's time (*circa* 1600 A.C.) have yet come to light. Probably they have all perished.

Now, about the interpretation of the Pahlavi inscription on the Mount Cross slab and on its five copies in Travancore. The latest interpretation is by Professor C. P. T. Winckworth of Cambridge. It was communicated to me by the Professor in his letter dated 14th May 1930. It is this:—

MY LORD CHRIST, HAVE MERCY UPON AFRAS,
SON OF CHAHARBUKHT,
THE SYRIAN, WHO RESCUED THIS.

This interpretation was prepared by the Professor at my instance, and presented by him first before the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists (Oxford, 1928), and was generally accepted by the Iranian scholars present there.[2]

The earliest recorded attempt at deciphering and interpreting the

2 Vide *Kerala Society Papers*, vol. I, pp. 159-166, 168, 267-9.

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inscription was by a Kanara Brahmin in 1561 A.C. "as it appears from the declaration that the Vicar Gaspar Coelho ordered to be taken, and the interpretation of it was sent to the Bishop of that time in Cochin, Dom Jorge Temudo, who the next year 562 sent it to the kingdom of the cardinal Dom Anrique as an authentic instrument as it is related by the Bishop of Algarve, Dom Hieronimo Ozorio in the third Book of de Rebus Emmanuelis, at the end of it".....(see *Esplendores da Religiao*, Goa, April 1930, p. 161). A not very accurate translation (in Portuguese) of the Kanara Brahmin's Tamil reading of the Pahlavi inscription is given on the same page. It is not of any use to translate it here. In a Spanish letter of Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., written from Cochin in 1579 *Anno Christi*, there is a Romanized transcript of the Brahmin's fraudulent Tamil reading. This was, some ten years ago, deciphered and reconstructed by me from a rotograph of that letter, and the text in Tamil and my translation in English are given in my *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents*. Needless to say that this translation, though amusing, will serve no useful purpose here as the Brahmin read the Pahlavi inscription on the fraudulent assumption that it was Tamil. Fr. Burthey's interpretation of the nineteenth century is equally amusing (Vide *op. cit.*, p. 26).

The first to recognise that the inscription is in Pahlavi seems to have been Burnell (1873 A.C.). His interpretation and those of Haug (1874), Harlez (1892) and others of subsequent years up to Sir J. J. Modi's or Mr. B. T. Anklesaria's are fairly well known. It is rather strange that there is a world of difference between the readings and translations of even the most recent scholars, viz., Sir J. J. Modi and Prof. C. P. T. Winckworth.

Prof. Winckworth's reading and translation is dependable especially because the very name Afras son of Chaharbukht, the Syrian ('PR'Ṣ Y ŚḤ'RBWḤT Y ṢWRYY' : Afras i Chahārbukht i Suryāyā) appears in the Pahlavi portion of the Quilon Christian copper-plate of about 880 A.C. These two Afrases I would like to identify with Mar Aprot (or Afras) of Malabar Christian tradition. This Persian Bishop came to Quilon in Travancore in 825 A.C.

We can infer from Prof. Winckworth's interpretation that Afras found the Mount Cross (ignoring its copies discovered in Travancore) in

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the ninth cent. A.C. in a neglected condition and 'rescued' it, and that he got the present Pahlavi inscription (about that meritorious act of his) engraved along the arch of the Cross and, like the Portuguese who did so some seven centuries later, set it up in a church which he built for the purpose or which had already been on the Mount, Madras.

So the Mount Cross without the inscription, we may say, was in existence even before Alfras's visit to the Mount in about 850 A.C. But it can never be assigned to St. Thomas, or to any time anterior to 326 A.C., the year of the ,Invention of the Cross' by Helena, mother of Constantine, or perhaps to a date before 435 A.C., the year in which Nestorianism was established in Persia.

Prof. Srinivasachari mentions (p. 758) the cross "set up by Maruvan Sapir Iso in the Tarisaipalli Church, which is mentioned in the Koṭṭayam Plates". These plates mention the Tarisappalli (i.e. the Tarisa Christian Church) built by the Persian merchant prince Maruvan Sabr-Iso, but no cross.[3] There is no document or tradition which says that a cross like the Mount Cross was set up anywhere in Malabar by Sabriso, or Afras, or any one else before the date (1547) of the discovery of the Mount Cross near Madras.

The Mount Cross seems to have been attributed to St. Thomas, the alleged apostle of South India, from the very year of its discovery underground (1547). In 1599 Gouvea saw in Cranganore (in the Cochin State) "the Cross of the Christians, having for tradition that St. Thomas placed it there and made many miracles,".....(*Jornada*, fol. 53 r, col. 2). This cross was presumably a copy of the Mount Cross in stone. A stone cross in Malayattur (in Travancore) also is attributed to St. Thomas. Another stone cross in Nilakkal (in Travancore) said to have been set up by St. Thomas is now supposed to be hidden in the forests there, or to have been destroyed by Hindu Forest Officers. A stone alleged to be a fragment of it is now kept in Kūvappalli (in Travancore). The enigmatic inscription on it was published by me in the *Indian Antiquary* about twelve years ago. A portion of the stone cross said to have been set up by the Apostle in Quilon (in Travancore) is alleged to have

3 See my *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates* in Malayalam, pp. 9-23 for the corrected text and translation of the plates.

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been recovered from the sea there by fishermen and preserved in Quilon. At Niranam and Kokkamangalam, two other St. Thomas localities in Travancore, they talk of wooden, not stone, crosses set up by the Saint. Thomas, Thomas everywhere, but not a scrap of evidence! The St. Thomas tradition of Malabar, by itself, cannot be taken as evidence for his South Indian Apostolate. Nor is there other evidence for it as I have attempted to show in my article 'St. Thomas in Iothabis, Calamina, Kantorya, or Mylapore' in the *Indian Antiquary* for December, 1931.

T. K. Joseph

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Bodhicittavivaraṇa

While proceeding with my *Studies on the Bodhicitta-texts, Tibetan and Chinese*, I read with much interest the notes on the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* by Drs. Nalinaksha Dutt and P. C. Bagchi in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VII. pp. 285ff. and 740ff. The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* No. 1 (Tib. *byaṅ. chub. sems. kyi. 'grel. pa, ẑes. bya. ba*, Cordier II, p. 135, No. 5 ; Tanjur, Rgyud, Gi, fol. 46 *b.* 2—49 *a.* 5), which Dr. Bagchi in his note referred to above identifies with the text mentioned in the last leaf of the MS. of the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣasūtra* published by Dr. Dutt in the same journal, pp. 259-286, mentioned above, is not identical with the other two Tibetan texts of the same title, viz. *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* No. 2 (Tib. *byaṅ. chub. sems. kyi. 'grel. ba*, Cordier II, p. 135, No. 6 ; Tanjur, Rgyud, Gi. fol. 41 *b.* 5—46 *b.* 2) and *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* No. 3 (Tib. *byaṅ. chub. kyi. sems. kyi. rnam. par. bśad. pa*, Cordier III, p. 358, No. 93 ; Tanjur, Mdo, Gi, fol. 210 *b.* 4—216 *a.* 7).

Now the first text among the three is a prose commentary on a prose passage, which defines the true nature of *bodhicitta* and is, in fact, identical with a prose passage in the *Guhyasamājatantra* (*GOS*, Vol. LIII, p. 12).[1] Besides the Tibetan translation, it has also a Chinese translation named *phu-thi-sin-kuân-shih* (Nanjio, p. 199), in Skt., as Nanjio would render, *Bodhihṛdayadhyānavyākhyā*. But the same Chinese title may be translated into Skt. as *Bodhicittabhāvanāvivaraṇam*.[2]

The other two texts are two Tibetan translations of one and the same Skt. work. The original work, like the prose commentary mentioned above, is also a commentary in verse on the same prose passage referred to above. It does not comment on the original passage verbatim, but gives an elaborate explanation of it. Both the translations agree as regards the number of verses, which is one hundred and ten. The work begins with a prose passage wherein the author states the purpose of his undertaking to write this commentary. At the end of this passage the original title of the work is found to be amplified as *Bodhicittabhāvanāvivaraṇam* which

1 सर्वभावविगतं स्कन्धधात्वायतनग्राह्यग्राहकवर्जितं धर्मनैरात्म्यसमतया स्वचित्तमाद्यनुत्पन्नं शून्यताभावम्।

2 See *the Alphabetical Index of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, ed. D. Tokiwa and others, Tokyo, 1930, p. 125.

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is supported by the Chinese version of *Bodhicittavivaraṇam* No. 1, referred to above.

The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa-ṭīkā* (Tib. *bsañ. chub. sems. kyi. 'grel. pa'i. rnam. par. bśad. pa.* Cordier, II, p. 141, No. 34; Tanjur, Rgyud, Gi, fol. 449 *b.* 4ff.), referred to by Dr. Bagchi in his note, is a sub-commentary on *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, No. 2. It definitely mentions *Guhyasamājatantra*[3] as the source of the prose passage defining the true nature of the *Bodhicitta*.

All the five texts mentioned above, except the Chinese one, (which is silent on the point), attribute the authorship of the original two commentaries to *Ārya Nāgārjuna*. The *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* (ed. Bendall, p. 20), wherein verse No. 29 of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* No. 2, is cited, supports this attribution. The author of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā* further informs us that this *Ārya Nāgārjuna* was the resident of *Śrīparvata* and the sacrificator of the *Nāgas*.[4] It is not certain whether this *Ārya Nāgārjuna* is identical with the *Nāgārjuna* of the Mādhyamika or the Vajrayāna school. The fact that the texts of the Tibetan versions of these works happen to be included in a volume which contains many works[5] written by the later *Nāgārjuna* and not a single work written by the former one, indicates that the author of the two *Bodhicittavivaraṇas* may be *Ārya Nāgārjuna* of the Vajrayāna school.

Some verses of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, No. 2 are cited in different Skt. works of the Mahāyānists. These verses, so far as I have been able to identify, are given below :

Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya of Haribhadra, Bibl. Indica, 1905, p. 46 :

वेदनारूपसंस्कारसंज्ञाविज्ञानमेव च ॥ 11[6] *a–b* ॥

Madhyamakavṛtti, Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1903, p. 41 :

फेनपिण्डोपमं रूपं वेदना बुद्बुदोपमा ।
मरीचिसदृशी संज्ञा संस्काराः कदलीनिभाः ॥ 12 ॥
मायोपमं च विज्ञानम्..... ॥ 13*a* ॥

3 See Tanjur, Rgyud, Gi, fols. 449*b*.7 and 479*a*. 5.

4 *Ibid.*

5 See Cordier, II, pp. 134 ff.

6 This and similar figures at the end of the verses refer to their numbers in the work mentioned.

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Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, Government Oriental Hindu Series, Poona, p. 30.

परिव्राट्कामुकशुनामेकस्यां प्रमदातनौ ।
कुणपः कामिनी भक्ष्य इति तिस्रो विकल्पनाः ॥ 19 ॥[7]

Subhāṣitasaṃgraha, ed. Bendall. p. 20 :

चित्तमात्रमिदं सर्वमिति या देशना मुनेः ।
उत्रासपरिहारार्थं बालानां सा न तत्त्वतः ॥ 26 ॥

Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, Bibl. Indica, 1903, pp. 406, 421 :

न बोध्यबोधकाकारं चित्तं दृष्टं तथागतैः ।
यत्र बोध्या च बोध्यं च तत्र बोधिर्न विद्यते ॥ 44 ॥
अलक्षणमनुत्पादमसंस्कृतमवाङ्मयम् ।
आकाशं बोधिचित्तं च बोधिरद्वयलक्षणा ॥ 45 ॥

Bauddhagān O Dohā, ed. Haraprasada Śāstrī, p. 68 :

शून्यतासिंहनादेन त्रासिताः सर्वशत्रवः ॥ 51 *a–b* ॥

Advayavajrasaṃgraha, GOS., vol. XL, 42 :

गुडे मधुरता चाग्नेरुष्णत्वं प्रकृतिर्यथा ।
शून्यता सर्वधर्माणां तथा प्रकृतिरिष्यते ॥ 56 ॥

Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, p. 44.

देशना लोकनाथानां सत्त्वाशयवशानुगाः ।
भिद्यन्ते बहुधा लोक उपायैर्बहुभिः पुनः ॥ 97 ॥
गम्भीरोत्तानभेदेन क्वचिद्वोभयलक्षणा ।
भिन्ना हि देशनाभिन्ना शून्यताद्वयलक्षणा ॥ 98 ॥

In conclusion it may be pointed out that according to the Tibetan passage (either wrongly printed or wrongly copied) cited by Dr. Bagchi (*IHQ.*, vol. VII, p. 741), one may read in the Sanskrit passage published by Dr. Dutt (op. cit. p. 285) °*cittabhāvanā*°

7 This Kārikā is quoted in many works, such as *Sarvasiddhānta-saṅgraha*, Madras, 1909, p. 12.

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(*sems. sgom. pa*) for *'citta°*, *°vikalpitaḥ* (*rnam. par. brtags. pa*) for *°viṭhapitaḥ*, *tadeva* (*de ñid*) for *'deva°*, *nirūpyate* (*ñes. par. rtog(s). pa*) for *nirudhyate* and *svacittam* (*raṅ sems*) for *cittam*.

P.S. When the above was going through the Press it was found that the *Lakṣaṇavimukta*(?)*-bodhihṛdayaśāstra* (Nanjio 1304). '*The treatise* (or *discourse*) *on the transcendentality of the Bodhicitta*' (vide the *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* by Suzuki, pp. 292, 297.), attributed to Nāgārjuna is nothing but a prose version of the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, No. 2.

PRABHUBHAI PATEL

Vidūsaka's Ears

Vidūṣaka is an interesting figure on the Indian stage, and it is imaginable that his dress might have been in many respects artificial and masked. I have come across an interesting passage in *Pauma-cariya*[1] of Vimala which, if my interpretation is correct, indicates that Vidūṣaka's head-dress was a sort of mask, and *he wore wooden ears*. The verse runs thus:

ते नाम होंति कण्ण ये जिनवर सासणस्मि सुइपुण्णा ।
अन्ने विदूसगस्स व दारुमया चैव निम्भविया ॥ 1. 19.

According to its colophon *Pauma-cariya* of Vimala was composed 530 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, i.e. *c.* 4 A.C. It is imaginable that Vimala might be referring to a contemporary stage convention, say of the first century of the Christian era. But one does not know when this practice fell out of use. Raviṣeṇa, who finished his work *Padma-carita*[2] in 676 A.C., which closely agrees in many respects with *Pauma-cariya* of Vimala, has perhaps missed the significance, or by the time of Raviṣeṇa the use of wooden ears was antequated, of the original. The Sk. prototype of that verse runs thus:

सद्भुताश्रवणौ यौ च श्रवणौ तौ मतौ मम ।
अन्यौ विदूषकस्यैव श्रवणाकारधारिणौ ॥ 1. 28.

A. N. UPADHYE

1 Published by Jaina Dharma-prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavanagar.
2 Published in Mānik Candra Granthamālā, Bombay, vol. 29.

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The Two Pariksits

Parīkṣit as the sole survivor and successor of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, after the Great War, has come so much into prominence that no one notes that the Purāṇas refer to a second Parīkṣit. This Parīkṣit (whom we shall distinguish as Parīkṣit I from the well-known Parīkṣit to whom we shall refer as Parīkṣit II) was many generations earlier than the epic Parīkṣit. The Purāṇas, when referring to Parīkṣit, do not differentiate between the two princes.

In book XX of the *Atharva Veda* we meet with a mention of Parīkṣit. He is there called Kauravya (son of Kuru) which statement, as we shall see later on, is fully corroborated by almost all the Purāṇic lists of genealogy. In his realm, that of the Kurus, prosperity and peace abound. 'People thrive merrily in the kingdom of Parīkṣit' (*Atharva Veda*, XX, 127; Bloomfield's translation). The passage of the *Atharva Veda* occurs *verbatim* in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XII, 17).

This Parīkṣit cannot be Parīkṣit II—the son of Abhimanyu. Because we all know that far from being in peace and prosperity, the country was then immersed in sorrow after the Great War. Almost all the well-known kings of India were slain, the five illustrious sons of Pāṇḍu were on the eve of *mahāprasthāna*; the evil Kali age had already set in; this is certainly not a condition in which 'prosperity and peace abound', in which 'people thrive merrily'. Had he been the son of Abhimanyu, the names of the brilliant victors of the Great War (which was yet fresh in people's memory) could not have been reasonably omitted. Almost none of the great figures in the War is mentioned in the entire Vedic literature. Parīkṣit of the *Atharva Veda* is, therefore, Parīkṣit I, the son of Kuru, and not Parīkṣit II, the son of Abhimanyu. In the *Vedic Index* (I, p. 494), therefore, it has been rightly said that "the Epic makes him the grand-father of Pratiśravas and great grand-father of Pratīpa."

The *Mahābhārata* devotes two chapters to the genealogical lists of the family of Puru (I, 94-95). In chapter 94, (which gives the list

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down to Śāntanu only), Ajamīḍha is put as the 16th in descent from Puru. He had three wives, one of whom Dhūminī gave birth to Ṛkṣa. Ṛkṣa's son was Saṃvaraṇa. During his reign, a great calamity befell his realm. This was perhaps due to draught and consequent famine. A Pañcāla king attacked and defeated him; and he was forced to take shelter with his family and retinue in the mountainous recesses of the Punjab, protected by the rivers of Sindhu. After a long exile, however, he managed to regain his territory with the help of the great sage Vasiṣṭha. Saṃvaraṇa[1] had a son named Kuru, who extended the borders of the Kuru country over the forest regions, which was known, after his name, as Kurujāṅgala. It was due to his austerities that Kurukṣetra became a holy place. Kuru had five sons, of which Aśvavān the eldest, was known as Avikṣit. Avikṣit had eight sons of which Parīkṣit was the eldest.

In chapter 95 of the Epic, Ajamīḍha is described as the 23rd in descent from Puru. His son was Saṃvaraṇa who married Tapatī, the daughter of Vivasvān and got Kuru as his son. Kuru married Śubhāṅgī of the Dāśārha country; his son was Vidūra. Vidūra married Saṃpriyā, the daughter of Mādhava, and had a son named Anaśvā. Anaśvā married Amrtā of Magadha, and his son was Parīkṣit.

The Java text of the *Mahābhārata* makes Ajamīḍha as the 18th in descent from Puru, and gives the following genealogy: Ajamīḍha—Dhūmrākṣa (probably a combination of the names of Dhūmini his wife, and Ṛkṣa his son)—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.[2]

In the genealogical list given in the grant of Vīra-coḍa-deva, Ajamīḍha occupies the 22nd position in descent from Puru, and the genealogy is given thus: Ajamīḍha—his son Saṃvaraṇa—Sudhaman (Kuru?)—Parīkṣit.[3]

Thus the different versions of the Great Epic speak of an earlier Parīkṣit, who should not be confused with his later namesake.

According to the *Bhāgavata* (ch. IX, 21) Ajamīḍha is the 22nd

1 For detailed particulars of Saṃvaraṇa, see Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 172, 175; also *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 48-49; 1918, pp. 246-248.

2 *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 6-7.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, 1, No. 39, pp. 49-62.

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descendant of Puru, and the genealogy is as follows: Ajamīḍha—Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.

The *Harivaṃśa* makes Ajamīḍha the 21st in descent from Puru, and gives the following succession: Ajamīḍha—Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit (ch. 32). In one śloka, it distinctly says that there are two Parīkṣits (ch. 32, 105). In another place, it says कुरोः पुत्रस्य राजेन्द्र राज्ञः पारीक्षितस्य ह (ch. 30, 9) which undoubtedly makes Parīkṣit I son of Kuru.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV, 19) has Ajamīḍha in the 23rd place down from Puru and then gives Ajamīḍha—Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.

In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (ch. 50, 23), Ajamīḍha is the 19th in descent from Puru, and Ajamīḍha is followed by Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (II, ch. 37), Ajamīḍha stands 22nd in descent from Puru, and Ajamīḍha is followed by Ṛkṣa—Saṃvaraṇa—Kuru—Parīkṣit.

Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that "Ajamīḍha, Ṛkṣa and Saṃvaraṇa in the main Paurava line were not three successive kings;—genealogies were also intentionally abbreviated." Indeed, in the synchronistic list drawn up by him, he shows that there were long gaps between these kings. It may be possible that the princes who intervened in the gaps were lesser potentates with no political supremacy and as they could not add anything to the glory of the family their names were deliberately omitted. This omission, however, is systematic and it has been accepted by all the Purāṇas.

From the evidences cited above, we can, by no means, ignore the presence of an earlier Parīkṣit who preceded his younger namesake by at least ten or twelve generations.

This Parīkṣit I was contemporary with Śrutāyu, king of Videha and Devānīka, king of Ayodhyā; while Parīkṣit II was contemporary with Vṛhatkṣaṇa, son of Bṛhadbala, king of Ayodhyā, who fell in the Great War. Contemporary with Parīkṣit I was the great Yādava king, Vṛṣṇi, from whose name Kṛṣṇa is often called Vārṣṇeya; but at the time of Parīkṣit II, the Yādavas were destroyed at Prabhāsa; Kṛṣṇa had passed away to the heaven, and one of his family, Vajra, was installed

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by Arjuna in the neighbourhood of Indraprastha just on the eve of their mahāprasthāna.[4]

Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhuri has devoted a chapter in his *Political History of Ancient India* to the Age of the Pārīkṣitas. In this chapter he has made a confusion between the two Parīkṣits. He writes:

"It is, however, possible that Parīkṣit I and Parīkṣit II were really one and the same individual, but the Epic and the Purāṇic poets had some doubts as to whether he was to be regarded as an ancestor or a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas.....That there was a good deal of confusion regarding the parentage of Parīkṣit and the exact position of the king and his sons in the Kuru genealogy is apparent from the dynastic lists given by the Great Epic and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa."....."This confusion, may have been due to the fact that, according to one tradition, Parīkṣit, the father of Janamejaya was the ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas, while according to another and a more reliable one, he was their descendant and that the Epic and the Purāṇic writers sought to reconcile these traditions by postulating the existence of two Parīkṣits and two Janamejayas. The important fact to remember is that Parīkṣit with whose accession our history begins should be identified with his Vedic namesake." (pp. 9-10).

We have already seen that the two kings were separate individuals and the Epic and the Purāṇic poets had no doubt as to their separate identity. Some Purāṇas, the *Harivaṃśa* (ch. 32, 105) and the *Brahma* (ch. 13, 112-3) distinctly calls them Parīkṣit I and Parīkṣit II. We do not find any confusion regarding the parentage of Parīkṣit and the exact position of the king in the genealogical lists as furnished by the different Purāṇas, not excluding the Great Epic and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.

NITYADHAN BHATTACHARYYA

4 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, also *JRAS.* (1910).

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REVIEWS

LES COMPOSÉS NOMINAUX DANS LES ŚATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA by Helena Willman-Grabowska. Première Partie: Index de la Composition Nominale du *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, avec quatre Suppléments; Seconde Partie: Le Rôle de la Composition Nominale dans le *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Mémoires de la Commission Orientale de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Nos. 10 and 12. Pp. XXII+134 and VI+266. Krakow 1927-28.

This book incorporates an enormous amount of labour on the part of the authoress. It is a rich store-house of valuable material and is doubtless destined to be the basis of many future works on Vedic philology. The authoress has won by it the gratitude and admiration of all lovers of Vedic philology.

All the nominal compounds in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* of the Mādhyandina recension have been collected and alphabetically arranged in the first part of this work. Their number is no less than 3004. The compounds have been reproduced fairly accurately and much pain has been taken to do justice to the often baffling system of accentuation in the *ŚB*. Every entry in this index is moreover accompanied by a French translation, which, however, in our opinion, was quite unnecessary; for the authoress has not been able to make much improvement on the excellent translation of Eggeling, and moreover, it is not quite in harmony with the purpose with which the book has been written, viz., to ascertain the rôle played by nominal compounds in the *ŚB*. More useful has been the separation of the compounds derived directly from the *Saṃhitā* from those really belonging to the *Brāhmaṇa*. Thus we get the statistical data that of the 3004 nominal compounds occurring in the *ŚB*. 590 are derived from *VS*. and only 72 are common to both. It will be a revelation to many to note that comparatively so few nominal compounds would be common to these two closely connected Vedic texts belonging to succeeding ages. This is surely one of the most eloquent proofs of the fact that in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas*, Sanskrit was still a progressive and living language.

The authoress has also tried to sift out all the nominal compounds

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which occur only in the *ŚB.* and in no other *Brāhmaṇa*. About 800 compounds in the Index are marked with a dot before them, which is to indicate that the authoress has not found those compounds in *TS.*, *TB.*, *AB.*, and the fragments of the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* as published by Oertel in *JAOS.*, XIV, XV, and XVII, and for which in the St. Petersburg Dictionary only one reference has been given and that out of the *ŚB.* This, however, does not authorise the authoress to put a dot before the respective compounds, if in that way she wishes to mark off the nominal compounds which are peculiar to the *ŚB.* alone. Moreover, with regard to the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* one may ask, why only the fragments published by Oertel have been consulted and not the excellent *Auswahl* of Caland, published already in 1919.

Besides this index of nominal compounds the first part contains a list of verbs compounded with nouns, a complete list of *āmreḍitas* occurring in the text of the *ŚB.*, a list of derivatives of the compounds and a list of the proper names occurring in the *ŚB.* The whole of the second part is devoted to a detailed discussion of the compounds indexed in the first part. But neither the index nor the discussion on the indexed compounds is quite satisfactory. Such a strictly alphabetical index, regardless of all difference of category and meaning, is not convenient to the serious student of the language, who will demand some kind of scientific grouping of the material, at least, according to categories. No such thing has been attempted. Only the *bahuvrīhis* have been pointed out in the text, parenthetically. In vain will the reader turn to the second part for a scientific treatment of the material collected in the first: the compounds have been arranged and grouped there according to their frequency of occurrence. The detailed discussions, to which the whole of the second part has been devoted, must, unfortunately, be characterised as rambling thoughts. With every page the feeling grows in the mind of the reader that the authoress has no definite plan before her, no fixed point of view to represent, nothing new to offer to the reader. On the contrary, a careful reader will notice a mass of inaccuracies, sometimes of quite an unpleasant nature.

This much for the methodology of Madame Grabowska. Coming to the details, however, we have again, unfortunately, to find fault

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with the authoress, who has bestowed so much labour on the work, but has, as it appears, published the book rather hastily.

From the outset it has been a bold venture to try to reproduce correctly the accent of the *ŚB.*, of which so much is to be inferred by comparison and which still remains so obscure. Three great Sanskritists, namely Weber (Preface to the ŚB.), Leumann (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*=*KZ.* 31, pp. 22-51) and Caland (Introduction to *Kāṇvīya Śatapatha*, pp. 7-11) have made the *ŚB.*-accent the subject of their special study and Wackernagel too in his peerless grammar (vol. I § 252) has thought it worth while to devote a special section to it. Has Madame Grabowska probed all the difficulties in her way? It is doubtful.

As is well-known, the manuscripts of the *ŚB.* show only one kind of accent mark, namely that of *anudātta* in the usual accent system. But this sign is found in the *ŚB.*-manuscripts under those syllables which elsewhere bear the sign of *udātta* and to make matters worse, the same sign is used also to designate a syllable preceding a *svarita* syllable, the *svarita* syllable itself being left without any sign like an *anudātta* syllable. (To avoid confusion, Weber in his edition of the *ŚB.* has used double horizontal strokes to designate the syllable preceding a *svarita* syllable.) Now the question arises, whether the horizontal stroke in the *ŚB.*-manscripts is the sign of real *anudātta* or is it simply a mode of designating *udātta* and *svarita* syllables respectively? The authorities are on the whole unanimous so far as the *udātta* accent is concerned: it is admitted that a horizontal stroke under a syllable in the *ŚB.* really indicates the *udātta* accent of the same syllable. But opinions diverge on the *svarita* accent. It is held by Kielhorn (*Ind. St.*, X, p. 402) Leumann and Wackernagel that the horizontal stroke under a syllable preceding the *svarita* syllable actually denotes the *udātta* accent (systematically called *anudātta* in the *Bhāṣika Sūtra*, which, however, clearly applies only to the graphic representation of the accent mark) of the syllable and has nothing to do with the *svarita* of the following syllable. Thus according to Weber the graphic representation *manúṣyeṣu* in the *ŚB.* is equivalent to *manuṣyeṣu* of the other texts, whereas according to Kielhorn, Leumann and Wackernagel the graphical representation in the *ŚB.* as it is,

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reflects the true value of the accent. They therefore take upon themselves the great responsibility of vouchsafing that *manuṣyeṣu* of the former days was changed into *manúṣyeṣu* in the days of the *ŚB*. This fascinating problem of the *svarita* accent in the *ŚB*. has at last been solved by Prof. Caland (Introd. to *Kāṇvīya Śatapatha*, p. 11), who has shown that Weber after all has been right. Madame Grabowska has followed Weber in reproducing the accent of the *ŚB* text, but in view of the peculiar difficulties attending the task, only a part of which could be shown in the short excursus above, she has not been able to prevent some deplorable mistakes creeping into her work. Thus in reproducing the word dealt with above she has accented it as *manúṣya* instead of *manuṣyá*. The authoress rightly says that the real accent of *āspātra* (**ā́spā́tra or āspā́tra**) cannot be inferred from the text of the *ŚB*. (p. 251). But there are some cases where the real accent can be inferred, and yet the authoress has not been able to do it. On p. 141 Madame Grabowska has taken some pains to demonstrate why it cannot be decided from the *ŚB*. text whether **pūrvā́huti** is to be read as **pū́rvā ā́huti** or not. But the example has been ill-chosen; for it can be definitely proved that **pūrvā́huti** is no compound at all and that it has to be read as **pū́rvā ā́huti.** Only five pages below (p. 146) the authoress quotes the sentence *sā yā* **pūrvā́hutiḥ** etc. Now this sentence definitely proves that the so-called compound has to be read as **pū́rvā́huti, for** bearing in mind that of consecutive *udātta* syllables only the last one is marked (excepting when too many accent signs have to be suppressed in this way), we may easily conclude that if there was no accent on pū-, we would have had **sā yā́** instead of *sā yā*. The real accentuation of *pūrvāhuti* would therefore be **pūrvā́huti** and this double accent further shows that it is no compound at all. It has therefore to be struck off the index in the first part.

The analysis of the compounds handled in this work is not always satisfactory. For instance, the compounds with the negative prefix *a /an* have been divided into two classes (Pt. 2, p. vii): (1) those in which the negative prefix is connected only with the first component of the compound, e.g. *a-kṛṣṭa-pacyá*, and (2) those in which it is connected with the whole of the compound, e.g. *á-nyūnātirikta*. But a third category ought to have been made, viz. of those, in which the negative

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prefix is connected only with the last component of the compound, e.g. *án-agni-cit*, *á-chambat-kāra*, *an-ante-vāsin*. Such compounds, though illogical, like so many other things in a living language, are of an old type. Already from the *ṚV*. we have instances like *án-agni-dagdha*, *á-dāra-sṛt* till *Pāṇini's a-sūryam-paśya* (cf. Wackernagel, II, I, § 84 p. 200). These compounds later gave rise to very peculiar anomalous constructions in which the negative prefix is joined not to the verb, as sense would have it, but a noun or adjective belonging to it, e.g. *a-śabdam kurvan*. Wackernagel (*ibid.* § 31c, p. 78) has traced these anomalous constructions back up to the Sūtras; but at least one instance can be cited from the *Brāhmaṇas*: *an-agnāv adhidhāya* (*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 167, *JAOS.*, XVIII, p. 42).

Much speculation has been made to explain the interrelation betwen *rakṣohán* and *rákṣasām apahanta* (Pt. II, p. 21). The authoress is apparently very much puzzled that the preverb *apa-* has been dropped in the compound *rakṣohán* although to all appearance it means nothing but *rákṣasām apahanta*. It may be pointed out that the resumption of a compound verb by the simplex is quite a common phenomenon in the Indo-Germanic languages. It is very conspicuous in some old Greek inscriptions and quite frequent in the *Brāhmaṇas*. For full literature on the point cf. *JAOS.*, XXVIII, p. 86, note 5. The authoress is convinced that the group *rákṣasām apahanta* is a stereotyped phrase, just as unchangeable as the compound *rakṣohán*. She may be right in this, but it is wrong to try to prove it with the help of such participal constructions as *rákṣāṃsy apaghnánn eti*; for here *apaghnán* is a participle only in form, its real function being to express continuous action in combination with *eti* (cf. Delbrück *Altindische Syntax*, § 218). No capital can be made out of such participles.

It is difficult to believe that *asuvarakṣasani* is a compound of the type *kṛtākṛtá* and does not mean Asuras and Rakṣas (p. 24). The *Brāhmaṇa* authors are inclined to derive the ritual exclamation *vaṣaṭ* from √*vṛṣ* and Madame Grabowska naturally considers it to be one of their numerous puerile etymologies (p. 33). But, in spite of Eggeling (*SBE.*, XII, p. 88, note) there may be more truth in this etymology of the *Brāhmaṇa* authors than Madame Grabowska thinks, for there is nothing in the way of deriving *vaṣaṭ* from √*vṛṣ* if we make allowance for Prākritic influence.

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On p. 36 the two compounds *ṛtvíj* and (agnídh) have been apparently considered to be of the same antiquity. But it is well known that (agnídh) is a later form originated out of the Ṛgvedic agnídh, in which *-dh* represents the weakest grade of √dhā. At a later age this obscure form was not understood and people began to consider it to be compounded of *agni+i (n) dh*. Hence the form agnídh (cf. Wackernagel I, § 75c, p. 82 and II, 1, § 42a, note, p. 98). Similar weak grade forms are to be found in the *ṚV*. *devátta*<*deva-t-ta*, Prākṛ. *dinna*<*di-d-na*, cf. Gr. dídomi.

The whole discussion on *saṃvatsará* (pp. 55-58) is singularly unfortunate. She declares that the origin of this word is uncertain, although it is one of the few words which certainly belong to the oldest stratum of Indo-Germanic vocabulary, for we have still before us, distributed among different languages, the various Ablaut forms of the word, reminiscent of the hoary past, when the mysterious laws of accent were still in full force. We find the fuller form of the word in *(Saṃ)vatsará*, Gr.(v)étos Lat. vetus etc. and the weaker form in the endingless locative *par-út* "in the preceding year" to which however later the locative ending was subjoined, cf. Doric péruti, Att.pérusi (Kretschmer, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XXXI, p. 354). Moreover Madame Grabowska seems to be inclined to derive the word from *vatsá* "calf", which in her opinion is an "euphemism"! If that is in her mind she is certainly wrong, for even apart from all other considerations the weak grade form *par-út* etc. amply shows that the original meaning was year; éthalon apparently stands for Aeolic etalon. The exact meaning of *vatsá*, Lat. *vitulus*, is "one year old (calf)"; cf. Gothic *wivthrus*, Mod. German *Widder* etc. In the same way to years old house-hold animals were called in Latin bīmus<bis+hiems; similarly *trímus*, *quadrímus*. From the same stem, Greek *chímaros* "one year old goat", old Norse *gymbr* "one year old lamb" etc.

The authoress is perfectly right in saying that "la fonction idéale de l'année dans les traités brahmaniques est des plus multiples" (p. 56). But in connection with *saṃvatsará* she ought to have noted the very striking phenomenon that in the older literature *saṃvatsará* has almost always an occult and mystical meaning. In the *ṚV*. it never designates

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a year of joy or sorrow in ordinary human life, for which the various seasons of the year are used—a curious instance of *pars pro toto*. *Saṃvatsará* is rather the year personified than merely the period of a year. If it is used in the latter sense, it is always in connection with the magical sacrifice or the absolute and abstract period of a year.

In saṃvatsaratamí,-tamí has certainly nothing to do with *támas*.

The authoress has indulged in an endless amount of speculation on the suffix-*in* in *kāmarūpín* (p. 78) and she often refers to it as a typical irregular formation. Is she not aware that *bahuvrīhis* are often pleonastically extended by the suffix *in* (cf. Wackernagel II, 1 § 53, pp. 121-2)? Yet she herself has given a list of compounds extended by -*in* on p. 248.

Towards the end of the book the authoress has devoted a few short chapters to the discussion of the compounds from the morphological point of view (pp. 232-51). But they are superficial and offer nothing new to the reader. A discussion on the accent of compounds follows, in course of which Madame Grabowska makes the interesting remark that the change of accent since the days of the *ṚV*. shows a tendency to move towards the second component in the case of *tatpuruṣas* and *bahuvrīhis* (p. 254). An opposite movement, however, is also known; cf. *ṚV*. *saptá*: *ŚB*. *sápta*. The juxtaposition of compounds from the view-point of accent is sometimes very suggestive, but the authoress has failed to take the hint. For instance, on p. 256 both the *dvandva* compounds ajāvayaḥ and *ajāviká* are given. Now the question arises, whether -*ká* in *ajāviká* is only a compositional suffix or is it derived from the diminutive form avikā. Now in ajāvayaḥ we have the pure stem unencumbered by the diminutive suffix and this would suggest that in *ajāviká* too the pure stem has been used, -*ká* being only the compositional suffix. But, on the other hand, as the compositional -*ka* is never accented, the reader has to fall back upon the diminutive avikā. The question can thus never be satisfactorily answered.

Lastly, a word on typographical mistakes: their number is legion, almost every page is disfigured by them. The Sanskrit quotations have been often massacred. But that is not the worst of it. Such a sentence at the outset as "Je me suis ṣuis (*sic*!) bornée *à* n'en donner qu'une

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reference par kāṇḍa" (Pt. I, p. xvii) is sure to put the reader in a bad humour.

Such are the defects of the book under review—they could be easily multiplied. Yet, even leaving the second part out of consideration, nobody can deny the usefulness of the material collected in the first. The authoress is therefore to be congratulated on this work.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA, vol. I, by P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1930.

The book is a consistent history of the works on Dharmaśāstra. The task undertaken by the author is undoubtedly a difficult one. Although a great deal has been said on the history of Vedic literature, of kāvya and drama, Dharmaśāstra has hitherto remained almost untouched. There is no denying the fact that the history of Sanskrit literature cannot be exhaustive and thorough without a history of one of its most important branches, namely, the Dharmaśāstra. So we are thankful to Mr. Kane for what he has done to remove this desideratum. He has traversed through an extensive field hitherto untrodden and his treatment has been very lucid and clear. He begins with the definition of 'Dharma', a perplexing word, no doubt, and shows how it has passed through different transitions in meaning. He then dwells on the different sources of Dharma and rightly observes that though the Vedas do not contain positive precepts on matters of Dharma in a connected form yet the rules contained in the Dharmasūtras had their roots deep down in the ancient Vedic tradition. This conclusion he bases upon a collection of incidental references made in the Vedic literature to the topics falling under the domain of Dharmaśāstra. Not only this. He predicates also a high antiquity for the Dharmaśāstra works and proves that some of them existed before Gautama and Bodhāyana i.e. before 600-300 B.C. He then gives a very consistent account of the several Dharmasūtras and this he does with an eye to chronology. He begins with Gautama Dharma-

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sūtra which he rightly considers as the oldest of the Dharmasūtras we come across and does not omit even the latest ones. There is a theory started by much eminent scholars as Max Müller and Weber, namely that once there existed a work called Mānava-dharmasūtra and that the existing Manu-smṛti is only a recast of the same. Mr. Kane doubts the validity of the arguments put forward in favour of this theory and discards it on weightier grounds.

It is well-known to scholars that there is a sharp controversy regarding the time of Kauṭilya. Some of the European scholars are for placing him in the 3rd century A.D., while Indian scholars place him in the 4th century B.C. The arguments advanced by European scholars have been very successfully assailed by Mr. Kane, and in doing so he has generally adopted the line of arguments preferred by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his well-known work *Hindu Polity*.

The author has noticed all the *nibandhas* and commentaries both in print and in manuscript. He has also taken notice of the writers on Dharmaśāstra such as Yogloka, Śrīkara etc., whose works are now lost but who are referred to by later commentators and digest-makers. He has not omitted even such works as the *Vyavahārāloka* (of Gopāla Siddhāntavāgiśa) which quotes profusely the views of Vācaspati's *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi* and is thus comparatively recent. Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa has also not escaped his notice. It is truly pointed out that he has taken great liberties with the text of Nārada. But when we find the word śāstra explained in Asahāya's commentary as नारदमनुविश्वरूपात्मक we should not see in it any tampering on the part of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa. For Viśvarūpa here may be taken to mean Viṣṇu especially when it has been used with the two great Saṃhitākāras.

That *Viśvarūpanibandha* is a book of one, Viśvarūpa by name, who is other than the author of the *Bālakrīḍā* is certain, for many views quoted as Viśvarūpa's by the later Nibandhakāras such as Mitrāmiśra and others do not tally with those expressed in the *Bālakrīḍā*. Mr. Kane has given additional reasons too.

The Dharmaśāstra character of the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* is undisputed. Mr. Kane gives us a list of the topics of Dharmaśāstra that are dwelt upon in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also. It is needless to mention that this epic is not looked upon in India as a mere Kāvya

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but a great book on Dharma as well. Mr. Kane has not entered into the vexed question as to the age of the two epics.

The synopsis of the contents, the general index, the list of works on Dharmaśāstra and the list of authors on Dharmaśāstra have greatly enhanced the usefulness and value of the book.

From whatever point of view we look at this comprehensive work we cannot but praise it. It is a splendid contribution to the cause of Sanskrit and bears unmistakable marks of patient industry and profound study of the author. It is an admirable thesis and students of Sanskrit can hardly do without it.

AMARESWAR THAKUR

WORDS IN THE ṚGVEDA (being an attempt to fix the sense of every word that occurs in Ṛgveda) vol. I by Vaijanath Kashinath Rajavade, M.A. Poona 1932. 8 vo. 368 pp.

In this volume Prof. Rajavade attempts to fix the sense of several words occurring in the Ṛgveda. The principle which he follows for this purpose is enunciated on p. iv. of the preface. There we find :

"Accustomed as we are to the style of Kālidāsa and other modern authors, we expect that each word should have a special import of its own. But the Vedic bards disappoint us in this expectation. They indulge in this freak [the repetition of the same idea in different words in one and the same Ṛk] to an extraordinary degree. *They play changes on one theme viz. wealth and grant of wealth for which they have at hand inexhaustible store of words. Was there a competition among them as to who should cram into the small space of a single Ṛk. the largest number of synonyms ?*" The italics are ours. 'Sometimes we have a string of epithets having the same sense as in सनितः सुसनितरुग्र चित्र चेतिष्ठ सूनृत (८।४६।२०) ; सनितः=सुसनितः=उग्र=चित्र=चेतिष्ठ=सुनृत=o giver."

Prof. Rajavade should have approached the subject with an open mind and not with his preconceived notion which has made him turn and twist every word occurring in the Veda to fit in with his idea. The author's *idée fixée* seems to be that every substantive in the *Ṛgveda* means 'wealth' or 'gift' and every root means 'to give.'

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Curiously enough the author has not generally shown us how he arrived at this conclusion which is, on the face of it, absurd.

In one or two places however, he takes us into his confidence and shows us how he came to attach the meaning of 'wealth' to certain words but those are clear cases of misconception.

Thus on p. 239, the author says :—

"यदिन्द्र ते चतस्रो यच्छूर सन्ति तिस्रः। यद्वा पञ्च क्षितीनामस्मभ्यं सु न आ भर (५।३५।२)=हे शूर इन्द्र ते तव यत् चतस्रः सन्ति वा अथवा यत् तिस्रः सन्ति वा अथवा पञ्च क्षितीनां यत् अस्ति अस्मभ्यं तत् सु धनम् आभर !.....This is a clear instance of सु meaning wealth. इन्द्र=शूर=O donor."

I regret however to point out that Prof. Rajavade quotes the *Ṛk*. incorrectly. In the *Ṛgveda* the second half of the mantra runs thus—यद्वा पञ्च क्षितीनामवस्तत् सु न आ भर. Instead of अस्मभ्यम् the word अवस् distinctly occurs there as the accusative, so we fail to see how सु can possibly mean wealth here.

Again on p. 233 we read :—

"किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो ये नाशिरं दुह्रे न तपन्ति घर्मम्। आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखं मघवान् रन्धया नः॥ (३।५३।१४) गावः is masculine here on account of ते and ये". "गावः आशिरं दुह्रे दुहन्ति=cows yield milk that can be turned into curds. तपन्ति घर्मं=they yield milk which can be boiled." Is it not absurd to say that bulls yield milk ?

In the *Ṛgveda*, however, there is no ये in the second verse as it would be spoiled by the insertion of an additional syllable. As for ते it cannot be regarded as a correlative of ये for the simple reason that it is unaccented and therefore cannot mean 'those' or 'they'. Blissfully unconscious of the importance of accentuation in the determination of the meaning of Vedic words, the professor often stumbles from one blunder to another.

This is a very well-known Ṛk. which is often quoted to refute the अपौरुषेयत्व of the Vedas and it is astonishing to find a scholar misquoting it.

Again, on p. 102 we read :

"पुनः पुनर्जायमाना पुराणी समानं वर्णमभि शुम्भमाना। श्वघ्नीव कृत्नुर्विज आमिनाना

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सर्वस्य देवी जरयन्त्यायुः (१।९२।१०).....सर्वस्य आयुः जरयन्ति—wearing out the life of *all* or increasing the wealth of *all*." On p. 318 we find the following supplementary note : "स=मानं=वर्णः=अभि=धनम्. शुम्भमाना=giving. कृत्नुः=कृ+त्नु=दात्री। विजः धनानि आमिनाना ददती। देवी=धनवती। सु+वः=सर्वः=धनवान्। सर्वस्य=सर्वस्मै। आयुः=धनम्। जरयन्ती=ददती।"

The reader will find सर्वस्य both on p. 102 and on p. 318. Unfortunately for Prof. Rajavade this *mantra* from one of the most poetical hymns in the *Ṛgveda* does not contain सर्वस्य but मर्तस्य.

Enough of misquotations. We shall now turn our attention to the other points raised in the preface.

On p. iv we read :—

"अ is not merely negative in *Ṛv.* ; it has a positive sense..... Sāyaṇa in his comment on इमे चेतारो अनृतस्य भूरेः (७।६०।५) says :—इमे त्रयः भूरेः प्रभूतस्य अनृतस्य चेतारः हन्तारः. But अनृत is अ+नृत नृ=to give. नृत=a gift, wealth. अ+नृत=abundant wealth. भूरि too means abundant or abundant wealth. चि=to give. चेतृ=a giver."

The learned author, however, does not make the least attempt to show why Sāyaṇa's explanation is to be rejected in favour of his own, especially as many scholars also generally support Sāyaṇa here. In the revised edition of Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* this very instance has been quoted under the first sense of अनृत—Unrecht, Ungesetzliches, Unheiliges (p. 40). Prof. Rajavade should remember : एकाकिनी प्रतिज्ञा तु प्रतिज्ञातं न साधयेत्।

On the page v we find : "Sāyaṇa explains सुरभिष्टमम् (I/186/7) by अतिशयेन सुरभि and सुधृष्टमं (I/18/9) by अत्याधिक्येन धार्ष्ट्ययुक्तं (?). In the *Pada-pāṭha* सुरभिष्टमं is सुरभि's तमं (sic !) But the word is made up of सु+र+भि+स्त+मं ; सु=र=भि=स्त=wealth. म shows possession सुरभिष्टम—possessed of abundant riches. त्वमग्ने द्युभिः (2/1/1) ; here द्युभिः is not अहोभिः though Yāska and Sāyaṇa say so : द्युः धनम्। तेन युक्तः भिः धनं यस्य सः द्युभिः। भि in द्युभिः and सुरभिः means wealth."

The absurdity of the Professor's derivation of सुरभिष्टमम् is too patent to require any refutation. As for द्युभिः not only Yāska and Sāyaṇa but the author of the *Pada-pāṭha* as also western scholars

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like Geldner regard it as an instrumental plural. Geldner even compares *ágre ahnām* (5. 1. 4-5). Of course, if the Professor could show that भि in Sanskrit occurs as an independent word in the sense of wealth or that it occurs in other Indo-Germanic languages in that sense or is derived from a root which supports this sense, we could have understood his attitude, but unfortunately he does not attempt anything of the kind.

On p. vi. we read :

"We find prepositions like प्र, अभि, अधि, and roots like कृ and नृ used as nouns. प्रतद्वसू (8/13/27) according to Yāska (निरुक्त ६।२१) is प्राप्तवसू which Sāyaṇa adopts, but the latter adds another explanation viz. विस्तीर्णधनौ ; so that प्रतत् is either प्राप्त or प्रतत, that is, विस्तीर्ण. But प्र+तत्+वसु is the correct analysis of the word. प्र=तत्=वसु wealth प्रतद्वसू—those who possess abundant wealth. कृतद्वसू is कृ+तत्+वसु. कृ=तत्=वसु. कृतद्वसू—exceedingly rich." Here again the reader will find that our author does not adduce any reason why प्र and तत् in प्रतद्वसू should mean wealth. Nor is it at all clear what is there to prevent us from accepting the explanation of Sāyaṇa and the analysis of the *Pada-pāṭha*. In the case of कृतद्वसू Sāyaṇa's explanation तकारोपजनश्छान्दसः seems to be quite correct, the त in शतद्वसू, कृतद्वसू etc. being due to the analogy of such forms as विदद्वसू.

What has been stated above will be quite sufficient to demonstrate the absolutely unscientific character of the entire work. Still as Prof. Rajavade requests " the reader to begin with आभर to pass on to 'who shall etc.' and then to take up काकुद् and क्रतु" we are proceeding further in compliance with his request.

On looking up आभर we find the first example given under आभर is 1. 4. 7. एमाशुमाशवे भर यज्ञश्रियं नृमादनम्। पतयन्मन्दयत्सखम्॥ There यज्ञश्रियं is explained thus :—"यज्ञः धनं तेन युक्ता श्रीः धनं यस्य—who has abundant wealth." Sāyaṇa explains यज्ञश्रियं thus यज्ञस्य सम्पद्रूपम्। Skanda-svāmin :—यज्ञं यः श्रयति स यज्ञश्रीः तं यज्ञश्रियं हविष्ट्वमापन्नम् इत्यर्थः। Venkaṭa-mādhava :—यः सोमो यज्ञं श्रयति। Apart from the fact that neither Sanskrit Yajña nor Avestic Yaśna means धनम्, यज्ञश्रियम् cannot be

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regarded as a Bahuvrīhi compound as its final member is accented. A Bahuvrīhi compound, as a rule, accents its first member (cf. *Pāṇ.* 6. 2.1 बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्). Following Sāyaṇa we may dissolve it as a तत्पुरुष in which case the final syllable of यज्ञश्री will be accented according to समासस्य (6. 1. 223) or as an उपपद when the rule गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत् (6. 2. 139) will apply.

We leave our readers to judge, whether it is preferable to take so much liberty with the grammatical rules by taking यज्ञश्रियं as a बहुव्रीहि as well as with the canons of rhetoric by regarding it as tautologous or to accept the explanations of Sāyaṇa and others which are free from these blemishes.

नृमादनम् again is explained by our author : "नृ धनम्। तेन युक्तं मादनं धनं यस्य।" Sāyaṇa explains it thus नृणाम् ऋत्विग्यजमानानां हर्षहेतुम्। Skandasvāmin :—नरो मनुष्या ऋत्विजः, तदाकारा वा देवाः तेषां मदकरम्. Veṅkata-mādhava :—मदयति च मनुष्यान्।

Here also the author's explanation involves the above two defects. Moreover he cannot suggest even the apology for a ground for rejecting the well-known senses of Skt. नृ Gk. *aner*, Avesta *nere*, Old Lat. *nero*, and Skt. मद्. Av. *madhaite*, lat. *médêri* etc.

पतयन्मन्दयत्सखम् is explained by Prof. Rajavade thus :—"पतयतां मन्दयतां सखायं ? पतयति मन्दयति इन्द्रः तस्य सखायं ? पतयति—(Indra) is a master, a ruler. मन्दयति—(Indra) gives. Soma is the companion of Indra who rules over wealth and gives it to his devotees."

This explanation must be rejected as in the case of a षष्ठीतत्पुरुष compound the final member i.e. सख would be accented, पतयन्मन्दयत्सखम् is evidently a governing compound and one is inclined to agree with Wackernagel who in his *Altindische Grammatik* (vol. II, p. 318) regards it as a double compound meaning who 'causes his friend to fly and to be glad.'

On p. 241 we find :

"यदिन्द्र नाहुषीष्वाँ ओजो नृम्णं च कृष्टिषु। यद्वा पञ्च क्षितीनां द्युम्नमा भर सत्रा विश्वानि पौंस्या (६।४६।७) × × × × × ओजः=नृम्णं=द्युम्नं=सत्रा=विश्वा=पौंस्या=riches. यद्वा पञ्च *interpolated being metrically superfluous*."

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I must confess here that I have not been able to understand the author's notions of Vedic metre. The metre here is Bṛhatī which is defined thus in the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* :—

चतुष्पदा तु बृहती प्रायः षट्त्रिंशदक्षरा।
अष्टाक्षरास्त्रयः पादास्तृतीयो द्वादशाक्षरः॥

i.e. बृहती consists of 36 syllables, and four verses, three of eight syllables each and the third of 12 syllables.

Now in the mantra यदिन्द्र if we drop out यद्वा पञ्च, the बृहती metre will be destroyed altogether.

Similarly, on pp. 49-50.

"मम देवा विहवे सन्तु सर्व
इन्द्रवन्तो मरुतो विष्णुरग्निः।
ममान्तरिक्षमुरुलोकमस्तु
मह्यं वातः पवतां कामे अस्मिन्॥ (१०।१२८।२)

.....अस्मिन् कामे—in this desire. These two words put in for making up the necessary number of syllables spoil the metre all the same. The last quarter is metrically very defective."

Here again it has to be admitted Prof. Rajavade's notions of defective metres differ very widely from the commonly accepted view. The metre in the above mantra is evidently Triṣṭubh and the last quarter is quite normal. As Macdonell points out, the scheme of the normal verse of eleven syllables is — — — —, ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — (*Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 441) and this has been scrupulously observed in the last quarter of our mantra, the ए of कामे being prosodically short (*Ibid.*, p. 437).

Again on p. 55 we read :

"विश्वान् देवाँ आ वह सोमपीतयेऽन्तरिक्षादुषस्त्वम्।
सास्मासु धा गोमदश्वावदुक्थमिषो वाजं सुवीर्यम्॥ (१।४८।१२) ;

.....सोमपीतये and गोमदश्ववत् spoil the metre and are redundant."

This is also a fairly well-known Ṛk, and Prof. Rajavade has, in his usual way, misquoted it. He prints इषः for उषः and remarks इषः may have been originally उषः .

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As for the metre, we have evidently got Sato-bṛhatī which is defined thus in the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* :—

युग्मावष्टाक्षरौ पादावयुजौ द्वादशाक्षरौ ।
सा सतोबृहती नाम ... ... ॥

i.e. when the even verses consist of eight syllables and the odd verses twelve syllables the metre is known as सतोबृहती. It is therefore difficult to understand how सोमपीतये and गोमदश्ववत् (by the way the word is अश्वावत् and not श्वव) spoil the metre.

Similarly, on p. 176 we read

"वयं त इन्द्र स्तोमेभिर्विधेम त्वमस्माकं शतक्रतो ।
महि स्थूरं शशयं राधो अद्वयं प्रस्कण्वस्य नि तोशय ॥ (८।५४।८)
.....metre requires स्तोमैः and not स्तोमेभिः ।"

(In the first place प्रस्कण्वस्य does not occur in the Ṛgveda but प्रस्कण्वाय. Secondly, it does not belong to the 54th hymn of the 8th Maṇḍala but to the 55th).

Here also the metre is Sato-bṛhatī and so metre requires स्तोमेभिः and not स्तोमैः ।

Again on p. 137 we find :

"अभागः सन्नप परेतो अस्मि
तव क्रत्वा तविषस्य प्रचेतः ।
तं त्वा मन्यो अक्रतुर्जिहीलाहं
स्वा तनूर्बलदेयाय मेहि ॥ (१०।८३।५)
.....Metre requires प्रचेतसः which then would qualify तव."

Here again the metre being त्रिष्टुप् the verses should contain eleven syllables each and so प्रचेतः is quite correct, the change of प्रचेतः into प्रचेतसः, far from improving the metre will spoil it by introducing an additional syllable.

This will suffice for आभर. Let us now follow the direction of the author and turn our attention to "who shall be our guide in interpreting Ṛg-veda ?" Under this caption (p. 271) the author at the outset quotes *Ṛv.*, 1. 1. 3. "अग्निना रयिमश्नवत् पोषमेव दिवेदिवे । यशसं वीरवत्तमम्" as also Geldner's and Macdonell's notes on the mantra and remarks : यशस् has three senses viz. water, food and wealth as given in the *Nighaṇṭu.*

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Fame, glory is nowhere its sense in Ṛv. That is altogether a modern sense of the word. Every interpreter must bear in mind one thing viz. the employment of synonymous words in one and the same Ṛk. The present Ṛk. is an instance in point. रयि, पोष, यशस् and even वीर mean waalth (?).....दिवे दिवे is dative singular of द्य which means both day and wealth. The dative according to Sāyaṇa is irregular for the locative. But I think दिवे दिवे is like सनये धनानाम्, वाजसातये, अवसे, ऊतये etc. which are results of the gifts received. दिवे दिवे = for prosperity, that one may enjoy wealth or prosperity."

The above explanation bristles with errors and misstatements. First as to यशस्. When we find यशस् in the sense of fame or glory in all the commentaries from the *Nirukta* downwards and when both Indian and European commentators agree in thinking that यशस् means fame in certain cases, and when this sense eminently suits the context in this particular case, is it not very unreasonable to reject this meaning and propose a meaning for the word which would lay the mantra open to the fault of tautology ? वीर means 'hero' in Sanskrit, it also means 'man' in Avesta and the corresponding word *vir* in Latin means 'manly or heroic man'. The sense of 'hero' suits the present mantra. Is it not therefore altogether unwarranted to attribute an arbitrary sense to the word ?

In the third place दिवे is not a dative form at all. It is the locative singular of दिव and so the learned scholar's speculation as to the meaning of the dative is entirely uncalled for.

Lastly दिवे दिवे and द्यवि द्यवि always mean day by day in the *Ṛgveda.*

On p. 272 we read : "श्रुधी हवं which occurs more than once in *Ṛv.* means 'give (us) wealth' and not hear our call. श्रु and हु have peculiar senses in *Ṛv.* श्रुष्टि, for instance, consists of श्रु and स्ति both of which mean wealth. श्रु, श्रुत्, श्रवस्, all mean wealth. The *Nighaṇṭu* gives अन्न and धन as the two senses of श्रवस्. The word never means fame in *Ṛv.*" (p. 272).

This is a string of errors. श्रुधि corresponds to Greek *kluthi*

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and means 'hear thou.' Lat. *clueo, -ere* (later also *cluo, ere*) means to be called. Cognate forms with similar meanings are found in other Indo-Germanic languages also. Corresponding to श्रुष्टिः we have Śurstiś in the *Avesta*. The stem श्रुष् found in श्रुष्टि occurs in *Av.* Sraośa, A. S. *hlos-nian*, listen, *hlys-t*, the hearing whence *hlyst-an*, Eng. listen. श्रवः corresponds to Gk. kle(w)os. The root hū gives us hava, havas, havana, homan, havīman etc. all meaning invocation and the like. We find corresponding forms in the Avesta also—Zavaiti, Zatana, Zaban etc. in the same sense. It is difficult to understand how in the face of all these well-known instances the author rejects the generally accepted meaning and proposes a new one which has no foundation in facts.

On p. 275 we find : "अस्माकमग्ने मघवत् सु दीदिहि (१।७९।५); here मघवत् qualifies सु। मघवत् सु = wealth added to wealth = abundant wealth. मघवत् सु is not one word though the पदकार says so."

The author's knowledge of the rules of accentuation will be apparent from the fact that the locative plural form मघवत्सु is regarded by him as two separate words though there is only one accent.

Again on p. 175 the author explains सकृत् thus—"or, हे सकृत् O thou possessed of wealth." Even admitting for argument's sake that कृत् means wealth, सकृत् can, by no stretch of the imagination, be regarded as a vocative as it is accented on the second syllable ; and vocatives, as everybody knows, accent the first syllable when they are accented at all (Pāṇ. 6. 1. 198, Hirt, *Indo-germanische Grammatik* Vol. v § 216).

He next (p. 275) quotes Ṛk 2.2.6. स नो रेवत् समिधानः स्वस्तये सं ददस्वान् रयिमस्मासु दीदिहि and remarks : "This Ṛk. leaves no doubt about दि mean ing to give." The natural construction of the *Ṛk* is रयिं संददस्वान् दीदिहि which clearly shows दि here means anything but 'to give'. The Skt. root दी goes back to I.E. dei, deiā and means 'to shine' and there is no reason for taking it here in the sense of 'to give'.

On the same page we find : "दोषावस्तर्—दिवानक्तम् .....The Padakāra

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treats दोषावस्तर् as a compound which it is not, just as दोषावस्तोः is not a compound."

दोषा वस्तोः is not a compound because the two words have two separate accents. But since दोषावस्तर् in all three places where it occurs has got only one accent, it cannot, पदकार or no पदकार, be regarded as two separate words. As Pandit Sitaram Joshi points out, the use of the expression क्षपां वस्ता in *Ṛv.*, 3. 49. 4 as also in Āśvalāyana's *Śrautasūtra*, III. 12. 4 : यदि सायं दोषावस्तर्नमः स्वाहेति। यदि प्रातः प्रातर्वस्तर्नमः स्वाहेति clearly show that cannot mean 'night' in this connexion.

On p. 222 Prof. Rajavade writes : "सौभगा = riches. चेतस् has misled all as they have not been able to forget its modern meaning. चेतस् is not the mind though I laboured under that impression for years, but wealth from चित् to give. सु धनम्। तेन युक्तं चेतः धनं यस्मिन् तं, क्रतुं धनम् सुचेतसं क्रतुम् = abundant wealth. We must forget modern Sanskrit and think in Ṛgvedic terms. Otherwise our labour must end in nothing. क्रतु nowhere means प्रज्ञा."

We should no doubt be chary of attributing later senses to Ṛgvedic words but is it reasonable to suppose that each and every word in the *Ṛg-veda* must have undergone a change of meaning in later Sanskrit ?

Skt. Kratuḥ corresponds to Av. Xratuś, Gk. Kratos, Hom. Gk. Kratus and certainly means प्रज्ञा in some cases. As regards चेतस् it is well-known that the root चित् means 'to perceive' and as the learned professor has not been able to adduce any reason why it should mean 'to give' he would have done well, in our opinion, to stick to his original view.

On p. 7 the learned scholar says : "नित्यानवरताजस्रम् (अमर १।१।६६) ; अजस्र = नित्य. This sense is modern, not Ṛgvedic." Yet on p. 144 he says अजस्रम् = constant." भवति विज्ञतमः क्रमशो जनः।

On p. 21 Prof. Rajavade explains भाव्यम् as भविष्यमाणम्, his explanation in English being "what is to be." So he has clearly used

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भविष्यमाणम् here in the कर्तृवाच्य, but भू, as is well-known, is read in the धातुपाठ as a परस्मैपदी root.

On p. 30 we find "शर्धयित्रीः हिं सन्तीः करोति" and on p. 162 "आशुषाणासः स्तुवन्त्यः"। With all the deference due to the learned scholar, we must point out that no Sanskrit grammar sanctions the forms हिंसन्तीः and स्तुवन्त्यः. They ought to be हिंसतीः and स्तुवत्यः।

In direct violation of all rules of grammar, ancient and modern, Indian and European, our author everywhere regards नावा as a nom. sing. form even though the context lends no support to this outrage on grammar. It is well-known that नौ Gk. *nau* is the nom. sing. and नावा the Instr. sing. of नौ. See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. III § 121, 121 a α, Meillet et Vendryes, *Traité de Grammaire Comparée des Langues Classiques* p. 96, Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik* vol. II, p. 66, Caroy, *Grammaire de la Langue Sanscrite*, p. 80.

On p. 35 अविम् is explained "अविरोम्नां कृतं पवित्रम्." Strict grammar requires अविरोमभिः, अविरोम्नाम् by the way should be spelt with a ण.

On p. 41 त्रिः is explained as त्रीणि. This is not correct. त्री means त्रीणि in the *Ṛv.* (Pāṇ 6. 1. 70). The corresponding form in Younger Av. is *thrī*. cf. Lat. *trī-ginta*, 30, Lith. *try' lika*, (vide Wackernagel III, § 177) a). त्रिः on the other hand means three times (Pāṇ 5. 4. 18). cf. Younger Av. *thriš*, Gk. *tris*. (Hirt, *Indo-germanische Grammatik*. Vol. III. § p. 309, 318),

On p. 94 we find "जोहुवतः irregular for जोहुवन्ति. The wrong form is due to the nearest word इन्द्राग्नी। जोहुवति, जोहुवतः, जोहुवन्ति" and on p. 159 "घन् reduplicated becomes घनिघन्, घनिघ्नति, घनिघ्नतः, घनिघ्नन्ति. घनिघ्नत् (=घनिघ्नन्) present participal".

We would advise the author to let the यङ्लुगन्त forms severely alone, for they have landed even experts in grammar in disaster.

On p. 111 we find "यक्षि is the 2nd per. sing. imperative." Is सि the termination for the imperative?

On the same page we read "शिन् =give, from शक्+स् (of लेट्)." This is repeated on p. 112. But why should the स् of लेट् change the radical

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आ to इ ? Moreover, in the passage quoted by the author himself on p. 158—शिक्षा शचीवस्तव नः शचीभिः can शिक्षा by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as a लेट् form ? Does a लेट् 2nd person form ever end in आ ? The fact is the स belongs to the desiderative and not to लेट्.

On p. 140 we read पर "beyond (the reach of), the word governs the accusative or the instrumental." Does it not govern the ablative also ? Vide Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax* § 87, Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students* § 201. 4 etc.

On p. 72 we find "भूरिश्रृङ्गाः—बहुदीप्ताः (Durga)." As a matter of fact, however, Durga uses the unimpeachable expression बहुदीप्तयः.।

On p. 126 the learned professor gives us a very interesting derivation of महिमानम्। He says : "महिमानं was most probably महि मानं (a great gift) i.e. *two* padas and not *one*." The fact that it is the making of great gifts that brings greatness to a man would seem to set up a strong presumption in favour of this derivation ! cf. सर्वे गुणाः काञ्चनमाश्रयन्ति। This highly interesting derivation reminds us of a similar derivation of "wife"—

Half of wish, half of fear,

So a partner will appear."

Similarly on p. 241 he explains प्रिय thus—"प्री to give. प्रिय = what is given, wealth." This would seem to explain clearly how Sanskrit प्रिय, प्रिया—Av. *frya*, Goth. *freis* came to mean dear, beloved, and help us to understand how the English words friend, friendship etc., which are derived from the same root came to acquire their modern signification !

We took up this volume of Vedic studies from the pen of an Indian scholar with high hopes but we have been most painfully disappointed to find the author without an insight into the fundamental principles of Comparative Philology, rules of accentuation, Vedic metre and scientific method playing havoc with the mantras of the *Ṛgveda*. Well has it been said, बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति।

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It only remains to draw up a short list of some of the words which according to Prof. Rajavade mean 'wealth' or 'to give.'

रुद्र=पृ=to give. रोदसी=wealthy ones पर्वन्=धनम्। ऋजीपिन्=वृषन्= a giver (ii).

ऋ=जि=आ=पा=धनम्। वनेषु=अर्वत्सु=उस्रियासु=हृत्सु=दिवि=अद्रौ=into treasures of wealth. विततान=अदधात्=gave. वन्+अं=वनं=a gift. अप्= wealth. दिवि loc. sing. of द्यु=wealth. अद्=रिः=wealth, अ=न्तरि=ऋं=wealth. पयस् from पि to give. सु (=to give) + मः=सोमः (p. iii)

"Sometimes you have a string of epithets having the same sense as in सनितः सुसनितरुग्र चित्र चेतिष्ठ सूनृत (८।४६।२०); सनितः=सुसनितः=उग्र=चित्र= चेतिष्ठ=सूनृत=O giver." नृ=to give नृत=a gift, wealth. अनृत=abundant wealth. चि=to give. चेतृ=a giver (iv).

श्रुष्टि is equal to श्रु+स्ति, श्रु=स्ति=wealth. This स्ति forms the last syllable of अभिष्टि, गविष्टि, दिविष्टि and श्रुष्टि—all of which mean abundant wealth. स्वस्ति too has स्ति at the end. स्वं धनम्। तेन युक्तः स्तिः धनं स्वस्तिः (v).

The word [सुरभिष्टमम्] is made up of सु+र+भि+स्त+मं. सु=र=भि=स्त= wealth. (p. v)

भि in द्युभिः and सुरभिः means wealth. (v)

ऋ=दु=to give, a gift, wealth (v)

प्र=तत्=वसु=wealth (vi)

कृ=तत्=वसु. कृतद्वसू=exceedingly rich (vi)

क्रतु and दक्ष both mean wealth (p. 11)

ब्रह्मणा=अर्वता=by means of our wealth (p. 22).

राधस् and श्रवस् mean riches (p. 23).

प्र=wealth (p. 28)

ऋणम्=wealth. स्वर, अहर् and क्षपा were used to denote wealth (p. 33)

त्मना=with gifts of wealth (p. 42)

यज्ञ=what is given, wealth (p. 86)

ऊर्जम्=धनम् (p. 89)

आयुः=life, that is wealth (p. 89)

आ+चेतत्=is given, चित्=to give. (p. 90)

शस्=to give. शस्ति=a gift. (p. 104)

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भद्रः क्रतुः=a rich treasure (p. 104)

श्रवः=क्रतुः=wealth (p. 104)

क्रतदः=विश्वः=धनवन्तः. नर्यं=धनवन्तम् (p. 106)

शग्धि=दूधि=यंसि=शिशीहि=give (p. 107)

नृ=वाज=धन=क्रतु=wealth (p. 108)

अर्वत्=नृ=धन=क्रतु=wealth (p. 108)

पुरु and क्षु both mean wealth (p. 108)

क्रतुं=गातुम्=धनम् (p. 108)

क्रतु, वर, श्वात्र, अर्क, गोत्र=wealth (p. 112)

रै=वसु=क्रतुः=अमृतं=रायः=वयः=wealth (p. 113)

यज्ञ=जेत्र=क्रतु=रयि=वीर=यशस्=अवः=wealth (p. 114)

चित् and चेतस् both mean wealth (p. 115)

द्रविण, ऋत, नमस्, स्व, क्रतु, श्री, दक्ष and मनस् all mean wealth (p. 116)

दक्ष, क्रतु and वसु=wealth (p. 116)

काव्येन=with wealth (p. 116)

क्रत्वा=अवसा=धनेन (p. 117)

मन्यु=strength, wealth (p. 119)

वसु, वरिवः, क्रतु, रै and अवः, all mean wealth (p. 119)

क्रतु and दक्ष both mean wealth (p. 119)

यज्ञ, ऋभु, वयस्, क्रतु, दक्ष, सु, प्रजा, इष्, सर्व, वीर, विश्, शर्ध and इन्द्रिय all mean wealth (p. 156)

वसु=गातु=वाज=श्रवः=wealth (p. 160)

नेद्=देव=चनः=सु=चेतुन=महः=रायः = महि=शवस्= चक्षस्=भुज्=मघ=वीर्य= wealth. (p. 232) etc. etc.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

The Indian Antiquary, vol. lxi, Oct., 1932

SIR AUREL STEIN.—*Alexander's passage of the Jhelum.* The writer supports Cunningham's location of Jalalpur as the place where Alexander crossed the Jhelum.

A. H. LONGHURST—*The Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Southern India.* This is a topographical account of the site where the Archæological Deptt. have excavated the famous *Mahācaitya* along with a site-plan and pictures of the stūpa, and those of the locket containing the bone-relic of Buddha. In summarising the contents of the inscriptions, the writer reproduces the mistake of Prof. Vogel, pointed in this Journal (vide *IHQ.*, vol. VII, pp. 651ff.). He supports, though a bit hesitatingly, the opinion of Dr. Hirananda Sastri that the Mahācetiya was originally built to enshrine some corporeal remains of Buddha.

D. C. GANGULY.—*The History af the Paramāra-Mahākumāras.* This is the first portion of a continued article and contains the names of the inscriptional sources from which the history of the Paramāra-Mahākumāras may be reconstructed.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY.—*The Nāthlaung Temple and its gods (Pagan, Burma).* This is the last portion of a continued article, dealing with the images which are opined by the writer as those of the Vāmana or Trivikrama and of Kalki-avatāra. The paper is concluded by a dissertation on the art and historical background of the Nāthlaung images

Ibid., Nov., 1932

R. R. HALDAR.—*The Ghoṣuṇḍī Inscription of the Second Century B.C.* A large portion of the inscription has already been edited in the *E. I.* The present fragment records the construction of a stone wall round a place of worship for Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. This is important for the history of the Nārāyaṇa worship.

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*Some Further Notes on the above Inscription.*

D. C. GANGULY.—*The History of the Paramāra Mahākumāras.*

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B. A. SALETORE.—*The Vijayanagara Conquest of Ceylon.* It is proposed in this continued article to show that Ceylon was under Vijayanagara during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virūpākṣa.

Ibid., Dec., 1932

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—*To the East of Samataṭa.* The writer supports the conclusions of Pandit Padmanatha Bhattacharya in regard to his identification of *Shih-li-ch'-a-to-lo*, *Ka-mo lang-ka* and *To-lo-po-ti* (mentioned by Yuan-chwang) with Sylhet, Comilla, and Hill Tipperah respectively, but objects to the identification of other three places.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*The Gāy-ḍāṇār Festival: The Cult of the Mother Goddess.* This is mainly an account of a peculiar mode of worshipping Lakṣmī, the corn Goddess as practised in several districts of Bengal. It is called *Gārśī* (a corruption of *Gārhasthya*) *vrata* and is observed on the *Saṃkrānti* day of the month of Kārttika.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*The Initial Date of the Gāṅgeya Era.*—The conclusion is that the Gāṅgeya era was started in 496 A.C.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, July, 1932

M. GOVINDA PAI.—*The Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas.*

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*Mr. Vansittart's Mission to Mīr Qāsim, 1762.*

LANKA SUNDARAM.—*The Revenue Administration of the Northern Sircars (1769-1786).*

M. RAMA RAO.—*The Political History of the Kākatiyas.* This instalment of the article deals with the reign of Pratāparudra and his successors.

R. SUBBA RAO.—*The History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
Sept. and Dec., 1932, vol. xviii, pt. ii

G. RAMADAS.—*Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇadeva, dated 526 Gaṅga era.* The inscription is in Sans-

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krit and written in Nāgarī characters with a mixture of Oriya. Kaliṅganagara (mod. Mukhalingam) is mentioned in the grant. The date of the inscription, Mr. Das writes, is very important as on the basis of the date given in this inscription and with the help of mathematics, it can be shown that Gaṅga era started Ś. 362 and 389. He has prepared a list of the kings of the Gaṅga family, showing the duration of reign of each in Śaka years. The facsimiles of the plates are given along with a critical edition and an English translation of the charter.

R. S. TRIPATHI.—*On the Extent of Harṣa's Empire.* The author discusses in this paper the following points: (a) the limits of Harṣa's paternal kingdom of Thanesvar, which he inherited after the assassination of Rājyavardhana; (b) the extent of the Maukhari dominions, which came under Harṣa after his seat of government was transferred to Kanauj; (c) the territorial acquisitions of Harṣa as a result of his campaigns and conquests; and (d) Yuan Chwang's testimony regarding the political status of the countries he visited, and the relations they bore to Kanauj.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*Mīr Qāsim at Patna, 1761.*—In this paper there is an account of the political affairs that confronted Mīr Qāsim in 1761 and the steps taken by the Nawab to consolidate his position. The writer shows how the Nawab "got rid of the Shahzadah, prevented a close alliance between him and the Company, secured the recall of Carnac and Coote, ruined Rāmnārāyaṇ and his associates, established his complete control over Patna, and finally freed himself from the control of the Company's officials."

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—*The Study of folklore and tradition in India.* In this paper the writer points to the need of comparative and regional study of the folklore of different races, peoples and countries, and the importance of the science of Folklore as a handmaid of History. He then dwells on the importance of Tradition as a source of History where contemporary authentic records are wanting.

R. D. BANERJI.—*A Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmarāja.* The writer contends that the date 512 cannot have referred to the Śaka era. The genealogy shows that Dharmarāja was much later than Mādhavarāja II (619-20 A.B.), hence Dharmarāja cannot be placed earlier than him.

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R. D. BANERJI.—*The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja.* The facsimiles of the plates are given along with a tentative edition of the inscription. The donor, who is a member of the Bhañja family, grants a village to two brāhmaṇas. The most important part in the inscription is the date which is given thus : *Saṃvat 8, 100 Kārttika Sudi 8.*

Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1930, vol. xxxi, no. 83

V. GOLOUBEW.—*The Art of India and Indo-China with special reference to Ceylon.* Prof. Goloubew holds that the whole peninsula of Indo-China, excepting Tongking, had Indian culture. He then speaks about the Sanskrit and other inscriptions found there. He shows by dealing with some of the images that the Cambodian art borrowed a lot of formulas from India, but they have also have their own traditions. He then refers to an image of Buddha, a work which he thinks of Ceylonese origin, and some of the temple architectures of Indo-China which resemble those of Ceylon. Lastly he refers to a Cambodian image of a god found in Ceylon and kept in the Colombo Musuem.

S. PARANAVITANA.—*The Excavations in the Citadel at Anurādhapura.*

Journal of Oriental Research, July-October, 1932

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Mahīpāla of the Caṇḍakauśikam.* This is an attempt to establish the view that Kṣemīśvara produced his drama *Caṇḍakauśika* in the beginning of the 10th century A.C. under the patronage of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla I. Arguments have been put forward to show that the verse in the drama which speaks of Mahīpāla defeating the Karṇāṭakas cannot have any reference to Mahīpāla of Bengal as that king cannot be credited with such a feat.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—*Vijaya Kampavarman.* Against the prevalent opinion that Kampavarman was a son of the later Pallava king Nandivarman III, and ruled jointly with Aparājita in the 9th century A.C., the paper points out that he was a son of Aparājita and was a reigning king from about 907 to 933 A.C.

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P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil.*

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*A New Commentary on the Amarakośa.* The commentary, believed to have been written by an Utkala scholar some time after the 17th century, mentions 28 works many of which are unknown or little known. A short account of some of these works has been given in this paper.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1932.

R. F. G. MÜLLER.—*Zum Alter der frühen Fachüberlieferungen der indischen Medizin, der Saṃhitā des Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa.* (On the earliest tradition about Indian medicine and the antiquity of the Saṃhitās of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa).

The author tries to ascertain the time of Vāgbhaṭa by referring to the various authorities in which he or his work is mentioned and states that 7th century A. C. can be definitely accepted as the latest date. The second in the series of writers on ancient Indian medicine is Suśruta. To ascertain his date, the writer collects the traditions about his life and then tries to fix the probable period when the science of surgery came into vogue in India, but he finds difficulty in putting the date of Suśruta within narrow limits. He also examines the evidences relating to the time of Caraka. His conclusion is that the collections of writings going under the name of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa must have been in existence by the middle of the second half of the first millennium A.C. (before 700).

STEN KONOW.—*Kalawan Copper-plate Inscription of the year 134.*

This is a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in 5 lines found at Kalawan, 3 miles S. E. of Sirkap in Taxila. The inscription records the erection of a *Stūpa* containing relics for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas by an Upāsikā in the year 134 of Azes on the 23rd day of Śrāvaṇa. Prof. Sten Konow gives his observations about the Era indicated by the date in the inscription, and draws attention to the various points of interest in it.

Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers, vol. I

L. P. PANDEYA.—*The Antiquity of Mahākośala.* In this article

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passages have been quoted from ancient works mentioning the name of Kośala.

V. V. MIRASHI.—*Notes on the Bilhari Stone inscription.* The inscription describes the early Kalachuri kings of Tripuri beginning with Kokkala I, and contains an interesting reference to the celebrated poet Rājaśekhara that may help to ascertain how old he was in a particular year.

D. P. MISHRA.—*The Search for Laṅkā.* The note suggests that Laṅkā is to be located on that portion of the Bay of Bengal which washes the shores of the northern part of the present Andhra country as then and only then can the description of the place in the *Rāmāyaṇa* be appropriate.

L. P. PANDEYA.—*Mahākośala in Inscriptions.* The article deals with portions of various inscriptions referring to the country of Mahākośala.

HIRALAL.—*Tummāṇa.* This is a description of a village called Tumāna in the Bilaspur District as also of the relics found there. The place has been identified with the earlier capital of the Haihayas called Tummāṇa in the inscriptions.

L. P. PANDEYA.—*Mahānadī, the famous River of Mahākośala.*

JAGANNATH PRASAD.—*Ancient Cave Temples for Theatrical Performances.* The caves of Sītābeṅgarā and the Yogīmārā on the Ramgar Hill in Surguja State are believed to have been used as pleasure resorts in ancient times. The former used as a theatre, the latter as a trysting place for lovers. The places have been described, and the age of the Yogīmārā inscription discussed in the paper.

L. P. PANDEYA.—*Mahākośala and its History.*

Tirumalai Śrī Veṅkateśvara, September, 1932

P. V. JAGADISA IYER.—*Places of Antiquarian Interest in South India.*

T. A. VENKATESWAR DIKSHITAR.—*A Reply to some of the Criticisms of Dr. Thibaut in Śaṅkara's Interpretation of the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa.*

M. RAMKRISHNA KAVI.—*Janāśraya School of Sanskrit Prosody.* The *Janāśrayichandoviciti* is a work on prosody surmised to have been written about 600 A.C. by Gaṇasvāmin under the patronage

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of king Jaṇāśraya, probably of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty of the Deccan. A number of verses quoted in the work has been traced, and the convention introduced in its terminology has been explained.

V. VIJAYARAGHACHARIAR.—शिल्प सूत्रम . The edition of the work continues.

Ibid., October, 1932

C. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.—*Tiruvalluvar and his Kural.* In this paper dealing with the ancient Tamil poet Tiruvalluvar and his work, the writer examines the views of the previous scholars as to the personal history and the age of the poet.

M. DORASWAMAYYA.—*Kumāradāsa and Jānakīharaṇa.* From a newly found Ms. of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, extra verses have been supplied in the paper showing that the printed texts of the poem are incomplete. It has also been shown that Kumāradāsa quotes an author of the 6th century and cannot therefore be placed at a later period.

A. PADMANABIAH.—*Early Dravidian Races.*

Ibid., Nov., 1933

C. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.—*Tiruvalluvar and his Kural.* This instalment of the paper discusses the myths and legends connected with the life of the divine poet, also the value of his *Kural.*

A. PADMANABIAH.—*Early Dravidian Races.*

M. RAMKRISHNA KAVI.—*Nṛttapāra—A type of Drama.* It has been shown that the *Nṛttapāra*, referred to in the *Bhagavadajjukīya* but not mentioned in the later works on dramaturgy, represents a special type of drama, and was prevalent from the time of Subandhu till the days of Mahendravikrama.

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Prākṛt Verses in the Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra*

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A = Apabhraṃśa.

a, b, c and d indicate respectively the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th *pāda* (quarter) of a stanza.

B = The Manuscript of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the India Office Library.

C = The Chowkhamba text of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra*.

HOS = Harvard Oriental Series.

K = The Kāvyamālā text of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra*.

KM = The Kāvyamālā Series.

M = Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt.

Mg = Māgadhī Prākṛt.

NŚ = The Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra*.

R = The Manuscript of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Ś = Śaurasenī Prākṛt.

Except in the section 2 of the Introduction, bracketed numerals indicating the chapter and verse of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra* refer to the Kāvyamālā edition of the work. Numerals not so bracketed refer to the Chowkhamba text of the same.

INTRODUCTION

1. The Present Edition

Though the entire text of the Bharata-*Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NŚ.*) has been twice published, most of the Pkt. verses which occur in the chapter XXXII as examples of different kinds of *dhruvās* (a class of songs to be sung during the performance of a *rūpaka*) are in a state of

* A portion of this work originally formed a part of the thesis offered to the Calcutta University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of the Master of Arts in Comparative Philology.

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hopeless mutilation. Hence, no apology need be offered for making an attempt of critically editing them which by reason of their occurrence in a work dated variously between 200 B. C, and 700 A. C. (S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I. p. 23 ; Winternitz, *Geschichte der indische Litteratur*, vol. III, p. 8.) have a special fascination for the students of the Middle Indo-Aryan. Besides this, the language of the verses may incidentally furnish important hints as to the age of the *NŚ.* as a whole, which, in spite of a view to the contrary, seems to have reasons in its favour to be taken as the composition of a single author. Apart from the linguistic and historical importance of the verses, their literary value is also not inconsiderable. Specimens of beautiful lyric poetry,—these Pkt. *dhruvās*, unlike Pkt. anthologies, such as the *Gāhā-sattasaī*, which treats almost exclusively of the *ādirasa*, deal with different *rasas* on a variety of subjects mostly drawn from nature (*vide infra* § 5).

2. The Critical Apparatus

The present edition of the Pkt. verses of the *NŚ.* has been based on four texts of the work which have been referred to as B, C, K and R. The following is a description of the texts :

B. This Ms. belongs to the India Office Library (London), and was acquired by Bühler. It is a modern Devanāgarī transcript probably from a South Indian original which seems to be closely allied to Mss. used for the KM. text of the *NŚ.*

C. This is the text of the *NŚ.* published in the Kāshi Sanskrit Series from Chowkhamba in 1929. This text claims to be an edition based on five Mss. which have not been described. As the Pkt. verses in the text do not possess any variant it may be surmised that most of the Mss. were fragmentary and lacked ch. XXXII containing the Pkt. verses.

K. This is the text of the *NŚ.* issued in KM. It is based on two Mss. which, though not described, seem to have been fairly complete. Pkt. verses in this text contain variants from both the Mss. *Ka* and *Kha* which will be called K^1 and K^2 respectively.

R. This is a palm-leaf *pothi* of the *NŚ* written in the Grantha script. It belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and forms a part of its Whish collection. This text, though very corrupt in its orthography is fairly complete in portions containing the Pkt. verses, and has substantial agreement with C. But it

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omits some verses to be found in C. and gives some fragments not to be met with in C, or any other text and a complete verse omitted in C. but occurring in other texts. Besides this, R. at times gives the verses in a different order. To show the difference of arrangement of verses in the two texts (C. and R.), verses represented by their serial numbers as given in C. have been arranged below with necessary notes in the order of their occurrence in R.

(Fragments of verses not to be found in C. have been described in the Appendix A).

58-152, (omits 60 and 66)
163-174,
176 (fragmentary)
Two fragments not traceable in other texts,
176 (the remaining portion of the verse),
178, 182,
One fragment not traceable in any other text
216, 218, (omits 220)
222-234, (omits 236)
238-249,

One additonal verse which occurs in other texts but has been omitted in C.

250-254,
289, 291 (fragmentary)
One fragment not traceable in any other text,
184,
One fragment not traceable in any other text,
186,
One fragment not traceable in other text.
188-214,
291 (fragmentary),
293-324,

As regards the number and reading of the Pkt. verses, the four texts of the *NŚ.* fall clearly into two groups which may be said to constitute *two different recensions*, shorter and longer. B. and K. represent the shorter recension while C. and R. the longer one. Besides peculiar readings and their difference in the number of verses, the order of verses in the two recensions sometimes vary. The following are two comparative tables showing the correspon-

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dence and difference of the two recensions. In the first table serial numbers of Pkt. verses as well as Skt. verses (defining metres) have been used.

Correspondence

Longer Recension (represented by C.)				Shorter Recension (represented by K.)
47-166	...	...	...	48-166
167-169	...	...	...	nil
170-178	...	...	...	168-169
172-173	...	...	...	174-175
174	...	...	...	nil
175-176	...	...	...	172-173
177-178	...	...	...	nil
179	...	...	...	181
180-199	...	...	...	nil
200-201	...	...	...	185-186
202-203	...	...	...	nil
204-210	...	...	...	187-193
211	...	...	...	nil
212-220	...	...	...	195-203
221-222	...	...	...	206-207
223-236	...	...	...	209-222
237-238	...	...	...	nil
239-242	...	...	...	229-230
243-244	...	...	...	223-224
245-249	...	...	...	231-235
250-255	...	...	...	238-243
256-261	...	...	...	nil
262-264	...	...	...	246-247
265-268	...	...	...	nil
272-287	...	...	...	248-260
288-289	...	...	...	272-273
290-291	...	...	...	267-268
292-293	...	...	...	261-262
294-295	...	...	...	269-270
296-297	...	...	...	277-278
298-301	...	...	...	263-266
302-303	...	...	...	274-276
304-306	...	...	...	279-281

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307	...	...	...	nil
308	...	...	...	282
309-311	...	...	...	nil
312-313	...	...	...	286 287
314	...	...	...	nil
315-317	...	...	...	289-291
318-322	...	...	...	nil
323	...	...	...	298
324	...	...	...	nil

Difference

Besides its correspondence with the longer recension the shorter recension (as available in K. and B.) gives entirely different examples of some *dhruvās*, and some additional *dhruvās* (*nos.* 150, 170, 177, 179, 183, 204, 225, 227, 284, 295-296 in K.) with their examples. Serial numbers of those Pkt. verses given as examples of *dhruvās* of same metres are given below :

Shorter Recension (as represented by K.)				Longer Recension (as represented by C.)
83	...	...	...	79
87	...	...	...	83
97	...	...	...	93
128	...	...	..	126
152	...	...	...	150
163	...	...	...	163
167	...	...	...	167
176	...	...	...	174
262	...	...	...	293
278	...	...	...	297
283	...	...	...	309
288	...	...	...	314
290	...	...	...	316
292	...	...	...	318

The question which of the two recensions is nearer the original is indeed a very puzzling one and cannot be decided at once. From the materials at our disposal it may however be tentatively accepted that the shorter recension in its orthography has remained nearer

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the original, while a number of its verses have been emended, and as for verses which read differently but are examples of same *dhruvās* as they are in the longer recension, nothing very definite can be said (see below the section on Reconstruction). And as for the longer recension it may be accepted tentatively that though successive generations of scribes have done the utmost violence to its orthography it has preserved the words of the original better than the shorter recension. But in spite of this merit, readings of the longer recension too do not appear to have escaped emendation. Such emendations have been pointed out in the Notes. The orthographical defect of the longer recension is due to a more or less rigid application of the rule about the elision of intervocal stops. This orthographic change in all probability occurred long after Vararuci (*c.* 500 A.C.) wrote his grammar and the true meaning of his sūtra *Ka-ga-ca-ja-ta-da-pa-ya-vāṃ prāyo lopaḥ* (II. 2) was lost. Pkt. verses not only of the *NŚ.* but of classical works like Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* also did not escape the rough handling of emendators. The following is an instance of such violence.

As an example of Ś. the king-scholar Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* quotes from the act VI of the *Śakuntalā* a verse recited by a *ceṭī*. This is as follows :—

तुमं सि मए चुअङ्कुर दिण्णो कामस्स गहिदधणुहस्स ।
जुवइ-मणोमोहणसह पञ्चब्भहिओ सरो होहि ॥

This is the reading of the KM. edition of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (p. 125). The fact that all intervocal *d*'s excepting one have been dropped shows clearly the emendator's hand. This verse with slight variation occurs in the Devanāgarī recension of the *Śakuntalā*. The Nirṇaya-sāgara edition of the work with Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary representing this recension reads the verse as follows :—

तुमं सि मए चुदङ्कुर दिण्णो कामस्स गहिदधणुअस्स ।
पहिअजणजुवइलक्खो पञ्चब्भहिओ सरो होहि ॥

In spite of the slight variation this reading clearly shows the Ś. character of the verse better ; for it suppresses only one intervocal *d*. However it is astonishing to find that Cappeller in his edition of the Southern recension of the play reads the couplet with all intervocal *d*'s elided. And besides this he records no variant for the same. Are we to believe that the Mss. supported him

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uniformly? In the Bengali recension edited by Pischel the verse reads differently to some extent, and is as follows :—

अरिहसि मे चुअङ्कुरो दिण्णो कामस्स गहिअचावस्स ।
सच्चविअजुवइलक्खो पञ्चब्भहिओ सरो होउ ॥ (HOS. text)

Variants recorded by Pischel abundantly show the original Ś. character of the verse. Evidently he forced a new reading on the text wiping off all traces of Ś. May we not assume that Indian scholars of the past too, at times, made similar emendations? Variants of the verse quoted above may support one in that direction. A further support to the above theory is given by Hillebrandt who has shown that some verses of *Śakuntalā*, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, and *Mudrārākṣasa* which were ordinarily believed to be M. are in fact Ś. According to this scholar the Ś. character of these verses is clearly indicated the practice of the very best manuscripts showing the change of *t* to *d* (which according to him is a characteristic of Ś.) in striking contrast with other verses where *t* is not changed to *d*, but is suppressed (a characteristic of M.). He strengthened his case by pointing out the fact that on account of their Ś. character some verses got mixed up with prose Ś. (Pkt.) passages (Introduction to *Mudrārākṣasa*, pp. iii-iv). He brought to light four such verses (*Ibid*). In spite of this Hillebrandt saw no reason to doubt the so-called old rule which restricted M. to songs. That the *NŚ.* prescribes Ś. for the *dhruvā* songs and does not anywhere mention M. is almost enough to show that the rule considered to be old by Hillebrandt was later than this work. The earliest mention of M. in connection with the drama is probably in the *Daśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya (c. 1000 A.C.). The relevant passage is as follows :—

स्त्रीणां तु प्राकृतं प्रायः शौरसेन्यधमेषु च ।
पिशाचात्यन्तनीचादौ पैशाचं मागधं तथा ॥ (II. 60. Hall's ed.)

This couplet however is liable to another interpretation as well which would remove M. from consideration. Thus it may be assumed that Kālidāsa, Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta did not use any M.

3. Reconstruction

For the verses which occur in both the recensions the reading of the longer recension and the orthography of the shorter one have been adopted, and only in exceptional cases the readings of the

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shorter recension have been utilised. (see Notes). As for verses which occur exclusively in the longer recension, and the shorter recension has not any reading identical with them (*vide* Appendix B), they have been, whenever necessary, subjected to orthographic emendation to bring them in a line with the rest of the verses. Justification of this emendation is two-fold. First, the text of the longer recension in spite of the emendator's interference has at times accidentally preserved the traces of its orthographic kinship with the shorter recension. A careful study of the verses occurring only in the longer recension, will convince one about this fact. Secondly, the style and expressions used in these verses as well as their subject-matter are in such a striking harmony with the rest of the verses of longer recension, that one will scarcely be inclined to consider the former as later compositions.

The case of verses which occur only in the shorter recension but correspond to some verses of the longer recension (*vide* Appendix B) is very curious. Before getting access to more data in the shape of old Mss. it is not possible to say definitely whether they are the corrupt and emended form of the original verses or are later compositions very badly handed down,

According to good Mss. the verses under discussion present the *Ya śruti* in most places where intervocal stops have been dropped. From this it appears that this *Ya-śruti*, far from being an exclusive characteristic of the so-called Jaina Prākṛts (Ardha-Māgadhī and others), exists also in the Ś. of the Sanskrit drama. The rather systematic absence of the *Ya-śruti* mostly in final syllables and in some medial syllables, however, need not be attributed to scribe's negligence ; since, later enquiry into this phenomenon may yet be able to give it some phonetic explanation. Hence no emendation has been made in case of the latter kind of omission of the *Ya-śruti*.

So far about the orthographic emendations and their omission. Apart from this, conjectural emendation whether of a syllable or of a word has sometimes been made. These however have not been marked, as they are of a trivial nature, and to do otherwise would look cumbrous. They may be detected with no great difficulty after a comparison of the various readings. But an exception has been made in case of those emendations which lack any kind of palæographic or literary possibility, or have otherwise failed to give thorough satisfaction to the editor. These have been enclosed within square brackets.

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In spite of the editor's best efforts the verses marked with asterisks (XVII, XXXIII, XLVII, LI, LII, LV, LVI, LVIII, LIX, LXIII, XCV, CII, CVI, CVII, CVIII) could not be reconstructed. To them, therefore the editor draws the attention of scholars who may be interested in Prākṛtic studies and are in a position to have access to fresh materials.

4. The Language and Metre etc.

It has been mentioned before that the Pkt. verses of the ch. XXXII of the *NŚ.* are examples of different kinds of *dhruvās* or songs sung during the performance of a *rūpaka.* This fact gives a clue for ascertaining as to which of the Pkt. dialects they belong to. For, in the same chapter of the *NŚ.* it has been distinctly laid down that the *dhruvās* are to be in Ś.

भाषा तु शूरसेनानां ध्रुवायां सम्प्रयोजयेत् [v. l. भाषादि सौरसेनानां तु in BK. शूरसेनी स्यात् ध्रुवाणां in CR. XXXII. 408 (390)] i.e. the language of the Śūrasenas should be employed in a *dhruvā.* This ignores the later rule which prescribes Mahārāṣṭrī as the language of songs of ladies.

However there may be one objection about taking Ś. to be the language of the *dhruvās* ; for, in them *a*-bases of nouns have *-mmi* as their locative-singular ending as an alternative to *-e.* Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāma Tarkavāgīśa in their Pkt. grammars have not allowed this freedom to Ś. Probably in pursuance of this rule Pischel also in his grammar opines the absence of a locative *-mmi* for *a*-bases (*Grammatik der Prākrit-sprachen*, p. 253). And he finds fault with Rājaśekhara for using such forms as *majjhammi* (*Karp.*, 16. 8) along with *majjhe* (*Karp.*, 12. 10 ; 22. 9) ;*kavvammi*-kāvye (*Karp.* 16. 8) ; *Rāmammi*-Rāme ; *sedusimantammi*-setusīmante (*Bālar.*, 963 ; 194. 14). And in continuation of that he blames Indian editions of works containing Pkt., the authors of which, he opines, substituted *-mmi* forms in place of those of *-e* which 'perhaps' were in the reading of Mss. Then he cites the name of *Mudrārākṣasa* among other works. And Sten Konow, too (probably following his great teacher) sanctions only *-e* to *a*-stems of Ś. nouns. At the sight of *-mmi* forms besides those of *-e* in Rājaśekhara he doubts whether the famous poet was able to distinguish between Ś. and M., and considered the question difficult on account of the deplorable condition of the Mss. (*Karpūramañjarī*, HOS. pp. 202-203). Since these two scholars adopted the view it has gained considerable currency at the present time. And

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Woolner in his *Introduction to Pkt.* has allowed only *-e* for the locative singular of Ś. nouns in *a*-stems (first edition of the work published in Lahore, p. 31).

Hence the examples of *dhruvās* appear to have a difficulty in the way of being called Ś. But after subjecting the whole matter to a very close scrutiny we may yet find the difficulty to be more apparent than real. The objection of Sten Konow is based on what Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra (c. 1700 A.C.) writes in his grammar (*Karpūramañjarī*, HOS. pp. 202-203), and Rāma Tarkavāgīśa (c. 1600 A.C.) also support Sten Konow and Pischel. Now none of these authorities was earlier than the 16th century—a time when Pkts. were no longer largely studied much less used as living languages, and A., a developed form of the same, has already given place to the newly arisen New Indo-Aryan dialects. Grammars written under these conditions had every chance of being based on insufficient data. Thus their testimony loses much of its reliability. Moreover the fact that both of them were inhabitants of Eastern India—far away from the Midland—further weakens their authority regarding a language which had its origin in the latter region. In his edition of the Ś. and Mg. *Stabakas* of *Prākṛta Kalpataru* Grierson attaches special importance to Rāma Tarkavāgīśa's as well as Mārkaṇḍeya's authority on the Mg. dialect on the ground that these two were inhabitants of the East in which part of the country Mg. was current in earlier times (see the reprint of the work issued by the publishers of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 2). Following a similar line of reasoning one may attach the same kind of importance to Hemacandra's authority on Ś. For,he belonged to Gujarāt which has as its present speech *Gujarātī*—a reputed descendant of Ś. Thus Hemacandra being a person of the 12th century, nearly five centuries earlier than Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, was unquestionably a superior authority on Ś. The fact that he was an adherent of Jaina faith probably gives additional value to his authority on different varieties of Pkt. For, as is well-known, Jainas have their scriptures in different kinds of Pkt., and in mediæval times it was with them that the Pkt. muse found shelter and sustenance. Now let us examine what Hemacandra says on the point. In his Pkt. grammar he devotes only 27 *sūtras* to point out those points on which Ś. differs from the (principal) Pkt. (commonly belived to be M.). None of these rules however notices what according to Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāma Tarkavāgīśa is a pecularity of Ś., and his *śeṣaṃ prākṛtavat* (IV, 286) frankly allows *-mmi* as well as

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-e to form the locative singular of Ś. nouns of *a*-stems. Vararuci one of the earliest grammarians—assuredly earlier than Hemacandra—endorses also this view by his *śeṣam māhārāṣṭrīvat* (XII, 32); for, he too did not record the above so called pecularity of Ś. in his chapter XII.

The concurrent testimony of Mss., as has been pointed out before, shows that Rājaśekhara used both *-mmi* and *-e* forms. After a review of all his works especially the newly discovered *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* where he speaks so much of Pkts. and their currency in different parts of India it would be rash indeed to assume that Rājaśekhara, a person of the 9th century when the Pkt. scholarship was comparatively speaking more living, had smaller knowledge of Pkt. than Mārkaṇḍeya or Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, and was unable to distinguish between Ś. and M.

The *-mmi* forms referred to above have additional support from the Ś. *Apabhraṃśa*. The Ś. *Apabhraṃśa* allows among many other terminations *-mmi* for the nouns with *a*-stems (Introduction, p. 19 of *Bhavisayattakahā*. Ed. Dālāl and Guṇe, Baroda, 1923).

Thus it is now clear that *-mmi* as a termination of the locative singular of nouns in *a*-stems does not affect the Ś. character of the *dhruvās*. It may be added in support of our conclusion that a modern Jaina scholar of Gujarāt also adopts the same view regarding the above question (Becaradāsa J. Dosi, *Prākṛta Vyākaraṇa*, Ahmedabad, pp. 130-132). And Hillebrandt too in his edition of *Mudrārākṣasa* where he bestowed particular care on the Pkt. languages of the play (*vide* p. ii) accepts *-mmi* forms as Ś. on the testimony of all his Mss. In page 25 of this work occurs a Pkt. verse which runs as *Cāṇakkammi akaruṇe* etc. Hillebrandt has established the Ś. character of this verse from the practice of the very best Mss. (*vide* p. iii of his *Mudrārākṣasa*). Thus in spite of Pischel's and Sten Konow's exasperation on ancient Indian scribes and writers we may accept *-mmi* forms as Ś. and banish all doubts about the Ś. character of the examples of *dhruvās*.

Texts B. and K. read some examples of *dhruvās* (VII, XXIII and XLV) having words with nominal suffix *u* instead of *o*. As this is one of the characteristics of A, some scholars have discovered traces of A. in the examples of *dhruvās*, (Guṇe, Introduction to *Bhavisayattakahā*, pp. 50-51). But texts C. and R. read those words with *o* which is to be found uniformly in the rest of the examples in all the Mss. Besides this the *u*-reading is not metrically indispensable,

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This shows the utter futility of the *Apabhraṃśa theory* based on inadequate material. Even if all the Mss. agreed in reading *u* for *o* in the above three verses it would not have been proper to assume the existence of A. in the *NŚ*. For, Vararuci (*circa* 500 A.C.) does not mention any speech named A. though he has treated M. in his grammar, and the *NŚ*. also ignores M. Consequently it would be extremely rash to assume on such poor material the rise of A. at the time when this work was written ; for it is an well-admitted fact that the development of A. followed that of M. (S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 19).

Though the bulk of the examples is in Ś., examples of some *dhruvās* appear in Skt. They seem to militate against the general rule which prescribes Ś. for *dhruvās* in general. They are quoted below, for a discussion.

A ..... ।
यो गङ्गाश्रित् ॥ 47

B ईशं देवं ।
शर्व्वं वन्दे ॥ 49
(v. l. देवं सर्व्वं
ईशं वन्दे ॥ 50)

C शङ्करः शूलभृत् ।
पातु मां लोककृत् ॥ 51 (52)

D उमेशः सुरेन्द्रः ।
तवायुर्ददातु ॥ 53 (54)
(v. l. तवायुः करोतु KB)

E अधिकं विरहे ।
मदनो दहति ॥ 55 (56)

But the difficulty in case of *A-D* does not exist, for there is the exception (to the general rule) which reads as follows :

दिव्यानां संस्कृतं गानं प्रयोगे तु विधीयते । *NŚ*. XXXII, 409 (391).
(v. l. Mss. संस्कृतं गानां प्रमाणैस्तु,)

i.e. in (dramatic) practice Skt. songs are prescribed for use in case

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of gods. But E. does not seem to come under the above exception, for it relates to *viraha* (=separation)—a human affair. This example together with the definition of its metre constitutes one stanza. This may be the reason of its loss of Ś. character and ultimate conversion to Skt. In Ś. it would be

अधिकं विरहे ।
मदणो दहदि ॥

A comparison of this with its Skt. version will show how easy was the transition from Ś. to Skt.

5. Metres and the Subject-matter

All the *dhruvās* have been composed in *akṣara* (=syllable) metres ; that is to say, they all depend on specified number of syllables in each of their four *pādas* (=quarters of a Skt. stanza). *Pādas* may contain exclusively short or long syllables or an admixture of both. (In this matter *dhruvās* perhaps show their freedom from the tradition which associate *mātrā* or moric metres with Pkt. poesy). But the rule regarding the four *pādas* and equal number of syllables has been departed from in *dhruvās* (LXXXIV-XCII) of the *Caturasra-vivardhitā* (C.V.) class, (*NŚ.* ch. XXXII. 255 ; K. 243). This special name is probably due to their peculiar metrical character which allows six additional syllables to the *pādas* in the following manner :

1 syllable to the 2nd *pāda*
1+1 or 2 syllables to the 3rd *pāda*
1+1+1 or 3 syllables to the 4th *pāda*

Thus a CV. *dhruvā* of *Anuṣṭubh* metre will have 8, (8+1), (8+2), (8+3) or 38 syllables in all, i.e. six extra syllables distributed in the last three *pādas*. Such is the case with all other metres used for CV. *dhruvās*. The number of syllables in their four *pādas* can very easily be ascertained.

Some *dhruvās* (XXV, XXXV, L, LVII, LXXVII, LXXVIII, XCIII, CIII, CIV) partially use an internal rime. It is probably, this tendency of using internal rime that developed the final rime in the A. poetry of a later age. (Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

Dhruvās have been composed in a simple language but there are some difficult expressions here and there. In order to make them clear the substance of difficult verses and the meaning of

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difficult words have been given in the Notes and in the Select Glossary.

A discussion about the subject-matter of the examples of *dhruvās* may not be out of place here. This may give us some important clue about the antiquity of those pieces. They deal with the sun, the moon, the stars, clouds, storms and typical sights in different Indian seasons. Among them all, an important part is played by seasons which furnished themes for most of the *dhruvās* and seem to have enjoyed a great popularity. On a perusal of them we understand the full import of the query of the *naṭī* in the *prastāvanā* of *Śakuntalā* as to which season she should sing about (*adha ḳadaram uṇa uduṃ samāssaīa gāīssaṃ*, p. 1, HOS. edition). On the ground of this *naṭī*'s query, it may be assumed that Kālidāsa here probably followed the dramaturgical tradition dependent on the *NŚ*.

6. The Age of Composition

Since the Pkt. verses illustrating *dhruvās* form an integral part of the *NŚ*. the question of the date of its composition is connected with that of the entire work. But as it will be out of place in the introduction to an edition of the Pkt. verses to discuss in full the wealth of data available in the *NŚ*. we shall examine here only the language of Pkt. verses of it to see if any clue to its age can be had.

The Ś. of the *dhruvās* have the following peculiarities.

(1) The retention of the two syllables *-aya-* in *ṇij-anta* verbs (XXXII, XLIX, LXXIV, LXXVI, LXXIX, LXXXII) as well as their occasional reduction to *e* (XVII, XXIII, XXXI, LXXI, LXXVIII).

(2) The exclusive retention of *c*.

(3) The exclusive retention of *v*.

(4) *g*, *j* and *d* have sometimes been dropped and sometimes retained without much care for a system in the matter.

All the above phonological features taken together give the Ś. of the *dhruvās* an appearance slightly different from that available in the extant editions of dramas. Proper light about the nature of this Ś. could have come from the *NŚ*. itself, but the hopelessly damaged condition of the relevant portion of the work (ch. XVIII. 6-8.) leaves us in despair about the matter. However with the help of available Pkt. grammars and old Pkt. texts an attempt may be made for solving the question viz. at what stage of its evolution the

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Middle Indo-Aryan was likely to assume the shape of Ś. of the *dhruvās*. Let us take those phonological features one by one and examine them.

(1) *Aya* became reduced to *e* at a very early period, at the very begining of the Middle Indo-Aryan period, in fact (*cf. avayesi*< **avādesi*<**avādayasi*=*avādayat*, Bharhut). From the fact that the *dhruvās* contain the reduced form (XVII, XXIII, XXXI, LXXI and LXXVIII) as well as the fuller form (XXXII, XLIX, LXXIV, LXXVI, LXXIX and LXXXIII) it may be guessed that they were composed at a time earlier than 200 B.C. when a hesitancy was yet felt about the recognition of the reduced colloquial form, or when both the colloquial and the literary forms were equally prevalent. But as the sounds in question occur in poetry meant to be sung we are not sure whether they indicate the state of affair suggested above or are merely instances of poetic license. Even if we accept the second alternative they probably remain sufficiently old when compared with the extant Pkt. poetry.

(2) That *c* is never dropped in it is perhaps a very important feature of the Ś. of the *dhruvās*. It probably gives us a hint about their age. The implication of Vararuci's statement that in Māgadhī *c* is pronounced distinctly is that in other dialects such as Ś. it is pronounced indistinctly. The meaning of this 'indistinct' (*aspaṣṭa*) pronunciation is however not clear. Though Sir George Grierson is inclined to think that it means a dental affricate pronunciation Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji considers it to be an elided pronunciation (*op. cit.* p. 246). Now this elided pronunciation in all probability led to the elision of its graphic representation in the beginning of the second MIA period (200 A. C.—600 A. C.). Thus *c* retained in writing perhaps point to a time anterior to that. This would place the composition of the *dhruvās* at a time earlier than 200 A. C. when *c* was not weakened enough to be totally dispensed with in writing.

(3) As for the retention of *v*, we cannot base on it any conclusion. For we have only two instances of it (XXIV, XXVII). If this fact may be given any weight it will also point to a very early time.

(4) The examples of *dhruvās* very arbitrarily drop *g*, *j* and *d* and retain them. This probably indicates their age with considerable definitness. For these voiced stops could only have been fricatives. The hesitancy between retaining a voiced stop and dropping it which is noticed in the Ś. of the *dhruvās* is very much similar to the same phenomenon observable in the contemporary documents of the transitional period

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(200 B.C.—200 A.C.) of the MIA. (S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 85). If we could depend solely on the above datum the examples of *dhruvās* could be roughly placed between 200 B.C. and 200 A.C. But we know Ś. of Aśvaghoṣa (1st century A.C.) which differs from the Ś. of the *dhruvās* in not softening the intervocal hard stops. This would at once bring down the date of the examples of *dhruvās* to 200 A.C. But as we do not know the actual phonetic value given to Aśvaghoṣa's unvoiced stops which in all probability were voiced in enunciation, the actual time of the *dhruvās* might be earlier still. Or it may be that Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. is a Pkt. dialect that was already archaic enough to be out of ordinary use, and he wrote much like the later dramatists a Pkt. which though commonly understood was already an obsolete speech in his own time. In that case too, the available version of the examples of *dhruvās* points to a time earlier than 200 A.C.

7. Acknowledgments

The editor now begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to scholars whose works have directly or indirectly helped him in the present task. But among them all, western students of Pkt. texts like Weber, Pischel and Hillebrandt deserve to be specially mentioned. Dr. S. K. De and Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya saw a portion of this work and very kindly suggested nearly half a dozen emendations. The editor thankfully acknowledges these which have been pointed out in proper places in the Notes. And finally he very cheerfully tenders his most grateful thanks to his teacher Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji who procured from abroad Mss. for the use of the editor, and supervised the preparation of this work when in an earlier form it was a part of the thesis offered to the Calcutta University in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Comparative Philology.

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APPENDIX A.

Fragments and a complete verse that appear to be belonging to the *longer recension* and occur not in C. but in R., are given below.

1 After the first quarter of 176

पगलिता तु सा...(followed by the Skt. definition of the next *dhruvā*.)

2 Before the second quarter of 176

पवण विघुंणिअ ष (?)कअवअणं

3 Before the verse 216 (with its first word वासतो omitted).

मेहंगं णांदंठूण अंरगंजिद णमं जंते वा

4 After the verse 249

(See LXVIII)

5 After the first half of the verse 291

एको सोअंको कोहेदि कोविदो णिणगाहि माशं(?)यगा

6 After the verse 184

जलहरणादुहणतो हतदाणो वणंपमदतो सअरि सथानो
... ... असोगलं दोण माइरंणंमि

7 After the fragmentary verse 186

लघुसकाल सुहसीदले लहं लरविद सुरहिमदवातालिना ।
सुरभिमारुदेण सा विभादि जलण सिहाविलंवी ॥

8 Before the fragment of 291 i.e. (वरतणु पओपवणो) and after the first word of 216 (वासतो ; see 3 above).

हेमसमूह लाठूअ माठणा सरसि जघुदण
जल कलोभि मणिणाटो ष(?)डवपाहिविअदि

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APPENDIX B.

Dhruvās illustrated differently in the *shorter recension* are given below.

1 Corresponding to 79

K. दीसदि तुं न छै(?)पुद्यदिसामहै
जुह्नं समागतं कौमुदिचं ··· दो ॥ (83)

B. दीगदि तुण्ण वपुद्य दिशामहे ।
जुह्नं समागतु केमुदि चंदो ॥

2 Corresponding to 83

BK. तुकमलाकरे सुं भमरोणेवे (B. सु)
समसुद्धवत्ती विहगाणपत्नी (B. पन्ती) ॥ (87)

3 Corrresponding to 93.

BK. साहससुब्भावं कित्सिपिए क्रुद्धाम् ।
मादिरसंबद्धां उच्छिसिसब्भावम् ॥ (97)

4 Corresponding to 126

BK. मेहलमुधूर्त्तु...णिर्म्मलगहाउलो (B.- सोहिदणं)
सो हिदणं हंगणो गोमालकरो ससी ॥ (128)

5 Corresponding to 150

BK. एसोयमत्तमयघुम्मिदाणणे (B. दापणे)
दीणे (B. क्षीणे) पफुल्लवणवागुचालिओ (B. चालिऊं) ।
पासाभिबद्धचरणो गयानुगो
रम्मं वणं वणं गय वचरोपलो ॥ (152)

6 Corresponding to 163

BK. एस मेहो णाणं (B.- णे) दत्ते धूमनिभे विज्जादोसे लघ्तन्ते जावि ।
दुर्लभ जालावद्धो (B.- वदो) मिदुविसो गोविजाश्वीणायं ततो दिग्गजो ॥
(163)

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7 Corresponding to 167

BK. तारामज्जे मेहविशुष्को विमलतरे
उज्जाहिंतो जादि समग्गं (B. समगां) रजतनिभो ।
जोह्ना (B. जोएहा) सोहं विक्किरमाणे (B. विकर-) गगणतले
लीलायत्तो गच्छदि एसो रजनिकरो ॥ (167)

8 Corresponding to 174

BK. दिवसं सूरसणाहं सेविअच्चंदे कुसुमदवीण
उदिदो दीसदि एसो दप्पण विवाकिदि सदिसो ।
गयणे मेहविमुक्के पुम्मसहावो रदिमुहवे
विहरं विक्किरमाणो सारदुजुह्नं वजदि दुदम् ॥
(B. विरहं लंविम्करमाणे सारदुजु एह वजादि दुदं) ॥ (176)

9 Corresponding to 293

BK. सागरं समुद्गुणंतो रथपदलघुगदिभिभवति
मघा (·B .ध्य)- दशामाहणन्ते भरुस्तु चजनविभयमतुलम् ।
रणजालमुख्ययन्तो दिवसकरणपिण्ड
करणोव्वोधयं पजासु कामंदि वरतण्यु सुहपवणा (B. वरतणु सुपणो)।
(262)

10 Corresponding to 297

BK. गगणतलंगणमभिरुहमाणो (B. णे) उडुगणसमाषगदो
युवंतिजणाणं सुरचितरूपा सुखितदयिणजनमदणकरो ।
किरणसहस्सविमुंचितवन्दो रजति[गि]रिशिखरसदिसवधू (B.- हु)
उदयदि संपदि अरु जगदीषो (B.- वो) कुमुदवणरुचि विमलकरो ॥ (278)

11 Corresponding to 309 (see variants under CI.)

12 Corresponing to 314 (see variants under CIII.)

13 Corresponding to 316 (see variants under CIV.)

14 Corresponding to 318 (see variants under CV.)

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TEXT

I सन्तवन्तो अङ्गयम्मि ।
वाइ वादो पुप्फवाही ॥ 58 (59)

II वणसण्डे वियसन्ते ।
वणहत्थी परिखिण्णो ॥ 60 (62)

III हिमाहए वणन्तए ।
अस्सुगदो [पवङ्गओ] ॥ 62 (64)

IV एदे गज्जन्ता तोयं मुञ्चन्ता ।
लोयं छादन्ता मेहा सम्पत्ता ॥ 64 (68)

V मेहणिरुद्धं पेक्खिय [वोम्मं] ।
पन्थियदारा अंसु किलिण्णा ॥ 66 (70)

I पुष्प *or* प्रतिष्ठा (— ⏑ —, —) × 4. 57 (58)

(*a*) BK. सोतवन्तो, C. संअन्ततो, R. सोसन्दतो ; (*b*) C. अङ्गअम्मि, R. अगणावे, BK. अगायाद्धम् ; (*c*) B. वाइ वानु, KCR. वाइ वाओ ; (*d*) BK. मुम्प-, R. पुप्प-.

II भ्रमरी (⏑ ⏑ —, —)×4. 59 (61)

(*a*) C. वणखण्डे, R. *omits the entire couplet ;* (*b*) C. विअसंतो, BK. अदिमत्तो ; (*e*) B. परिखेष्णो(?).

III जया (⏑ — ⏑, —)×4. 61 (63)

(*a*) C. एमाहए *for* हिमाहए ; (*b*) CR. वणीतरे ; (*c*) C. असूगअं, B. अस्व अर्ण्, R. अस्वुगओ, K. अस्त अनू ; (*d*) C. पवंएओ, R. ववान्तओ, BK. वह्वणाउ.

IV विद्युद्भ्रान्ता (— — —, — —)×4. 63 (67)

(*a*) KCR. एए, B. एणा ❀ज्जन्ता ; (*b*) R तोअ मुञ्चतो ; C. मुच्चन्ता ; (*c*) CR. लोअं, B. छांदंता, R. *omits this pāda ;* (*d*) K. संपराणा मेहा, B. संपणा मेह, R. ❀ह❀म्पाता.

V भूतलतन्वी *or* भूतलमान्या (— ⏑ ⏑, — —)×4. 65 (69)

(*a*) C. मेहणिरुद्धं, B मोह-, R *omits this couplet ;* (*b*) B. परिखअ, K. पारख ; C. वम्म, B. चंवं, K. अच्चम् ; (*c*) C. पंथिअदारा ; K. वंभार्य्याल्लाए(?) B भार्य्याल्लारा (?).

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VI पवणहदो सलिलहरो ।
भमइ णहे अहिय-समो ॥ 68 (72)

VII मेह[पावुदो] णट्ठ-जोह्लओ ।
णिच्चणिप्पहो एस चन्दओ ॥ 70 (74)

VIII बलाहयेहिं सङ्गज्जियेहिं ।
णहं समन्ता वरुज्झइ व्व ॥ 72 (76)

IX तडिसण्णद्धं घणसंरुद्धं ।
जलधारेहिं रुददीवब्भं ॥ 74 (78)

X वज्जाहय-तुण्डो डाहज्जरसुत्तो ।
एसो गिरिरायो भूमिं विसदि व्व ॥ 77 (81)

VI कमलमुखी (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —)×4. 67 (71)

(*a*) RC. पवणहओ, R. वणवणहओ ; (*b*) R. सलिल अरो, K. सलिलघणा, B. सलिलघणो ; (*c*) R मतिह *for* णहे ; (*d*) C. अहिअ समो, BK. अहिय मसौ (?), R. आहिसमो.

VII अगुरु (— ⏑ —, ⏑ —)×4. 69 (73)

(*a*) R. मेहवावेओ, C. मेहराअदो ; B. मेहतुद्धंतु, K. मेह उद्धंतुं ; (*b*) K. नई जोह्लउं, B. नइ जोएहतुं, C. णंठरुंणओ, R. णाठ रदठणओ ; (*c*) BK. णिप्पहे ; (*d*) BK. चन्दउ, R. ववणओणि.

VIII शिखा (⏑ — ⏑, — —)×4. 71 (75)

(*a*) C. बहालएहिं, BK. चेज्जाहएहिं ; (*b*) C. संगजिएहिं, BK. येएजिएहिं ; (*c*) BK. णं हंसमत्ता ; C. समंतो, R. समदो *for* समन्ता ; (*d*) BK, परुणयं वा, R. पररुणा व्व *for* वरुज्झइ व्व.

IX घनषंक्ति (⏑ ⏑ —, — —)×4. 73 (77)

(*a*) R. तडिसंसणद्ध, K. तडियंखुद्धं, B. तडियं वबुद्धं ; (*b*) R. घणससरुन्ध ; (*c*) CR. जलधाराहि ; (*d*) B. रुदतीवाब्भम्, K. रुदतीवद्दम्, CR. रुवदीवंभं.

X तनुमध्या (— — ⏑, ⏑ — —)×4. 76 (80)

(*a*) R. वज्जाहअरुणडो, C. बज्जाहयरुंडो, B. वज्जाहयतुन्दो, K. वज्जाहयतुन्दो ; (*b*) BK. याउज्जरसुत्तो, R. डालंहवसे ; (*c*) C. गिरिराअं, R. गिरिराम ; (*d*) K. भुमीं ; C. विसलम्बा, R. दिथलंवा, B. पाददीवा, K[1], पददीवा, K[2]. परदीवा.

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XI वाद[विदारिदे] विज्जुणिवादिदे ।
एत्थ महाणगे कन्ददि हत्थिणी ॥ 79

XII सुह-सिसिरम्मि मदजणणम्मि ।
कमलवणम्मि विचरदि वादो ॥ 81 (85)

XIII कमलाकरेसुं भमरालयेसुं ।
मदमुव्वहन्तो पविसेइ हत्थी ॥ 83 (87)

XIV गज्जन्ते जलदा णच्चन्ते सिहिणो ।
गायन्ते भमरा रम्मे पाउसए ॥ 85 (89)

XV जलदणादयं सुणिय कुञ्जरो ।
णददि काणणे पडिगयाकुलो ॥ 87 (91)

XVI एसा हिमाहदं विकूखित्त-पत्तयं ।
दट्ठूण पादवं हंसी परुणिया ॥ 89 (93)

XI मालिनी (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —)×4. 78 (82)

(*a*) C. वाआपीकीविए, R. वाअपिकीविअं ; BK. *read this couplet differently* [*see Appendix B.*] ; (*b*) C. वज्जिविणिपातिते, R. ❀ ज़विज्जु णिवातितो ; (*c*) R एथ ; (*d*) C. क्रन्दति, R. क्रदति हथिणी.

XII मकरकशीर्षा (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —)×4. 80 (84)

(*a*) BK. इह *for* सुह ; K. शिशिरम्मि ; (*b*) BK. पमदवणम्मि, R. मदजणणि ; (*c*) BK. मदजणणम्मि ; (*d*) CR. विअरइ ; R. वाद, C. वाओ.

XIII विमला (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — —)×4. 82 (86)

(*a*) K. तुकमालाकरे सुं, B. *omits this pāda.* (*b*) C. भमरालएसुं, K. भमरोणेवे, B. भमरोणेवेसु, R. भमरअणाएसु ; (*c*) C. मदमुद्वहन्तो, R. दन्मुपहतो, BK *read cd. differently* [*see Appendix B.*] ; (*d*) R. पिह नन्दति.

XIV वीर्य्या (— — —, ⏑ ⏑ —)×4. 84 (88)

(*a*) C. जलआ ; (*c*) CR. गाअन्तो ; (*d*) K. राम्म, B. रम्म ; K. याउपस.

XV गिरा(?) (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —) ×4, 86 (90)

(*a*) CR. जलदणादअं ; (*b*) CR. सुणिअ ; (*d*) CR. पडिगआउलो, BK. पडिगयाहुरो.

XVI जला (— — ⏑, — ⏑ —)×4. 88 (92)

(*a*) BK. हि वाउणा *for* हिमाहदं, R. हिमहादा, C. हिमहादाहिं ; (*b*) BK. विरिकत्तपुन्न(गण-B)यनम् (?), C. खितअपातअं ; (*c*) B. दधूण, R. दंदूण *for* दट्टूण ; C. पाअवं ; (*d*) R. परुणिआ.

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XVII एदे गज्जमाणा भूवं छादयन्ता ।
भीमा कालमेहा उव्वेयं जणेन्ति ॥ 91 (95)

XVIII * साहसं सभावं हि एअएतुं रामा ।
विरडं बधं चन्दु सुडं भावं मे ॥(?) 93

XIX एसा हंसवधू एत्था काणणए ।
गन्तुं उस्सुइया कन्तं सङ्गहिया ॥ 95 (99)

XX पवणाहदया तरुणा तरवो ।
कुसुमागमए विहसन्ति विय ॥ 97 (101)

XXI [मेहवुन्दं] एसो विक्किरन्तो वादो ।
दुस्सहो आवादि पादवाणं लासी ॥ 99 (103)

XVII रम्या *or* सुनन्दा (— — —, ⏑ — —)×4. 90 (94)
(*a*) RC. एते ; B. नहमाणा, K. णहुमाणा, C. जङ्गमागा ; (*b*) C. भूअं, R. भूणाअ, K. अङ्गं, B. अद्धं ; C. छादअन्ता K. स्वदेयत्ता, B. त्वदेयता, R. हंहादअंतं ; (*c*) R. हिमा *for* भीमा ; (*d*) C. उव्वेअं, K. उखेधेयं जरान्ति, B. उव्वेधेयं जरात्ति.

XVIII कान्ता *or* ललिता (— ⏑ ⏑, — — —)×4. 92 (96)
This couplet is beyond restoration. BK. *read this differently* [*see Appendix B.*] *and the version of* C. *is given above ; the version of* R. *is as follows :*

साहसुसदाषसिए अएतुंठंमा ।
चिरसंवंधं चंदु संदाषमो ॥

XIX पंक्ति (— — —, ⏑ ⏑ —)×4. 94 (98)
(*a*) CR. हंसबहू, (*b*) R. हिथा, K. हिच्छा, B. ❀छा ; BK. काणणाउ ; (*c*) C. ऊसुअअं, K. जसुसुइया, B. जसुइया ; (*d*) CR. कान्तं, B. कत्तं, BK. संगइआ, CR. सङ्गलआ.

XX नलिनी (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —)×4. 96 (100)
(*a*) BK. पवणाहतका, C. पवणाहिहआ, R. पवणंहिहआ ; (*b*) C. तरुणो, R. *omits the pāda* ; (*c*) R. कुसुमोंगमए ; (*d*) C. विव *for* विअ, K. वि ❀ ❀ ❀, B. ❀ ❀ ❀ विय.

XXI नीलतोया (— ⏑ —, — — —)×4. 98 (102)
(*a*) R. हेमन्विदे, C. मन्विदे, BK. मेह वं वादि ; (*b*) BK. विरिकिन्दो, R. वाद, BK. वादि, C. वाउ ; (*c*) BCRK. दूसहो, BK. आदादि, CR. आवाइ ; (*d*) BK. पादपाणं, CR. पाअवाणं ; CR. लासे.

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XXII सुरुचिरणयणं वरमणिणिकरं ।
मम मदजणणं तव वदणमिदं ॥ 102 (106)

XXIII पियो वाइ वायओ सुवसन्तकालओ ।
एसकामुओ विय मदणं जणेन्तओ ॥ 104 (108)

XXIV पेक्खिऊण आगदं माधवं वहित्थओ ।
पादवं पणोल्लिणो वाइ दक्खिणाणिलो ॥ 106 (110)

XXV हंसागमणधीरे (?) कासंसुअविचित्ते ।
एदं सरदकाले रम्मं सुरभितोयं ॥ 108 (112)

XXVI चक्कसणामवधू कन्त-सहाइणिया ।
णिम्मलयम्मि जले हिण्डदि सङ्गहिया ॥ 110 (114)

XXII चपला (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 101 (105)
(*a*) BK. सुचिरनयनं, CR. -णअणं ; (*b*) BK. वरमणिनिकरं, C. वरमणि णियरं, R. ❀रमणिइकरं ; (*c*) BK. मदजननं ; (*d*) C. वअणमिदं, K. वदनमिति, B. वदनमिमि R. वखनमिदं.

XXIII विमला *or* तन्वी (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, —) × 4. 103 (107)
(*a*) CR. पिअ, BK. पिय ; CR. वाअओ ; BK. वायर्तुं (?) ; (*b*) BK. सु-वसन्तकाल❀ ; (*c*) C. एअ *and* BK. पिय *for* एस, BK. कामुको पिय, R. *reads only* विअ *for c.* (*d*) C. जणंतओ BK. जणान्तउ.

XXIV कामिनी (— ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, —) × 4. 105 (109)
(*a*) C. पेङ्खिऊण, R. पेखिऊण ; C. आअअं, R. आअंद, BK. *read this pāda as* परिकलण अब्भदं ; (*b*) C. माहवं R. माहव (?), BK. हिदुवा❀ (*c*) CR. पाअवं, BK. यादवं ; R. पंणोंलणो, BK. मुष्णाज्जतुं (?).

XXV भ्रमरमाला (— — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4. 107 (111)
(*a*) BK. हंसागमन-, R. अंसा गमणि ; (*c*) R. एष *for* एदं, C. सरअ ; (*d*) CR. सुरहितोअं R. सुरहिअं.

XXVI भोगवती (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 109 (113)
(*a*) C. -वहू ; (*b*) C. -सहाइणिआ, BK. -सह्यइणिया (?), R. -सदाइणि ; (*c*) K. निम्मलयस्सि C. णिम्भलमस्सि ; (*d*) CR. हिण्डइ संगमिआ (*chāyā in* K. *is* सङ्गहिता); BK. दिडदि *for* हिण्डदि.

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XXVII एसा पियकलदा रम्माभरण-जुदा।
काले मदजणणे जादा कुसुमवदी ॥ 112 (116)

XXVIII हिमाहदे वणम्मि पणट्ठपङ्कतोये।
करेणुआ विहीणो उवेदि मत्तहत्थी ॥ 114 (118)

XXIX जलहर-सम्भते महिहर-कुञ्जम्मि।
सहयरि-संजुत्तो पविचरिदो हत्थी ॥ 116 (120)

XXX महामेह-विदाणं बलायावलिणद्धं।
महाभीम-णिणादं [पदिट्ठं] गयणम्मि ॥ 118 (122)

XXXI कुसुमगन्धवाही सलिलरेणु-पुण्णो।
रमणि वादि वादो मणसिजं जणेन्तो ॥ 120 (124)

XXVII मधुकरिका (— — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 111 (115)
(*a*) KB. पियकलता, C. विमल लदा ; (*b*) B. रम्माभरणयुदा, K. रस्माभरणमुदा ; (*d*) R. जाआ असुमवरं *for d.*

XXVIII समुद्रा *or* सुभद्रा (⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ —, —) × 4. 113 (117)
(*a*) RC. हिमाहते, BK. *omit* हिमाहदे ; BK. *insert* सुरकरे क *after* वणम्मि ; (*b*) R. वणंठषकतोए ; BK. *replace b. by* पणद्वयरिकसृत्थे ; (*c*) CR. करेणआ, BK. करेणुअ ; K. व्विहीणो ; (*d*) B. उवेदे, R. उवेइ.

XXIX कुसुमवती (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, —) × 4. 115 (119)
(*a*) BK. जलहरसंभत्तो, R. जलहरसम्भषते, C. जलहरसंणद्धे ; (*b*) CR. महिअर कुंजम्मि, BK. महिहरमूलै वि ; (*c*) C. सहअरि-, K. सहपरि संधुजुत्तो, R. हिअ मगगन्तो ; (*d*) K. पचिवरिदो, B. परिवरिदो.

XXX मुदिता *or* समुदिता (⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4. 117 (121)
(*a*) K. महामोह-, B. महामेहविदारण, R. दहमेहविआणं, C. दहामेवहआण ; (*b*) C. वलाआवलिणं अ, R. वलाआवलिणंथ, B. वलयाकुलवद्धं नं, K. वलायाकुलवद्धम् ; (*c*) BK. महाभीमनिनादा, CR. महाभीमणिणाअं ; (*d*) BK. यदित्तं गणयम्मि, C. वठ्ठणा गअणम्मि, R. वइं णगंअणंमि.

XXXI प्रकाशिता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —, —) × 4. 119 (123)
(*a*) R. कुसुमगंधावाही ; (*b*) B. -रेणुपुष्णु, R. -रेणागंगो ; (*c*) CR. वाओ *for* वादो ; (*d*) K. जणन्ते, B. जणेत्तो CR. जणंतो.

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XXXII पवणो पत्थवाही मदणं दीवयन्तो ।
सिसिरे वादि काले मम [तासं जणेन्तो] ॥ 122 (126)

XXXIII * गलन्तपीअतोआ पिअंणपंघिसघा (?) ।
भमन्तपद्यवाआ ण भादि णिंगआम् (?) ॥ 124

XXXIV मेहमलमुक्कओ णिम्मलब्भ-णिग्गदो ।
सोहदि णहङ्गणे कोमलकरो ससी ॥ 126 (128)

XXXV विकचाम्बुज-हसिरे भमरावलिमुखरे ।
बहु-णिम्मल-सलिले विहगो पविचरदि ॥ 129(131)

XXXVI कुसुमसुगन्धियए मणसिजजीवणए ।
पमदवणंगणए विचरदि हंसवहू ॥ 132 (133)

XXXII दीप्ता (⏑ ⏑ —, — ⏑ —, —) × 4. 121 (125)
(*a*) BK. पणे चणो *for* पवणो, C. पंथवाही, R. प्रथवाही, K. युक्प्रवाही, B. युग्युवाही ; (*b*) K. दीवयन्तौ, B. दोवयतौ ; (*c*) B. सद्धिरे *for* सिसरे ; BK. वाति, RC. *have for c* अद्विशदो ❀ ❀ ; (*d*) RC. *omit* मम, BK. मम संयोजणे स्तौ, C. शिशिरे संवलन्ते *and* R. शिशिरे संववते *for d.*

XXXIII विलम्बिता (⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ —, —) × 4. 123
This dhruvā is very corrupt and is read differently by BK. [*see Appendix B.*] : R. *reads it as follows* :

गलंद पिअतोआ पिअणणवंढि संधा ।
भमंत च ए क वाआ णभादि णिगअअं ॥

XXXIV चञ्चल गति (— ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, —) × 4. 125 (127)
(*a*) BK. मेहलसुधूर्त्तु, C. हेमलअमुक्कओ ; (*b*) C. णिमलम्भणिग्गओ, R. णिम्मलंभ, BK. णिम्मलगहाउलो ; (*c*) BK. सो हिदणं हंगणो, C. पुणण-ससि सोहइ ; (*d*) BK. गोमालकरो *for* कोमलकरो ; RC. णहगह अंगणे.

XXXV विमलजला *or* ललिता (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 127-128 (130)
(*a*) C. विकचाम्बुअसिहरे R. विकचावरुहसिहरे ; (*b*) C. भमरावलिमुहरे, K. भ्रमरावलि- R. भरावलिविद्धसुरा ; (*d*) CR. पविचरह, BK. परिभमिदो.

XXXVI ललितगति (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 131 (132)
(*a*) CR. कुसुम (-मं R.) सुगन्धिअए (-हि. R.), (*b*) C. मणिसिअ-, R. मणसिअ- ; (*c*) BK. पमदवणगणए, C. पमदवणगअए, (*d*) K. चित्ररदि, B. चित्ररद्द, RC. चिअरद्द ; K. हंसवए, B. हंसवत्, C. हंसबहू.

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XXXVII बहुकुसुमसोहिए कमलवणसण्डए ।
सहयरसहायिणी पविचरदि हंसिआ ॥ 134 (135)

XXXVIII विविधवणविचारी कमलवणसुअन्धि ।
कुमुदवणविबोधी भमदि सरदि वादो ॥ 136 (137)

XXXIX पुलिणतलङ्गणए कमलणिवासिणिआ ।
पियदमवासगिहं विसरदि सारसिआ ॥ 138 (139)

XL हंसकुलसमुदिदे सारसकुलमुहले ।
मत्तमधुकरगणे हिण्डदि मधुकरिका ॥ 140 (141)

XLI राहूपराय-हियसोहं चन्दं णिसमिऊण ।
तारागणो विगुरुसोओ तेजोंसुकेहिँ रुददीव ॥ 143 (144)

XXXVII मही (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ —) × 4. 133 (134)
(*a*) RC. बहुकुसुमसो(-पसो C.)हिए, (*c*) BK. सहयरसहायणी, CR. सहअर-सहाइणी ; (*d*) CR. -चरइ ; R. हंसी.

XXXVIII मधुकरी (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — —) × 4. 135 (136)
(*a*) C विविहवणविआरी, R. विविहवणविअधि ; (*c*) C. कुमुअवणविबोहो ; (*d*) C. सरदि सरइ वाओ, R. सरइ सरइ वाओ.

XXXIX नलिनी (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ —) 137 (138)
(*b*) B, कमलतलणिधिवासिणि, K. कमलणिधिवासिणि ; (*c*) BK. पिययम-वासगिहं, C. पिअअमवासगहे, R. पविसिअ पसगह ; (*d*) R. *omits this pāda.*

XL नदी (— ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 139 (140)
(*a*) K. हंसकुल संमुदिदे, B. हंसकुलं संमुमुदे, C. हंसदल समुदिए, R. गंगसइल समुदिते, (*b*) BK. सारसकुञ्जमुहल, R. सारसए मुहुलेओ ; (*c*) B. मत्तमधुकरगण, K. मस्तमधुकरगण, R. तंमहुअरगणे, CR. हिण्डइ, B. हिण्डहि, CR. महु- अरिआ.

XLI रुचिरा (— — ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —) × 4. 142 (143)
(*a*) R. राहूपराअ हि असोही, K. राहूपराय हि यसो हो, B, वहुपराय हि सोहो, C. नासानाहूपराअहि अ, (*b*) R. चंदंअहे मिसमि समिऊण, BK. वन्दोणहि णिसमिउणा, C. पदणहे मिसमि ; (*c*) BK. विगुरुमोहौ, C. धिअसोहे ; (*d*) BK. तेजोसुकेंहि, C. तेजाउ पाहि, R. तेजंसुहि, C. रुदतीव, B. रुदतीए, K. रुदतीय, R. रदतिवा,

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XLII घणगब्भगेह-परिखित्तो अरुणप्पहा-पिहिदसोहो ।
गयणंगणे विहरमाणो ण विभादि जुह्वरहिदेन्दु ॥ 145 (146)

XLIII जलधरविदाणपिहिदङ्गो रविकिरणजालहिदसोहो ।
अहमुखविणिग्गम विवण्णो ण तिमिरगणोहसिओ चन्दो ॥
147 (148)

XLIV एसो वसन्तमधुआसिआगणो सेलोव्व पूव्वपवणस्स चालिदो ।
[दाणहि]गन्धगदिओ [गजासणो] रम्मवणे गजवरं
पवण्णओ ॥ 150

XLV वणसंवुदं घणतमागमासिअं अवगाहिऊण रयणीमुहं ससी ।
इह णिच्चलो कुविदमन्दजोसिणो ण विराजदे समधिकं
पदीविय ॥ 152 (154)

XLII प्रमिता (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 144 (145)
(*a*) BK. वणगब्भगेह- ; (*b*) BK. अरुणजहा-, RC. -विहिअसोहो *for* पिहिदसोहो ; (*c*) RC. गअणंगणे, BK. गणयंगणे ; B. पिहिदरमाणे *and* K. पिहिदरभणे, *for* विहरमाणो ; (*d*) CR. ण विभाति, BK. विताइ *for* विभादि ; R. जोह्वरहिदजुण, C. दिशेमूणारहिएन्दु, BK. जुए हरहिहिन्दु.

XLIII गतविशोका (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — —) × 4. 146 (147)
(*a*) BK. जलधरदिताण पिहिअङ्गो, C. जलहरविदरणविहदसु, R. जलहरविदाणविहिदंस्त ; (*b*) BK. रदिकिरणजालहतमोहो, (*c*) C. अहमुखपिणीगणेण विपरीअओ, R. अहमुखविणिगणेण विवरि च, BK. गहतुकणिदिग्भतविवरणौ (-णौ B.) ; (*d*) C. इचदो णहिमिरअणोभसिओ, R. इचदो णहमिरअणोगसिओ ; BK. अणुविसदि अत्थगिरिमिह.

XLIV ललिता (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ —) × 4. 149 (151)
(*a*) C. -महुआसिआअणो, R. -मआरूसिणओआअणो, BK. *read this stanza differently* [*see Appendix B.*] (*b*) R. दिणोव पुओ पणवास हालिओ, C. पुव्व पणवसस छालिओ ; (*c*) R. दोवासाहि *and* C. दोवासंहि *for* दाणहि ; C. घनइओ, R. गन्धगदिअओ, RC. गआसणो ; (*d*) R. रम्मवणंवरो ववंणओ, C. रम्मो वणंगण पखाणओ.

XLV विलम्बिता (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, —) × 4.
151 (153)
(*a*) C. वणसंत्र अधणतमावंसिअ, R. वणसंवअ घणतमावशसि, BK. वसन्त वन्तु द(-य, B) दिणमम्वरं, (*b*) BK, अवलम्बिउं ण रअणीमुहे ; (*c*) C. इह

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XLVI एसो मेहो णादं धत्ते धूमणिहो विज्जुज्जुत्तो दारेदीदं भूमिदलं ।
सिञ्चन्तो तोयोघं घोरो हत्थिणिहो संछादन्तो लोआलोअं
अदिदुदं ॥ 163

XLVII * एसो आयादो णइन्तो अचलणिभो
लीलाउक्कोलं दाणन्तो सहि रुचिरे ।
वाचालं(?)थोखेपि छाणो(?)पवणजवो
संसरन्तो विज्जुज्जोदो भमदि दुदं ॥ 165 (165)

XLVIII बालो चन्दो मेहविमुक्को विमलकरो
रोचिरङ्गो सोहदि कन्तालिपरिगदो ।
लीलाक्खित्तो गङ्गधरेणेव सुरुचिरो
मूलारुहो णागणिवासो अधिकवपुः ॥ 167

णिच्च णुकुचिअ, R. इह णिअसकुविअमिदजोसिणो, BK. गहगाहभं दिविगलन्त जोह्लउं ; (*d*) C. ण विरायदे, R. ण विराअदे ; BK. पतीविव, R. पदीविअ.

XLVI विक्रान्ता (— — —, — — —, — — —, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4, 162 (162)

(*a*) BK. *read this stanza differently* [*see Appendix B.*] R. एसो मोहो ओणं दं धेता ; (*b*) R. विजुंभजोथावाहि हि भूमितल, C. दारेएहिं भूमिअलं ; (*c*) C. सिद्धतोघो, R. सिञ्चन्तो घोरो ; (*d*) R. सहादन्तो ; R. आदिदुतं, C. आदिदुतः.

XLVII विद्युन्माला *or* मदनवती (— — —, — — —, — — ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 164 (164)

(*a*) C. आआदो णंदतो, R. मेहा णाणंदतो ; BK. नाणं दत्ते गवलणिभे, CR. अचलणिहो ; (*b*) BK. *omit this pāda*, C. लीलाउकोलं, R लीलालन्तोलं दाणतो सरुचिरो ; (*c*) BK. *omit this pāda*, R. वाअला थोंवेलि हाणो ; (*d*) C. ससरंतो विजूजो अहमतिदुत, R. सारंतो विविज्जेअभमति द्रुतं, BK. संधारितोपि जुज्जोवं भमदि दुदम्.

XLVIII भूतलतन्वी स्खलितगति (— — —, — — ⏑, ⏑ — —,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 166 (166)

(*a*) R. -विमुतो विमलतरो ; (*b*) R. रोचिलंगो, C. ॐचिरङ्गो. C. कन्तोलिपरि ॐ, R. कंतो उपरिअो, (*c*) C. लीलाखितो गङ्गधूरणं सरुचिरो, R. लीलाविंतो गंगधरेण सु- ; (*d*) C. मुलारुहो णग- ; R. णंगणिवासो ; CR. -अधिकवपुः.

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XLIX विगदघणतिमिरे णिम्मलतारे खे
विकचकुमुदवणबन्धु सदारोचो ।
रजदगिरिसिहरसण्णिहिदो चन्दो
उदयदि वरतणु देहिय आणन्दं ॥ 169

L पादवसिस्सं कम्पयमाणो पडुणिणदो
सेलतडेसु पक्कममाणो पविचरिदो ।
रेणुसमूहं उद्धयमाणो 'रुणकविलो
वायदि वादो चण्डपवाही रुसिद इव ॥ 171 (169)

LI * तिमिरं णासअमाणो खे असु(?)चन्दो रुचिरो
अधिष्णु(?)बोधअमाणो — कुमुदाण्णुदअतो ।
⏑ ⏑ सोहीं कणसू — — णअणाणन्दकरो
अवहि(?)साअविकरको(?) सोहइ दधेणमही(?) ॥ 174

LII * अस(र)णिरवाहओ पातितकुण्डो(?) धरणिहरो
सरसिज(म)मदित विहङ्गलो(?) सिअणिअच्चलिअं(?) ।

XLIX विभ्रमा (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —, — —) × 4. 168

(*a*) R. विगदवणतीर, C. विधदधी तिरणि मलतारे खे; (*b*) CR. कुमुदवणविकच निध सदारोसो (R. सों) ; (*c*) R. रजदणगिरि- C. रजतरगि॰- ; (*d*) R. उअदि, C. वरतनु ; C. आणंदो, R. आणंदेवा.

L भूतलतन्वी (— ⏑ ⏑, — — —, ⏑ ⏑ —, — ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ —) × 4. 170 (169)

(*a*) BK. *omit the first three pādas of this stanza*, C. पादपसिस्सं, R. पादवसस्सं, CR. कंपअमाणो, R. पट्टणिणदो ; (*b*) CR. सेलतडेसु पक्कअमाणो ; (*c*) R. -समूहे उंछअमाणो, C. -समूहं लंघुअमाणो ; (*d*) C. वाअइ वाओ, R. वाअइ वाद ; BK. एह प्रवाही, C. रुणिअ इव, R. रुंसिल इव.

LI स्खलितविक्रमा (⏑ ⏑ —, — ⏑ ⏑, — — —, ⏑ ⏑ —,
— ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 172-73

(*a*) R. वेअसु, C. *असु, R. रुचिरेः ; (*b*) C. कुदुमाणउदअतो, R. कुदाणांसु-उदअ ; (*c*) R. सहिकिणं *for* सोहीकण ; (*d*) R. अविकरदो *for* अविकरको, R. दुद्धणमहि *for* दधेण मही.

LII रुचिरमुखी (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 175

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एदअहंरहसहआमेघं(?)सिणेह पमुदिओ
गअपरो वपिसिअदाणजउ(?)विटवअणो ॥ 176 (173?)

LIII पमुदिअगहअणविवरिदसोहो गअणदलो
विलुलिदजलहरसमुदयहीणो णयणसुहओ ।
किरणणिवहणिहद तिमिरो सो रजदणिहो
पसरदि वरतणु हलधरलीलो सरदि ससी ॥ 178

LIV एदं लोअं संछादन्ता भीमा णदन्ति गम्भीरा ।
विज्जुज्जुत्ता लोअं सम्मुञ्चन्ता समुण्णदा मेहा ॥ 182

LV * एदाणि पादसखो एदाणि पुप्फाणि
मन्तगन्ताणिर्दंदं तफंपदि
अघासिदाणि सोदतिणोपौषमद-
तोलअरिसथदं.....असो गलंदो माइ रंणमि । 185

(*a*) BK. -रवाहद, C. -रवाहओ, R. -रवाहः वाहः पातित कुंडो धरणिहरो, C. ॐरणिहरो, BK. यावद स्तुथे धरणिधरो ; (*b*) R. सरसिजरमं मदितवहंगलो सिणि चलिअं ; (*c*) R. हिः अहरसहअरि वाधासिणेह पमुदिद ; *for c.d.* BK. *read* पगलिलिद निजरं कंदरसादा मुहादिरिआ *only* ; (*d*) R. णवरो पविसिअ दाणजला विदवं जुणो ; *see c above.*

LIII धृति (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — — ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 177

(*a*) C. -विविअरिअसोअ गअणहअल, R. -विचिअरिअरिअ सोअ गअणरलं ; (*b*) C. विललिअ जलहर समुदअहीणं णअण अणसह, R. विलिअजगतु हर समदअहिण णअणसुह ; (*c*) R. तिरणणिवह णिहद तिमिरो सो रजदणिहो, C. किरण णिवह णिदित तिमिरा सोजणिहो ; (*d*) C. पसरदि वणरणहलधरलीलो सरसि ससी, R. पसरदि वरअ हलधर लीलो सरिस ससी.

LIV माला (— — —, — — —, — —) × 4. 181

(*a*) C. एअं लोअं सछादंतो, R. एतो लंअ संचशादतो ; (*b*) C. णदंति ; (*c*) C. विजजो एंका तोअं, R. विज जोए ताअं ; (*d*) C. संमुंचंता समुणणआ, R. संमुंचं वा समुणआ मेहां.

LV प्रभावती (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 183

R. एदाणि पदसंमोहि दाणपु.....वाणिमुंओहंताणिदसः हंसपदीकं घोसिदा निसोअ पतिणोण य राणि.

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LVI * परमुदक्षिण दवाअलि दाणिसुख सिरवाद-
सरवो हि दाणिण चकिते सुरराणि ॥ 186

LVII कमलाअरम्मि भराइयम्मि अध गन्धबहुलम्मि सरदे ।
णाहणिय जले पिआहिमुही आरमदि एसा कमलहंसी ॥ 190

LVIII * सहआरमणोहरगन्धवहो समवाइ रोसमदजलो ।
मदणजणो छव वणपवणो असुअधिइआसुसुअपिअवो ॥ 192

LIX * जलहरणिणओ तिणिअरञ्जपअसमं थओं पवरिसएदि जलणिहि
अंडंमि सुकरिखुभिदाभिदोंबवदा विदोखुअगौमुखौ ॥ 194

LX जलधरसमं आगदओ सुखसुरभिदो कुसुमवासाकुलिदो ।
मदणजणणो सुत्तिपणासकरो पमदाजणसहाओ पवणो ॥ 196

LXI मधुकररुदेहि कथिद इवासु-विकसिद-सुगन्धमुखकमलो ।
कमलिणिपियाहिपरिवुदतणु अय[मेव हि] विभादि
पदुमसरो ॥ 198

LVI मालकिता (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 185

R. परभृदणिणा वाकुलिमाणि सुख सिरपाद संखोहिदाणिणंचंति तेसुरहणाणि.

LVII मनोज्ञगमना (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 189

(*a*) R. कालअरंमि, CR. भराइअम्मि ; (*b*) CR. अथ, C. गिधवभूअमि, R. गंधवभूअमि; (*c*) R. णाणिअ, C. णुणुइ, R. पिआहि सहि ; (*d*) R. आरमत्रि .

LVIII ललितगति (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 191

R. सहआर मणोहर गधपअंमि सरदे णंणिअजले विआहि सहे समइ रोस-मदजलो असुअसअंसि इल सुअ विअ वोमदबं जणे इव वणा च वणो .

LIX रति (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 193

R. जलहर णिणाद तिणिअरे अवं समंथओं ववरिसहिदु जलणिहितथंमि सुकरिखुभिदों बपदा विभोखुग—अणमुहो .

LX भुजगमुखी (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 195

C. जडभरसमं आगअओ सुरभिकुसुमां कुओ । मदणजणणो सओसुतिनासकरो दंअजदण सहाओ पवणो ॥ R. जलभर समआगतओ सुसुरहि कुसुमो कओ । मदणजणणो सहिअस्सु वितिनासकरो दाअजणसहाअदा पवणो ॥

LXI द्रुतपदगति (*The scheme of metre is not clear.*) 197

(*a*) C. मधुकरगुरु ते एककथित ; (*b*) C. इवासुविकसितं सुमनमुखकमलो R. इवासुखि विकसित सुगंवमुखकमलो ; (*c*) R. पिआहि परिवदतअणुं (*d*) C. अपिअयमपि दाइ वदुमसरो, R. वापिअभम विभाइ वदुमसरो.

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LXII एसो गगणतले मेहो भीमो भयजणणो दिट्ठो ।
भूमिं णवजलधाराहिं सिञ्चयदि सहि गज्जन्तो ॥ 201 (186)

LXIII * एसो मेहो सिहरिणिहो लीणो (?)
धारापादेरदिहसदो (?) भूमिं ।
आमोक्खन्तो पाउस सलिलं — —
समुण्णओ (?) गअणतले जादि ॥ 203

LXIV गिरिचरवारणरूवं खुभिदमहण्णवणादं ।
पटुपवणेण विधूदं भमदि वलाहकयथं ॥ 205 (188)

LXV ससिकिरणलम्बहारा उडुगणकिदावदंसा ।
गहगणकिदङ्गसोहा जुवदि विय भादि राई ॥ 207 (190)

LXVI उडुगणकुसुमवदी गहगणकिदतिलका ।
रजणिकरमभिमुखी वजदि विय अमु रजणी ॥ 209 (192)

LXII कनकलताश्रिता *or* कनकजलजन्निसा
(— — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — — —) × 4 200 (185)
(*a*) C. एसो गअणअले, R. हि सा भअणअले गगणदलो ; (*b*) CR. भअजणणो ; (*c*) B. न च, K. नव-, CR. णवजलहर धाराहिं ; (*d*) B. सिञ्चयवि, CR. सिञ्चति, R. यहं, KCB. सइ .

LXIII पीनश्रोणी (— — —, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, — —) × 4 202
(*a*) R. लिणो *for* लोणो ; (*b*) C. धारापातैरदिहस्दो (?) ; (*c*) C. अलारंसो पुअसंसाओतो ; (*d*) C. आमुन्नो गअणअले, R. आमुंतो गअणतले .

LXIV शशिरेखा (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — —) × 4 204 (187)
(*a*) BK. -वारणरूपं ; (*b*) C. खुहिदमहाणवणादं, R. महणणवणादं ; (*c*) BK. पटुवणेण, CR. विधूअं ; (*d*) C. भमइ वलाहअयूथं .

LXV शलभविचलिता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — —) × 4. 206 (189)
(*b*) CR. उडुगणकआवयंसा, BK. उडुगणरुदावतंसा ; (*c*) CR. गहगणकिअङ्ग-, BK. गहगणकदम्ब- ; (*d*) CR. युवदि विअ, BK. यदि दिव .

LXVI मणिगणनिकरधृता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4 208 (191)
(*a*) BK. उटुगणाकुसुमवती, C. -कुसुमवती, R. कुसुमदी ; (*b*) K. गहगण-किदतिलआ, CR. -किअतिलआ ; (*c*) CR. रअणिअरणिहमुही ; (*d*) C. अरि विहरदी रअणी, R. अइ हरदि रणु .

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LXVII आकम्पन्तो धरणितलं विक्खोभन्तो गगणतलं ।
विज्जुज्जोदो दवविभवो एसो मेहो पविचरिदो ॥ 211 (194)

LXVIII पंकजसण्डे विमलजले सारसकेहिं समणुगदो ।
कुन्दणिकासो ससिधवलो हंसजुवाणो पविचरिदो ॥ 213 (196)

LXIX वासन्तो कुसुमसमुदितो पदोसो कुसुमसुरभिणो ।
सासन्तो पियरहिदजणं संपत्तो एस णवसरदो ॥ 216

LXX एस समुण्णदे अम्बरके मेघरवं सुणिऊण गजो ।
रोसवसेण समुज्जलिदो हिण्डदि काणणए कुविदो ॥ 218 (201)

LXXI अब्भमम्बुधरेहि पिणद्धं विद्दुद्दोदपभादवणन्तं ।
वादाघुण्णिदकम्पिदपत्तं उम्मादेदि व हत्थिसमूहं ॥ 220 (203)

LXVII सिंहक्रान्ता (— — —, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4 210 (193)
(*a*) BK. अंकम्पन्ते गगणतलं, C. आवन्तौ ; R. आवंवन्तो ; CR. धरणिअल (-लं B.), (*b*) BK. *lack this pāda*, C. विखोभतो, R. विवोभंतो, RC. गअणअल (-लं R.) ; (*c*) K. विद्दुजोवा, B. विद्यु जोवा, CR. विजुं लोअतपवितो, B. दवेविभवे K. दवविभवे ; (*d*) CR. एसो सोहे (-हो B) पविचरो हरओ णम सवाअहर .

LXVIII सुरदयिता (— ⏑ ⏑, — — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) 213 (198)
(*a*) C. पंकअसंडे ; (*b*) CR. सारसएहिं समुणगओ, B. सारसकहि ; (*c*) C. कुन्दणिआसो ; B. ससि धवले, CR. सहिधवलो ; B. हंसयुवाणो, R. पविरिददो .

LXIX कुसुमसमुदिता (— — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) ? × 4 215 (198)
C. वासअतो कुसुमसमुदितो एदोदो सुमुहि सुरहिणो। सासन्तो विअरएदजं एसं वसोइ असए सरसो ॥ R. वासअतो कुसुम समुदिते दाए एदो सो सुमहि सुरहिणो सो सुतारहिदजणं स पतोल असही सरसो .

LXX दोष(घ)क (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4 217 (200)
(*a*) R. एस सुमुण अम्बरके, C. एस समुणे अञ्चरके, BK. एस मुल्लसवंमम्बरके ; (*b*) R. मेघावसुंणिऊण गओ, C. मेहरवं सुणिऊणगओ, BK. मेहवेसुणिकं (-क B) गजो ; (*c*) BK. रोस वणोशे (-से B.) एणसे मुज्ज (-ज्ज B) -लिदो, C. सेरासरवसेण समुज्जलिओ, R. सेरासावसेण समुंजलिओ ; (*d*) C हिंडइ काणणए, R. घिडण काणणए, B. हिदिदि काणए, K. हिन्दुदि कारणए .

LXXI कृतोद्धता (— — —, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4 219 (202)
(*a*) BK. अभ्रवंम्बं अम्बूहारहि पिणद्धं, C. अंहहबधरोपि पिणद्धं, R. *omits*

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LXXII जलधरणाद-समुव्विण्णो पगलिददाण-समुक्कुलो ।
वणगहणं कुविदो हत्थी सरभसगव्विदओ जादि ।। 222 (207)

LXXIII एदे खिदिधरवरसदिसा भीमा पडुपटहसमरवा ।
णीलासिदखगदिदरसणा मेघा णभतलमभिपदिदा ।। 224 (110)

LXXIV परिधूणमाणो किरणपदं अभिरुहमाणो उदयगिरिं ।
उडुगणबन्धू तिमिरभरे उदयदि चन्दो गगणतले ।।
226 (212)

LXXV मेहसमूहं किण्णवलाकं विज्जुपिणद्धं पेक्खिय एसो ।
उद्धियरोसो भीमणिणादो धावदि हत्थी भुज्जवणम्मि ।।
228 (205, 214)

this stanza, (*b*) BK. विज्जुज्जोवदवणत्तोरदीद्धम्, C. पिज्जो अधणंतयुदीपं ; (*c*) BK. वादाद्युणिणदकम्पिदत्तं (-देदत्तं B), C. वाआधुंणिअं पिअणाअं ; (*d*) C. उंमादेदि व हधि समूहं, BK. उम्मादेइ व हच्छि समूहं .

LXXII संक्षिप्ता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — —, —) × 4 221 (206)
(a) BK. जलहरणाद समुच्चिअ्रो (-च्चिग्रो. B), C. जलहरणाद समुंविरणो, R. जलहरणं समुंविद ; (*b*) BK. पगलिददाणसमुत्कुलो (-समुकुल्लो B), CR. पगलिअ दाणमहगन्धो ; (*c*) BK. वणगहणं कुविदो हत्थी, C. वणगहणे कुपितो हत्थी, R. वणगहणे कुविदो हंथि ; (*d*) B. सरभमन्तरितो यादि, K. सरभमत्तरितो यादि, C. सरसभसं विदअं जाइ, R. सरभस गंविदअं जाइ .

LXXIII चपला (— — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4 223 (209)
(*a*) BK. खिति-, CR. खिदिधरपरिसरित्र ; (*b*) BK. नीमा पटुपटहसमरदा CR. हिमा पडुपडह समरवा ; (*c*) BK. नीलासितखगविदरगणे, CR. णिला-सिदेखगति- ; (*d*) CR. मेहणाहणा अणिममिवदिता ; B. -तलमभियदिदा .

LXXIV कमल लताक्षी (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4 225 (211)
(*a*) BK. परिधुनमान, C. किरणपहं, R. किरणपवक्ष ; (*b*) B. अभिरुह-मणावुदय गिरिं, K. अभिरुहमाणौ, C. अभिरुहमाणो ; BK. उडुगणबन्धु, R. वअगणबन्धु (*c*) BK. कुमुदसखो *for* तिमिरभरे ; (*d*) CR. उदअदि चन्दो गअणतले .

LXXV पुष्पसमृद्धा (— ⏑ ⏑, — — —, ⏑ ⏑ —, —)? × 4 227 (204, 213)
(*a*) BK. मेहसमूहं पीणवलाकं *and* चित्तवलाहं, CR. मेहसमूहे किणु वलाहे ; (*b*) CR. भीमनिणादं विज्जुपिणद्धं BK. विज्जपलित्तपिरेकय एसो *and* भीसण-

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LXXVI गयणतलङ्गणहिंडणओ किरणसहस्सविभूसिदओ ।
विहुणिय मेहपडं[सु]अओ उदयदि चन्दणडो गयणे ॥
230 (216)

LXXVII कुसुमसुगन्धीय सुपवणो तरुवरलासो पमदवणे ।
बहुकुसुमम्मि णवसरदे विचरदि रम्मे णलिणिवणे ॥
232 (218)

LXXVIII कुसुमाकिण्णे णिम्मल सलिले णलिणिसण्डे छप्पदमुहले ।
अदिसे रम्मे सारसमुदिदे समदो हत्थी एसो विचरिदो ॥
234 (220)

LXXIX मेघविदाणं अवधुणमाणो कम्पयमाणो कुमुदवणाणि ।
तोयसमूहं अवकिरमाणो वायदि वाओ कुविद इवासु ॥
236 (222)

णादं विज्जुपिणद्धम्; (*c*) CR. पेखिअ सो भीमणिणादो, BK. उद्धियरोसो भूमिनिनोदो *and* परिकयसोभी भीसणणादो; (*d*) CR. धावइ हत्थी रूखवणम्मि, BK. धावदि हत्थी भह्नं(हू)वणम्मि *and* वाचति हत्थी चूदवणन्तम्.

LXXVI द्रुतपादगति (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 229 (215)
(*a*) CR. गगण- (C. गअण-) तलङ्गणहिंडणओ; (*b*) CR. किरणसहंसविभूसणओ, B. -विभूमिदउं; (*c*) CR. विहुणिअ मेहपडतअओ, BK. दिहुणियमेहपडणूमसू; (*d*) CR. उदअदि चंदणडो, BK. ❀ ❀ दि ससी गगणेविदुसम्.

LXXVII अतिचपला (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 231 (217)
(*a*) BK. -सुगन्धिअसुम(-प. B)वाणा C. -सुअंधीअसुपवा, R. -सुअंधिअ सुपवणो; (*b*) BK. तरुवरलोसे पमदवणे *occurs as c.*, C. तरुपलासोपमदवणे; (*c*) C. बहुकुसुममि णवसरदे, BK. वहुकुसुमंसी णवसरदे *occurs as d.*; (*d*) RC. बिअरइ; C. रमेण वणे, BK. विबरणणो णलिणि वणे *occurs as b.*

LXXVIII विमला (⏑ ⏑ —, — — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4 233 (119)
(*a*) R. कुसुमाकणो णंमल-; (*b*) C. छप्पअमुहले, R. संअमुहले; (*c*) CR. अदिसअरंमे सारसमुदितं, BK. सव(-च. B)भूमध्ये सारसमुदिते; (*d*) BK. हत्थी पविचरिदो.

LXXIX रुचिरा (— ⏑ ⏑, — — ⏑, — —) × 4 235 (221)
(*a*) R. *omits this stanza*, BK. अवधूणयमाणो; (*b*) BK. कम्पयमाणो; (*c*) C. तोअसमूहं; (*d*) C. वाअइ वाओ कुविअ.

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LXXX विधुणियजलधरममिदपहो जदिगणमुणिगण-परिपठिदो ।
उदयगिरिसिखरतटमुकुटो विचरदि गगणतले एस सुरो ॥
238 (228)

LXXXI गगणतलङ्गणमभिरुहमाणो रजदमहागिरिसिखरसरूपो ।
फडियमहामणिणियरणियासो पविचरिदो णवसरदि मियङ्को ॥
240 (230)

LXXXII जदिगणमुणिगणवन्दिदतेजो पवितदकिरणसहस्सपिणद्धो ।
विधुणिय तिमिरपटं जगदीवो उदयदि गयणतले एसो सूरो ॥
242 (226)

LXXXIII गिरितटविचरो विघूण्णिदो असणिघणरवेण कम्पयं ।
अभिपददि दुदं महीतलं पटुतरणिणदो महाघणो ॥ 244 (224)

LXXX अति चपला त्वरितगति
(⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4 237 (227)
(*a*) CR. विधुणिअजलहरउम्मिदपहो, BK. विधुणियजलधरमसितपरं ; (*b*) CR. अदिगणम्म(-मु R)णिगणपरिवभितो, KB. दिय(पB.)गण मुणिवर पठिदो ; (*c*) BK. -शिखर-, CR. -सिहरउ(-इ R)महणिलओ ; (*d*) CR. वअरइ, *for* विचरदि, B. गगणतमसु रवि, K. गगणतमसुखी, K² गगण-तलम्मि, CR. अरणलअभूमसुखी .

LXXXI मदकलिता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4 239 (229)
(*a*) C. गअणतलङ्गण अहिरुहमाणो, R. गणअअलंगणअ महीरुहमणो ; (*b*) BK. रजतमहागिरिशिखरसरूपो, CR. रुजतमहागिरिसिहरसरुपो ; (*c*) R. पडिक महाणिअिर-, C. ❀ ❀ महाणिणिअर-, BK. रजदमओ त्रिपपियकलसोसू ; (*d*) CR. पविअरिदौ, BK. पविचरिदो विअ निसि चन्दो .

LXXXII कमललोचना
(⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —, —) × 4. 241 (225)
(*a*) RC. य(च-C) तिगणमुणिगणवादित तेजो, BK. दिअभूमिगणवियद्धिअ- ; (*b*) C. पवितकिरणसविणधो, R. पवित किरण सविणंधे, BK. पवितत किरण सहसस पिणहो ; (*c*) BK. धुणिअ तिमिरपटन्त गदीवा, C. तिमिरपडं, R. तिमिरं *and omits* -पटं- ; (*d*) BK. उदयदेयाहदलअ सुस्तरो, C. गअणअलेअ .

LXXXIII अपरवक्त्र (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —, ⏑ —) × 4. 243 (223)
(*a*) BK. गिरितटविचरे, CR. गिरिअडविअरघुंणिदो, BK. विक्कणिदो *for* विघुणिणदो ; (*b*) BK. असनिघटरवेणकम्पयम् C. असणिपणरवेएकपअ,

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LXXXIV मेहरवं णवसरदे ।
णिसमिय कुद्धो भमइ गयवरो ॥ 247 (233)

LXXXV विज्जुकसाहि पहदं मरुद्धि ।
परुददि गयणं पसमियगदतारं ॥ 248 (234)

LXXXVI मेहरवाउलं रुद्धगहकदम्बं ।
पसमिददिवाकरं रुददि विय णहदलं ॥ 249 (235)

LXXXVII फुल्लतरुसण्डए सुरभिपवणहदे ।
विअरदि पमदवणे हंसो सहचरिपरिवुदो ॥ (236)

LXXXVIII ताराबन्धु एस णहे विक्किरमाणो मेघपडं ।
किरणसहस्स-विभूसिदो उदयदि सोमो रजणिकरो ॥
250 (238)

R. -रवेहि कंपअ, (*c*) RC. दु(मदु- C)मं *for* दुदं, CR. महीअलं *for* महीतलं ; (*d*) BK. महारवो .

LXXXIV च(तुरस्र)-वि(वर्द्धिता) प्रतिष्ठा (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5.)
(*a*) CR. मेहरव, BK. महरचं ; (*b*) C. णसवरदे, BK. सावसरर ; (*c*) K. णिपक्कुद्धौ, B. णियक्कुद्धौ ; (*d*) BK. भस्वइ ; C. असुहप्पवरो, R. असुहअंपवरो .

LXXXV च. वि. सुप्रतिष्ठा (*For the scheme see the Introduction* §5.)
(*a*) CR. विजृंकसाहि, BK. विज्जुलदाहिं ; (*b*) C. हदंमंरुद्द, R. अहिहहदमं, BK. अभिहयकं ; (*c*) BK. चारुंददि वगणं, C. दिवगअणं, R. पंरुददि गअणं ; (*d*) R. पसमिअगदतारो, C. ❀ वामिअगततारे, BK. यसमिह गतारम् .

LXXXVI च. वि. गायत्री (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5.)
(*a*) K. मेघरवानु, B. मेघरवाणुण, R. मेहरवाउदं, C. महरवाउलं ; (*b*) K. णद्धगहकंदकं, B. णद्धगहवंदकं, CR. *omit* रुद्धगह-, R. -कदवं, C. -कन्दर ; (*c*) C. वसामिअ दिवाअरं, R. संमिअ दिवाकरं, BK. एसमिद दिवाकरं ; (*d*) CR. रूअदि विअ णहअलम्, K. रुददि विपणहदलम् .

LXXXVII च. वि. उष्णिक् (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5)
(*a*) C. *omits this stanza.* BK. युल्लीयतरुसंडे ; (*b*) BK. -पवणहते R. -पवणाहए ; (*c*) BK. विअरदि, R. विअरइ, BK पदमदवणे ; (*d*) R. पंसो *for* हंसो, BK. सहरि परिवुदो, R. सहसहपरिवुदो .

LXXXVIII च . वि . अनुष्टुभ् (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5.)
(*a*) BK. तारावसणाहि ; R. सहअउह *for* एस णहे (*b*) K. विरिकिरमाणो,

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LXXXIX एसो सुमेरुवणकम्मि देवयसिद्धयपरिगीदे ।
अदिसुरभिगन्धवणचारी पविचरदि विहङ्गमजुवाणो ॥
251 (239)

XC पादवसीसं कम्पयमाणो सुरभिगजगण्डसुवासिदो ।
उपवणतरुगणलासणओ विचरदि वरतणु वणपवणो ॥
252 (240)

XCI कुमुदवणस्स विभूसणओ विधुणिय तिमिरपटं गगणे ।
उदयगिरिसिहरमधिरोहन्तो रजणिकरो उदयदि विमलकरो ॥
253 (241)

XCII जदिगणमुणिगण-सन्थुदओ सुतविदकणककिरणयसण्णिभदेहो ।
दुदमिह णहतलमभिरुहमाणो पविचरदि [जुवदि] एसो
दिवसकरो ॥ 254 (242)

B. दिकिरमाणो, CR. मेहपडं ; (*c*) BK. किरणसहस्सविभूसितओ, B. किरणसहस्सभूमितऊं C. किरणसहं सिविठसिओ, R. किरणसहंसलि रसिओ ; (*d*) CR. उद अदि, CR. एसो *for* सोमो, CR. वअणिअरो .

LXXIX च . वि . बृहती (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5.)
(*a*) CR. सुमेरुवणअम्मि, BK. सुमेरुवणकम्मी ; (*b*) BK. (दिय B.) देव सिद्धपरिगीदो, C. देवअसिद्धपरिगीओ ; (*c*) C. अतिसुरभिवणचारि, KB. सुसुरभिसुगन्धचारी ; (*d*) BK. विचरदि वि णहंगमगतिविदो, CR. परिचरदि गअ सुवाओ .

XC च . वि . पंक्ति (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5)
(*a*) :B. पादनसंपुंकवयमाणो, K. पादवसंपकंपयमाणो ; (*b*) BK. सुरभिसुगन्ध-धासुवादिओ(-दिउ B.), C. ससुरभि गण्डोसुवासिओ ; (*c*) C. वनतरुगणलासणओ BK. उदवणासरुवरलासणओ ; (*d*) CR. विअरइ ; C. वरतरुवणपवणो, BK. वरतरुवणपदणो .

XCI च. वि. त्रिष्टुभ् (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5.)
(*a*) B. विभूषणऊं, CR. विहूसणओ ; (*b*) C. निधुणिअतिमिरपडं गणओ ; (*c*) CR. उदअदि गिरिसिहररोही ; (*d*) CR. रअणिअरो सुविमलअरो.

XCII च. वि. जगती. (*For the scheme see the Introduction* § 5.)
(*a*) CR. जदिगणमुनिगण संतुदओ, BK. दियगण मुनिगण संयुक्त ; (*b*) BK. तुंतथिदवर किरण संणिभदेहो, B. कअकसंनिहिदेहो C. तविरकदवरकअ असं-निहिदो ; (*c*) CR. दुतमिहणहअलमहिरुहमाणो, BK. द्र तनिहणहयलमभिरु-

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XCIII वादसमुप्पदवीचितरङ्गो फटिकमणिणिकररुचिरजलो
वीचिपरम्परघोरणिणादो पटुपवणलुलिदविहगकुलो ।
मीणकुलाकुलभीमतरङ्गो खुभिद-घणणिवहसदिसरवो
तुङ्गमहीधरसमाणणिरुद्धो रुसिद इव सपदि सलिलणिधि ॥
289 (273)

XCIV पुप्फविदाणं उद्धुणमाणो रथ इव दुदगदिरभिपदिदो
पक्कममाणो मेहतडेसुं तरुसु अवकिरिअ कमलदलं ।
उम्मिसहस्सं उद्धुणमाणो सरसि खुभिद-सलिल-कलकलो
भीमणिणादो चण्डपवाही विचरदि वरतणु वणपवणो ॥
291 (268)

हमाणो ; (*d*) BK. विचरदि तवदि (तपति B.) एस दिवसकरो, C. विअरदि पदवदि दिअसकारो, R. विअदि पदिए दिवसकरो .

XCIII स्खलिता (—⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — — ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) ×4 288 (272)

(*a*) R. वादसमुंपदवीचि-, C. पादसमुंलदवीचि-, BK. वातसमुद्धतवीचितरङ्गे ; BK. स्फटिक मणिनिकरइसजनले (-द्धसजनेके. B) C. प्फलिवामणिणिकरजलो R. फलिकमणि णिकरजलो ; (*b*) R. वीचिपरवरघोणनिणादो, C. वीचिपरघोणनिणादो ; BK. पङ्कजरेणु पराग पिषङ्गे CR. पटुपवनललितदविहनकुलो BK. विलुलितकमलकुवलयदले ; (*c*) R. मीणकुलाकुलभिमतरंगो, C. मीणकलकुलभीमतरघुगो, BK. मोटितकल्पतरुस्थितशाखे R. खुभिदघण णिवहसरवो, C. घुभिदघणणणिससरवो ; BK. सुरयुवतियनसमसुथुतं ; (*d*) R. तुङ्गमहीरसमाण णिरुंधो रुंधो, C. तुगमहीरसमाणणिरुद्धो, BK. क्रीड़ितदानसुगन्धमहोर्मे ; C. रुन्धिद इव सपदि सलिल णिहो, R. रुधिद सपदि सलिलणिहि, BK. सुरगज इह सुरसरिभितिः .

XCIV पुष्पसमृद्धा (— ⏑ ⏑, — — —, ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —)×4 290 (267)

(*a*) C. उद्धुअमाणो, R. उंपुअमाणो, R. दुदगदिरपदिदो, C. ददगतिरभिविददो, BK. हृतगतिरभिपठति ; (*b*) C, पेंखअमाणो, R. पंवहुमाणो, BK. परकज्जमाणो, BK. मेहताडसुं, CR. सलिलतलेसु, BK. तरसुव जणयदिभयमतुलं *for* तरुसु अवकिरिअ कमलदलं ; (*c*) R. *omits c.*, C. मेहसमूहं लंदुअमाणो सरसि खुभिदं अजलकलो, BK. खुभितसलिलकलकला; (*d*)R. भिमणिणाटो BK. चण्डपदाही, C. चडववाही, BK. विचरदि, R. विअदि C. वाहअदि, BK. वपत्तणु, BK. सुह- पवणो, R. पओपवणो .

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XCV * सागरं समुधंअतो रभ इव लघुगतिअभिवदिप
वदेसहमाणं कोकतरुसु जणआदि च गुणतलइ
तेणुजाल अङ्घिपतो दिवसकिरमिदमिणमिन्दुकिरणो
वाधितअ सुलोअ कामो विअदि वरुण सूभृपवणो ।

293 (262)

XCVI किरणसहस्सं विक्किरमाणो फटिकमणिरुचिरधवलणिहो
कुमुदवणाइं बोधयमाणो कुमुदाकरणिकरसदिसववु
गहगणबन्धु लोअपदीवो उडुगणगहगणसमणुगदो
उदयदि चन्दो रोहिणीकन्तो णवसरदि कुमुदिगणसुहदो ॥

295 (270)

XCV श्रेणी (— ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, — — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4. 292 (261)

R. सागरं ❀ ❀ ❀ रभइ ललघुगतिरभि पदिवा
पमेह मेहाणंतो तरुसु जणअभि चलण: चतुन्तण ।
तलगुरेणाजालअंखिषतो दिवकिरमिण मिदुकिरणो
बोधिदुअ सुलोककामो विअव दिवरदणु सुहपवणो ॥

BK. सागरं समुद्गुणान्तो रथपदलघुगदिभिभवति
मधा (मध्या B.) दशमाहणान्ते भरुस्तु च जणविभयमतुलम् ।
रणजालमुख्ययन्तो दिवसकरण पिण्डकरणो-
व्वोध (-दोध- B.)यं पजासु कामं दिवरतणयु (-णु B.) सुहपवणा ॥

XCVI सम्भ्रान्ता (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — —, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —) × 4. 294 (269)

(*a*) CR. फलिकमणिणिअररूइरणिहो ; (*b*) RC. कुमुदवणाइं वाबाहअहाणो, R. कंमंषवणइं बोहमाणो ; C. कुमुदाअणिरअसदवहू, R. कुमुदाअणितरअ सदश वहुक, BK. कुमुदकलाणकरसदिसव ; (*c*) K. पमहगणवन्धु लोकपदां वो, B. महगणवन्ध लोकपदीवो, C. गणअणिवन्धू लोअपदिवो, R. गहणिबधु लोअवादीवो ; C, उडुगहणसमभिगतो, R. उलधुगण गहगण समभिगदो ; (*d*) CR. रोहिणिकंदो ; CR. णवसरसि *for* णवसरदि, BK. णवसरदमुदित सुखजणणो .

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XCVII गगणतलङ्गणमभिरुहमाणो उडुगणगहगणसमुपगदो
हलधरआणणसुरुचिररूवो जुवदिजणसुहिदो मदकरओ
किरणपडंसुअमवकिरमाणो रजदगिरिसिहरसदिसववु
उदयदि सम्पदि एस जगदीवो कुमुदवणरुचिरविमलकरो ॥
297 (278)

XCVIII मुणिगणसंथविदोधिकतेजो विधुणिअ [घणतम]तिमिरषडं
कमलवणाइँ विबोधअमाणो जदिगणमुणिगणपरिषठिदो ।
भुजगसहस्सविवन्दिदपादो सुतविदकणकसदिसवपुक-
करणिकरेहिं पसादिय लोअं उदयदि वरतणु दिवसकरो ॥
299 (264)

XCVII वेगवती (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, —
⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 296 (277)

(*a*) CR. गगणतलंगणमहिरुहमाणो उडुगणगहणसमुपगतो, BK. उडुगण समाष गदो ; (*b*) BK. युवतिजणाणां सुरचितरूपा सुखितदयितजण मदणकरो ; *for b.* CR. हलधर आणण रुचिररूप ; R. जुपइजणसहिदमदकरो, C. ज्रवलसहिद-मदकरकरको ; (*c*) C. किरणपडंसुअपिकिरमाणो, R. किरणपडंसुअ पितिरमाणो, BK. किरणसहस्सविमुञ्चितवन्दो ; C. रजदगिरि सहिरसदिसवहू, R. रजदगिरि सिहर सदिसवहू ; (*d*) BK. सम्पदि, CR. सपदि ; C. असुज, R. असु, BK. अरु *for* एस .

XCVIII चपला (⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 298 (263)

(*a*) C. मुणिगणसंथविचथधिअतेजो विधुणिअ तिमिरवधणघव, R. मुणिगण सथविष थधिअतेजो विधुणिअ तिमिर दिवसघणघडं, BK. मुणिगणनन्त विविद्ध तेजा विधुणिअतिमिरपटं ; (*b*) C. कंलपणाइव बोहअमाणो, C जदिगणमुणिघण-परिपठितो, R. जदिगण मुणिगण परिवरिदो, BK यदिगण परिपठिदो ; CR. भुजगसहविव (-वं R.) धिदपादो, BK. भुजगसहस्रविवर्धितयासो, C. सुतविदकरणअसुसद्विसवपूक, R. सुतवितकणकसुसरिदसवपू BK. वित-विकरणचयो ;(*d*) CR. करणिअरेहि पसदिअ लोओ उदअदि वरतणु दिवसअरो, BK. उदयदि स एव यताविलोओ वेरत दिवसकरो .

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XCIX एसो चन्दो णिम्मलदेहो विधुणिय घणतममसिदपडं
लोकाणन्दो लोकपदीवो उडुगणगहगणसमणुगदो ।
पासादाणं कारयमाणो सिदपडणिवसणमिवविवुलं
लोकालोकं रञ्जयमाणो विचरदि वरतणु गयणतले ॥

301 (266)

C एसो मेहो सेलो भूओ असणिमुरजपडुपडह-समरवो
णाणाविज्जुज्जोदालेवो हि घणजलधरपटलणिचयसमणुगदो ।
णाणावण्णो ताडङ्कारीदो धवलखगरचितकुसुमजधुरो
संछादन्तो लोयं एसो भमइ चलगिरिणिवह इव सुतणुलदे ॥

303 (276)

XCIX क्रौञ्चा (— — —, — — ⏑, ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, —) × 4. 300 (265)

(*a*) R. घणमसिद पडणि, C. गणमसिदपडणि, BK. ❀ ❀ तमतप वसिदं ; (*b*) BK. लोकानान्दो, C. लोकाणहदो, R. दोकालणदो, BK. लोकपदांपो, R. लोकंपदीवो, C. लोकवदीवो, C. उडुणगहगणसमुपददो, R. उडुगणगण समुपगदो, BK. उडुगणउगहगण- ; (*c*) CR. पासाणां *for* पासादाणां, BK. कास्यमाणो *for* कायमाणो, BK. सितनिवसणमिद विपुलं, C. सितपड णिवसणमिपुलो, R. सिहपडणिवसणमिवविसुल ; (*d*) CR. लोआलोअ रञ्जअमाणो, BK. ❀ ❀ लोकं रञ्जयमाणो, R. विअरइ वरणुगअअले, C. विअइ वतणु गअलचले :

C मत्ताक्रीड़ा विद्युन्माला (— — —, — — —, — — ⏑,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —) × 4. 302 (274-275)

(*a*) BK. एसो मेहो सेलातुअ, C. एसो मे सोलोहोओ, R. एसो मेहो सोल होओ, C. असणिमुरज पडुपडहसमरपो, BK. असणिरवसुरज पटह समरवा ; (*b*) BK. णाणाविज्जुज्जोवालोओ, C. णाविवुजो अलोपोहि, R. णापिदुजो-लोपोहि, BK. घणपटलणिचयजलधरसमणुगदो, C. थणघअडुलणिअअजलहरु-हरओ, R. घणचडुल णिअअ जलहररुह ; (*c*) C. णाणावणो, R. णापंणो C. तोडङ्गारो, R. तोलंगारो, BK. णाणावणणो ताउग्लारीतूधवलखगविचरित कुसमपभो, CR. पविअरदि रूरकुसुमजधुरो ; (*d*) R. सछादतो लोकपादा, चइ हरि णिवह इ सूतजले, C. छादतो लोअ चदोपइहरिणिवहइ सुतणुलतो BK. संछायन्तो लोयइयं भमइ चलगिरिणिवहइत स्तुभसलिलो .

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CI एसिका कमलगब्भगेहका रेणुपिञ्जरिदचारुपंतिका ।
सादरं मदकलोपगुञ्जिदा हिण्डदे सरोवरम्मि छप्पदी ॥
309 (283)

CII * तरुसडं अबुहिए सरोघणणादभदिहिअमनोहरो ।
असुदीण दीणागमणोणुकिदो समपेइ दायिणि कमलभोस
पादव ॥ 311

CIII कमलाककरं कुसुमिदं कलहंससंकुलं
वरहत्थिजूथ-कलुसीद-सागरोवमं ।
एस मन्द मन्द मधुवाररवाणुकूलदं-
कुँरोरुवेइ तरिदं सरदागमे सरं ॥ 314

CI रथोद्धत (— ⏑ ⏑(?), ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —, ⏑ —) × 4. 308 (282)
(*a*) BK. एसिका कमलगब्भागेहक, C. इंथ आकमलङ्गभगहओ, R. इव थ आ कमल गंभगेहओ ; (*b*) BK. रेणुपिञ्जरिद चारुगतिका, C. ओअरेणु बीजरिद सारू पंतिआ, R. ओ अरेण पिजरिद :सारइ पंडिआ ; (*c*) BK. सादरं मदकलोप गूजिदा, CR. सारपडुरगुणं पहतिआ ; (*d*) BK. हिंडदे सिखरम्मि छप्पदी, R. हिडदे सरपमीं छवआ, C. हाउदे सरवमि छंपआ .

CII वुद्वुद (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, — — ⏑, —) × 4. 310
BK. *omit this.*
R. तरुसंडअं विहि ए सरोओ घणणादहिदहिअ मणोहरो ।
असुदीणदीणगमणो असंकिदो समुवेइ दायिणि कमल भोस पादव ॥

CIII उद्गत (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, —) × 4.
312-313
(*a*) C. कमलाअरं कुसुमिद हलभरसंकुलं, R. कमलाअर कुसुमिद करलहंहंस-संकुल ; (*b*) C. वरहथिझह कलसीत साअरोपमं, R. परहाथिजूह कलुसीअ साअरोवमं ; (*c*) R. असु मद मद महुअरं ओमराणुकुलद, C. असुमंअसुमं-मन्दमहुअष्टरवममराणुकुल दङ्ग ; (*d*) R. कुर रोरुकौगइ तरिअ, सदाह मे सरायन्ते । C. कुरसोलुवेल अरिअ सदागमे सरायन्तु .

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CIV चूदवणं पफुल्लतिलकं कुरवकसहिदं
चञ्चलसारसछप्पदं कुसुमसमुदिदं ।
माधवमासए वणे वणे जुवयिसहचरो
हिण्डइ कोइलो सदावलम्बकुहुमधुरवो ॥

316 (290)

CV मधुकाणणे भमिय एस चिरं, जुवयिसहायकसमुव्विहिदो ।
कमलाकरे सुरभिपङ्कजए अवहिण्डदे सरदि [हंसजुवा] ॥

318 (292)

CVI * कुञ्जलवमस सेविक पवाक अंश्मिदे मरणिआपकंविहा ।
अभीम अभमरि हरण परिसहिआ ॥ 320

CIV वंशपत्रपतित (— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ —)
×4. 315 (289)

(*a*) C. सूद पण पुलइ तिलअ कुरसहिणं, R. सूदपणं वं पुलइ तिल अकुरवअ साहित्यं, BK. चूदवणं पपफुल्लिअतलयं कुरुवकसहिदं ; (*b*) R चं अ साल सो पदं कुसुम समुदिअं, R. अचंवसालहोअवयिहदकुसुमदिअं ; BK. चारुअसोअमलुकलिकं कुसुमसमुदिदं ; (*c*) C. माहवमासए वणे वणे जुवयिसहअरो, R. माहवमासए मणोपाणे अवसइ हअरो, BK. माधवकाणनं युवदिआ जणमदजणणं ; (*d*) C. हिडइ कोइलो सहाकरसासवमंरवो, BK. हिंडहु कोविला फरसा वनहुररवा, R. हिडइ केदो सदावलंव सावध .

CV प्रमिताक्षर (⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —, ⏑ ⏑ —) ×4. 317 (291).

(*a*) CR. महुकाणणे भमिअ एस चिरं ; (*b*) R. जूपंवं मुहाइकसयं वहिआ, C. द्रवईमुहाइक समं विहिआ ; (*c*) C. सुरभि पङ्कअए, R. सुरभिषकएअ ; (*d*) C. अवहीसए सरंइ सवयि, R. अवहि स ❀ ❀ ❀ ❀
BK. कमलायरे सुरभिऊण चिरं भसली मुहासव सुणओ ।
मधुसूसिदं च सुरदि चूदवणं परिहिण्डदे सुतणु छम्पदओ ॥

CVI केतुमति नत्कुट (14+16, 16+16) mātrās (?) 319

This couplet is extremely corrupt. The reading of R. is as follows :
R. मुज विलमसं सेविक चं पतरअमिसदमरणिआ ।
पतोविहा आभीम अवंदंभमरि पुथरेणु परिसहिअं ।

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CVII * हालहओणतिसमणिओ सरंमि रमए बूलंअ पङ्कए हरङ्गसं
गुले चपअकालिएबिलोह अन्तओषकसणाहिअ ॥ 322

CVIII * अविरमे अतिभीरवोभव असजणणोचरको सिआओसुवा
असए हिहंथिदओ सारिमगल कोधरअन्तुरिअ ॥

324 (299)

CVII हंसास्य (⏑ — ⏑, — ⏑ —, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ —) ×4, 321 (296).

This couplet is extremely corrupt. The readings of R. *and* BK. *are as follows:*

R. ऊणंहदएति समणिओ सरंमिरंमए पुलअषकए ।
तरङ्ग संकुले चंपतअ कविए विलंहअंतओषक सणाहित्य ॥

BK. दिज हंसाधकंसे सलिलसरे कुमुदमोद लुद्धकोमलाकरे ।
णलिणीपत्ता मज्जो परिहिगडेदा भमणायासखिण्णा भमरावली ॥

CVIII तोटक-नतुकुटक, (*not clear*). 323 (298).

This is extremely corrupt. The readings R *and* BK *are as follows*

R. रअविअ मेंरदिमीरवोड असंजणणो परकोविअओ
सुवाअसहि पहंथिदओ सरिगमलको धरणं तुरिअ ।

BK. रमणीसहिओ रजनीविराम-गगणङ्गणए खगकोसिगओ ।
अनुवायस एहो धिद्यति दुर्जपरिमग्भदे कोटरथम् ॥

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NOTES

I The fragrant breeze of the spring has a disquieting effect on young persons. The reading *vāo* occurs here in all the texts. But *vādo* occurs in XII, XXI and L, though *vāo* occurs again in LXXIX.

II The vernal wealth of the forest weakens the wild elephant by rousing its passions.

III The monkey weeps over the forest which has been shorn of its leaves in winter.

IV For the emendation of *ee* into *ede* see XVII.

V *Vomma* has been suggested by Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya.

VI Clouds moving in the sky look like so many snakes.

VII Clouds with a tremendous roar lay siege, as it were, to the sky.

IX *taḍi* = *taḍit* (Skt.).

X The description given in the verse is that of a mountain under the mid-day sun after a storm has blown over it.

XI The she-elephant bewails the damage done to the forest by the wind and lightning. *Vāda-vidārite* has been suggested by Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya.

XII *suha-sisira* = winter that is (yet) pleasant.

XIII A rutting elephant enters the lotus-lake.

XV An elephant mistakes the clap of thunder for the trumpeting of another elephant. (Cf. *Bhaṭṭi*, II. 9.).

XVI The wild goose is distressed to find her abode damaged by winter.

XIX The lengthening of the final vowel of *ettha* in this verse is an instance of poetic licence, *saṅgahiā* < **saṅgahidā* < **saṅgṛdhitā*, Cf, *gṛdhnu* (= libidinous) in the *Uṇādi-sūtras* (cited by Monier-Williams).

XX *pavaṇāhadaā* = shaken by gentle breeze.

XXI *pādavāṇaṃ lāsī* = one who causes the trees to dance i.e. makes them tremble.

XXIV Seeing the Spring approach him the Southern Breeze has begun to blow.

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XXVI For *saṅgahiā* see XIX above. We follow here the *shorter recension.*

XXVII The reading of the *shorter recension* has been adopted here.

XXVIII The tragic fate of the rutting elephant has been described.

XXIX *jalahara-sambhatta* = nourished by clouds. The verse describes the elephant couple roaming amdist the luxurious vegetation of the tropical forest duriug the rains.

XXXI *Ramaṇi* is in case of address.

XXXII *pattha* = *prastha* (Skt.) = valley. The emended portion of this verse enclosed within square brackets has been suggested by Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya.

XXXIII The separated lover is afraid of the peculiar passion-rousing effect of the winter breeze.

XXXIV The reading of the *shorter recension* has been adopted in this verse. For, the reading of the *longer recension* stands metrically defective.

XXXV *hasire* = **haside* (= *hasite*, Skt.).

XXXIX The reading *kamala-ṇivāsiṇiā* has been accepted for for the sake of metre. The meaning would be 'dwelling amongst lotuses'.

XL *matta-madhukaragaṇe* = amongst intoxicated bees.

XLIII *timiragaṇohasio* = *timiragaṇāvahasikaḥ* (Skt.) = one who scorns masses of darkness.

XLVIII The shortening of the vowel in the final syllable of *gaṅgā* in the compound *gaṅgādhara* is an instance of licence allowed in the Pkt. poetry. *Mūlāroho cando* means the moon occuring at a time when the asterism *mūlā* rises, i.e. in the month of Jyaiṣṭha (Cf. *Karpūra-mañjarī*, HOS. p. 214). *Kantāliparigado* has been a happy suggestion made by my teacher Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

LXXV *kiṇṇvalākaṃ* = which has scattered the cranes (probably by the prospect of a shower). We follow here the *shorter recension.*

LXXVII The long *i* in *sugandhī* is another instance of metrical licence allowed in Pkt. poetry.

LXXIX In this *dhruvā* we follow the *shorter recension.*

XCVIII The editor was in the beginning for accepting the reading of the *shorter recension*, but the suggestion of Dr. S. K. De

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that the *longer recension* gives the correct reading, appearing to be more satisfactory, he has gladly modified his earlier opinion. Pkt. *bhujaga* = <*bhuaa* (=*pūjaka* Skt.) See the *Pāïasadda-mahaṇṇava* on *bhuaa*.

CIII *Aṃkura* means *sūcanā* in the technical language of the drama. (vide *NŚ*. VIII. 15)

CV *Kamalākara* here is to be taken in the sense of a lake (cf. *puṣkariṇī*, *pukharī*, *pukhur* in Bengali).

CORRECTION SLIP

Page 14 *For the line* 28 *read* '(2) Almost uniform retention of the intervocal *c*.'

Page 15 *In the line* 18 *substitute* 'rarely', *for* 'never'.

Page 16 *In the line* 6 *insert* 'at all' *after* 'not'.

Page 20 *In the line* 11 *read* अंडुकिलिण्णा *for* अंडु किलिण्णा

Page 24 *In the line* 4 *read* एस कामुओ *for* एसकामुओ

Page 25 *In the line* 4 *read* करेणुआविहीणो *for* करेणुआ विहीणो

Page 30 *In the line* 4 *read* ते हिअआनन्दं *for* देहिअ आनन्दं-

Page 33 *In the line* 8 *read* यूथं *for* यथं

Page 36 *In the line* 6 *read* णिम्मलसलिले *for* णिम्मल सलिले *and* अदिसेरम्मे *for* अदिसे रम्मे

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SELECT GLOSSARY

N.B. *Words preceded by the sign of equality are Skt. equivalents*

अंकुर—सूचना
अंसुकिलिण्णा=अश्रुक्लिन्ना
अङ्गय=अङ्गक, अङ्ग
अदिसे-=अतिशय-
अध=अथ
अधिकववु—वर्धितकाय
अब्भ=अब्भ्र, आकाश, मेघ
अस्सुगद=अश्रुगत. अश्रुसिक्त
अहमुह=अहमुख, प्रातः
अहिय=अहिक, सर्प

उक्कोल=उत्कुल
उडु, उडु—नक्षत्र
उद्धिय=उद्धत
उपराय=उपराग, राहुग्रास
उवेदि=उपैति
उव्वेय=उद्वेग

एत्थ=अत्र
एसिका=एषा

कदम्ब—समूह
कन्त=कान्त
कन्तालि=कान्तालि, कान्ताश्रेणी
कमलाकर—कमलयुक्ता वापी
कविल=कपिल
कसा=कशा
कालमेह=कालमेघ

खुभिद=क्षोभित, आलोडित

गङ्गधर=गङ्गाधर, शिव
*गजासण=गजाशन, गजभक्षक
गय=गज
गयण=गगण

घणसंरुद्ध=मेघावृत

जुहण=ज्योत्स्ना
जोहण=ज्योत्स्ना

डाहज्जर=दाहज्वर

णड=नट
णाग=नाक
णाहणिय=-स्नात्वा
णिच्चणिप्पह=नित्यनिष्प्रभ, सदानिष्प्रभ
णिम्मलब्भ=निर्मलाभ्र
-णिह=-निभ

तडिसगणद्ध=तडित्सगणद्ध, तडिद्युक्त
ताड—ताटङ्क, कर्णभूषण विशेष
*तास=त्रास
तिमिरगणोहसिअ=तिमिरगणावहसिक
तुण्ड—शिरः
तेजोंसुक=तेजोऽश्रु

दवविभव=द्रवविभव
दाणहिगन्ध=दाणाभिगन्ध
दारेदि=दारयति

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पंति=पंक्ति
पक्कममाण=प्रक्रममान
पठिद=पठित
पडिगज=प्रतिगज, विद्वेषीगज
पणास=प्रणाश
पणोल्लिण—प्रचालक
पत्थ=प्रस्थ
पदीविय=प्रदीप्य
पदुम=पद्म
पन्थिय=पथिक
पभाद=प्रभात, उद्भासित
परुणिय=प्ररुदित
*पवङ्ग=प्लवङ्ग
पवण्ण=प्रपन्न
पवणहद=पवणाहत
पसामिय=प्रशामित
पसादिय=प्रसाद्य
-पह=-प्रभ
परिवुद=परिवृत
पाउस=प्रावृष
पासाद=प्रासाद
*पावुद=प्रावृत
पुप्फवाही=पुष्पवाही, पुष्पगन्धी

फटिक, फडिग=स्फटिक

बलाय=बलाक, बलाका

भराइय=भरित, पूरित
भुजंग—पूजक
भुज्ज=भूर्ज

मधुआसिया=मध्वासिका, मधुकरी
मधुवार—मधुकर

मन्दजोसिण=मन्दज्योत्स्न
महीहर=मंहीधर
माधवमास=वैशाख मास
मुक्क=मुक्त
मुहर, मुहल=मुखर
मूलारोह—*See notes on* XLVIII

रयणी=रजनी
-राय=-राज
रुसिद=रुषित

लास—लास्य
लासी—लास्यकारक
लोय=लोक, जगत्
लोयालोय=लोकालोक

वणन्त=वनान्त
वलाहय=वलाहक, मेघ
ववु=वपु
वहित्थअ=वहिःस्थ
वरुज्झइ=अवरुध्यते
वासन्त=वसन्तकालभव
विक्किरमाण=विकीरमाण
*विदारिद=विदारित
विवुल=विपुल
वियसन्ते=विकसन्ते
विसरदि—अभिसरति
*वोम्म=व्योम, आकाश

संवुद=संवृत
सङ्गहिया=संगृधिता, कामुकी
सदारोच—सदादीप्त
सन्थुद=संस्तुत
समन्ता=समन्तात्

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समुव्विहिद=समुद्विहित
सलिलहर=सलिलधर, मेघ
सहयरि=सहचरी
सिहि-=शिखि-
सिद=सित
सुत्त=*सूस, व्याप्त
सुर=सूर्य्य
सुहअ, सुहद=सुखद, सुहृद
सूर=सूर्य्य
सेल=शैल
सोअ=शोक

हय=हत
हसिर=हसित, हास्ययुक्त
हिण्डणक—भ्रमणकारी
हिण्ड—विचरणार्थे
हिमाहय=हिमाहत
हिय=हृत

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ASPECTS OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM

AND ITS RELATION TO HĪNAYĀNA

By NALINAKSHA DUTT, P.R.S., PH.D. (CAL.), D.LITT. (LOND.)
OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

WITH A FORWORD BY **Prof. LOUIS de la VALLEÉ POUSSIN**

PROF. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH: It has given me much pleasure to read Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt's new volume on *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism.* The lucidity of his exposition of the complex and to us occidentals elusive ideas of the Mahāyāna is *admirable*, and his work will *substantially* facilitate the progress of research in this field.

DR. L. D. BARNETT: Your able and scholarly investigations *are a valuable and* [illegible] *contribution* to the study of Mahāyāna doctrine, throwing much

CORRECTION SLIP

Vol. VIII, p. 338

In the Sanskrit quotation l. 1 read ०पारमितायै ॥ instead of ०पारमितयै ॥
l. 2 „ ०मितेऽमिते । „ ०मितोऽमिते ।
l. 5 „ सर्वसत्त्व० „ सर्वसत्व०

Vol. VIII, No. 4

p. 738, fn. 79 read शून्य and शून्येन instead of शूण्य or शुण्य and शूण्येन.
p. 741 bottom read ०न्यत्वे instead of न्यात्वे
p. 743, l. 3 read ०दुदयव्यय० instead of ०दुयव्याय०

Not only that, but [illegible] two schools, and your work not only results in [illegible] closely but also makes much clearer the actual course of their development.....You have done much to remove misconceptions and hence to show where we really agree.

PROF. DR. M. WALLESER: I have been reading your excellent book on the relations of Mahāyāna to Hīnayāna with much interest and I congratulate you heartily, wishing a good success. It is very well written, and with much good sense, and I think that now much, if not all, has been said that ought to have been said by myself in the remaining parts of my "Geschicte."

BUDDHISM IN ENGLAND (December, 1930): The purpose of this admirable treatise.....is to present a clear view of the relations, historical and doctrinal, between the two vehicles and the book therefore be classified as scholarly rather than practical. The author's great scholarship, however, is directed to a synthetic rather than the all too frequently destructive and analytic end, and is therefore doubly valuable.....In the course of this elaborate examination and analysis the author displays a faculty of intelligent research and sound judgment which is beyond all praise, and is to be congratulated upon a notable addition to Buddhist literature.

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हिण्ड—विचरणार्थे
हिमाहय=हिमाहत

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SIR HARI SINGH GOUR: As one who has scratched the surface of a vast and intricate theme where you have dug deep, I can well appreciate the enormous labour and study which you must have bestowed in tracing the evolution of the Mahāyāna School from the primitive tenets of the Little Vehicle which is probably all and I think more than all that Gautama Buddha taught to his lay and adept disciples.....

J. PRZYLUSKI: Votre exposé clair, neuf et riche rendra les plus grands services et sa place est marquée dans toute bibliothèque d' orientalisme. Il montre combien les textes qu'on croit le mieux connus renferment encore de vérités cachées et je suis convaince qu'il fera de grands progrès a nos études.

M. WINTERNITZ: I congratulate you most heartily on the completion of this excellent book which was badly wanted. What has been written on Mahāyāna so far, is based more on Chinese than on Sanskrit sources. Yours is the *first comprehensive view* of Mahāyāna Buddhism, based on the most authentic Sanskrit books, and written in the spirit of historical criticism. Your critical survey of the different views held about Nirvāṇa by the Buddhists and western scholars, is highly interesting and valuable.

DR. E. J. THOMAS: Only one who like you has gone to the sources of later Buddhist literature can realise what a vast area it covers and see that we must first clear up certain definite lines of research. This it seems to me is what you have done. You have taken certain definite doctrines and by pursuing them to their sources have placed them in a much clearer light. Not only that, but you have compared the same or similar doctrines in the two schools, and your work not only results in determining the facts more closely but also makes much clearer the actual course of their development.....You have done much to remove misconceptions and hence to show where we really agree.

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